

# AMERICAN STATE PAPERS.

## INDIAN AFFAIRS.

[1st CONGRESS.]

No. 1.

[1st SESSION.]

### THE SIX NATIONS, THE WYANDOTS, AND OTHERS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE MAY 25, 1789.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

In pursuance of the order of the late Congress, treaties between the United States and several nations of Indians, have been negotiated and signed. These treaties, with sundry papers respecting them, I now lay before you, for your consideration and advice, by the hands of General Knox, under whose official superintendance the business was transacted, and who will be ready to communicate to you any information on such points as may appear to require it.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

NEW YORK, May 25, 1789.

*Articles of a Treaty made at fort Harmar, the ninth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, between Arthur St. Clair, Esquire, Governor of the territory of the United States of America northwest of the river Ohio, and commissioner plenipotentiary of the said United States for removing all causes of controversy, regulating trade, and settling boundaries, between the Indian nations in the northern department, and the said United States, of the one part, and the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations, of the other part, viz.*

ARTICLE 1. Whereas the United States, in Congress assembled, did, by their commissioners, Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler, and Arthur Lee, Esquires, duly appointed for that purpose, at a treaty held with the said Six Nations, viz: with the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Tuscaroras, Cayugas, and Senecas, at fort Stanwix, on the twenty-second day of October, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, give peace to the said nations, and receive them into their friendship and protection: And whereas the said nations have now agreed, to and with the said Arthur St. Clair, to renew and confirm all the engagements and stipulations entered into at the before mentioned treaty at fort Stanwix: And whereas it was then and there agreed, between the United States of America and the said Six Nations, that a boundary line should be fixed between the lands of the said Six Nations and the territory of the said United States, which boundary line is as follows, viz: Beginning at the mouth of a creek, about four miles east of Niagara, called Ononwayea, or Johnston's Landing Place, upon the lake named by the Indians Oswego, and by us Ontario; from thence southerly, in a direction always four miles east of the carrying place, between lake Erie and lake Ontario, to the mouth of Tehoseroron, or Buffalo creek, upon lake Erie; thence south, to the northern boundary of the State of Pennsylvania; thence west, to the end of the said north boundary; thence south, along the west boundary of the said State, to the river Ohio. The said line, from the mouth of Ononwayea to the Ohio, shall be the western boundary of the lands of the Six Nations, so that the Six Nations shall and do yield to the United States, all claim to the country west of the said boundary; and then they shall be secured in the possession of the lands they inhabit east, north, and south of the same, reserving only six miles square, round the fort of Oswego, for the support of the same. The said Six Nations, except the Mohawks, none of whom have attended at this time, for and in consideration of the peace then granted to them, the presents they then received, as well as in consideration of a quantity of goods, to the value of three thousand dollars, now delivered to them by the said Arthur St. Clair, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge, do hereby renew and confirm the said boundary line in the words before mentioned, to the end that it may be and remain as a division line between the lands of the said Six Nations and the territory of the United States, forever. And the undersigned Indians, as well in their own names as in the name of their respective tribes and nations, their heirs and descendants, for the considerations before mentioned, do release, quit claim, relinquish, and cede, to the United States of America, all the lands west of the said boundary or division line, and between the said line and the strait, from the mouth of Ononwayea and Buffalo creek, for them, the said United States of America, to have and to hold the same, in true and absolute propriety, forever.

ARTICLE 2. The United States of America confirm to the Six Nations, all the lands which they inhabit, lying east and north of the before mentioned boundary line, and relinquish and quit claim to the same and every part thereof, excepting only six miles square round the fort of Oswego, which six miles square round said fort is again reserved to the United States by these presents.

ARTICLE 3. The Oneida and Tuscarora nations are also again secured and confirmed in the possession of their respective lands.

ARTICLE 4. The United States of America renew and confirm the peace and friendship entered into with the Six Nations, (except the Mohawks) at the treaty before mentioned, held at fort Stanwix, declaring the same to be

perpetual. And if the Mohawks shall, within six months, declare their assent to the same, they shall be considered as included.

Done at fort Harmar, on the Muskingum, the day and year first above written.

In witness whereof, the parties have hereunto, interchangeably, set their hands and seals.

AR. ST. CLAIR.

[Signed by twenty-four of the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations of Indians.]

SEPARATE ARTICLE OF THE PRECEDING TREATY.

Should a robbery or murder be committed by an Indian or Indians of the Six Nations, upon the citizens or subjects of the United States, or by the citizens or subjects of the United States, or any of them, upon any of the Indians of the said nations, the parties accused of the same shall be tried, and if found guilty, be punished according to the laws of the State, or of the Territory of the United States, as the case may be, where the same was committed. And should any horses be stolen, either by the Indians of the said nations, from the citizens or subjects of the United States, or any of them, or by any of the said citizens or subjects from any of the said Indians, they may be reclaimed, into whose possession soever they may have come; and, upon due proof, shall be restored, any sale in open market notwithstanding, and the persons convicted shall be punished with the utmost severity the laws will admit. And the said nations engage to deliver the persons that may be accused, of their nations, of either of the before mentioned crimes, at the nearest post of the United States, if the crime was committed within the territory of the United States; or to the civil authority of the State, if it shall have happened within any of the United States.

AR. ST. CLAIR.

*Articles of a Treaty made at fort Harmar, between Arthur St. Clair, Governor of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, and commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States of America for removing all causes of controversy, regulating trade, and settling boundaries, with the Indian nations in the Northern department, of the one part, and the sachems and warriors of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, Chippewa, Pattawatima, and Sac nations, on the other part.*

ARTICLE 1. Whereas the United States, in Congress assembled, did, by their commissioners, George Rogers Clarke, Richard Butler, and Arthur Lee, Esquires, duly appointed for that purpose, at a treaty holden with the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, and Chippewa nations, at fort McIntosh, on the twenty-first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, conclude a peace with the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, and Chippewas, and take them into their friendship and protection: And whereas, at the said treaty, it was stipulated that all prisoners that had been made by those nations, or either of them, should be delivered up to the United States: And whereas the said nations have now agreed, to and with the aforesaid Arthur St. Clair, to renew and confirm all the engagements they had made with the United States of America, at the before mentioned treaty, except so far as are altered by these presents: And there are now in the possession of some individuals of these nations, certain prisoners, who have been taken by others, not in peace with the said United States, or in violation of the treaties subsisting between the United States and them; the said nations agree to deliver up all the prisoners now in their hands (by what means soever they may have come into their possession) to the said Governor St. Clair, at Fort Harmar; or, in his absence, to the officer commanding there, as soon as conveniently may be; and, for the true performance of this agreement, they do now agree to deliver into his hands, two persons of the Wyandot nation, to be retained in the hands of the United States, as hostages, until the said prisoners are restored; after which, they shall be sent back to their nation.

ART. 2. And whereas, at the before mentioned treaty, it was agreed, between the United States and said nations, that a boundary line should be fixed between the lands of those nations and the territory of the United States, which boundary is as follows, viz: Beginning at the mouth of Cayahoga river, and running thence, up the said river, to the portage between that and the Tuscarawa branch of Muskingum; then, down the said branch, to the forks at the crossing place above fort Lawrence; thence, westerly, to the portage on that branch of the Big Miami river which runs into the Ohio, at the mouth of which branch the fort stood which was taken by the French in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two; then, along the said portage, to the Great Miami or Omie river, and, down the southeast side of the same, to its mouth; thence, along the southern shore of Lake Erie, to the mouth of Cayahoga, where it began. And the said Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, and Chippewa nations, for and in consideration of the peace then granted to them by the said United States, and the presents they then received, as well as of a quantity of goods, to the value of six thousand dollars, now delivered to them by the said Arthur St. Clair, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge, do, by these presents, renew and confirm the said boundary line; to the end that the same may remain as a division line between the lands of the United States of America and the lands of said nations, forever. And the undersigned Indians do hereby, in their own names, and the names of their respective nations and tribes, their heirs and descendants, for the consideration above mentioned, release, quit claim, relinquish, and cede, to the said United States, all the land east, south, and west, of the lines above described, so far as the said Indians formerly claimed the same; for them, the said United States, to have and to hold the same, in true and absolute propriety, forever.

ART. 3. The United States of America do, by these presents, relinquish and quit claim to the said nations respectively, all the lands lying between the limits above described, for them, the said Indians, to live and hunt upon, and otherwise to occupy as they shall see fit; but the said nations, or either of them, shall not be at liberty to sell or dispose of the same, or any part thereof, to any sovereign Power, except the United States; nor to the subjects or citizens of any other sovereign Power, nor to the subjects or citizens of the United States.

ART. 4. It is agreed, between the said United States and the said nations, that the individuals of said nations shall be at liberty to hunt within the territory ceded to the United States, without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and offer no injury or annoyance to any of the subjects or citizens of the said United States.

ART. 5. It is agreed, that, if any Indian or Indians, of the nations before mentioned, shall commit a murder or robbery on any of the citizens of the United States, the nation or tribe to which the offender belongs, on complaint being made, shall deliver up the person or persons complained of, at the nearest post of the United States; to the end that he or they may be tried, and, if found guilty, punished according to the laws established in the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, for the punishment of such offences, if the same shall have been committed within the said territory; or according to the laws of the State where the offence may have been committed, if the same has happened in any of the United States. In like manner, if any subject or citizen of the United States shall commit murder or robbery on any Indian or Indians of the said nations, upon complaint being made thereof, he or they shall be arrested, tried, and punished, agreeable to the laws of the State, or of the territory wherein the offence was committed; that nothing may interrupt the peace and harmony now established between the United States and said nations.

ART. 6. And whereas the practice of stealing horses has prevailed very much, to the great disquiet of the citizens of the United States, and, if persisted in, cannot fail to involve both the United States of America and the Indians in endless animosity, it is agreed that it shall be put an entire stop to on both sides; nevertheless, should some individuals, in defiance of this agreement, and of the laws provided against such offences, continue to make depredations of that nature, the person convicted thereof shall be punished with the utmost severity the laws of the respective States, or territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio, where the offence may have been commit-



ted, will admit of; and all horses so stolen, either by the Indians, from the citizens or subjects of the United States, or by the citizens or subjects of the United States from any of the Indian nations, may be reclaimed, into whose possession soever they may have passed, and, upon due proof, shall be restored; any sales in market overt notwithstanding. And the civil magistrates in the United States, respectively, and in the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio, shall give all necessary aid and protection to Indians claiming such stolen horses.

ART. 7. Trade shall be opened with the said nations, and they do hereby respectively engage to afford protection to the persons and property of such as may be duly licensed to reside among them for the purposes of trade, and to their agents, factors, and servants; but no person shall be permitted to reside at their towns, or at their hunting camps, as a trader, who is not furnished with a licence for that purpose, under the hand and seal of the Governor of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio, for the time being, or under the hand and seal of one of his deputies for the management of Indian affairs; to the end that they may not be imposed upon in their traffic. And if any person, or persons, shall intrude themselves without such licence, they promise to apprehend him, or them, and to bring them to the said Governor, or one of his deputies, for the purpose before mentioned, to be dealt with according to law: and that they may be defended against persons who might attempt to forge such licences, they further engage to give information to the said Governor, or one of his deputies, of the names of all traders residing among them, from time to time, and at least once in every year.

ART. 8. Should any nation of Indians meditate a war against the United States, or either of them, and the same shall come to the knowledge of the before mentioned nations, or either of them, they do hereby engage to give immediate notice thereof to the Governor, or, in his absence, to the officer commanding the troops of the United States at the nearest post. And should any nation, with hostile intentions against the United States, or either of them, attempt to pass through their country, they will endeavor to prevent the same, and in like manner give information of such attempt to the said Governor, or commanding officer, as soon as possible, that all causes of mistrust and suspicion may be avoided between them and the United States; in like manner, the United States shall give notice to the said Indian nations, of any harm that may be meditated against them, or either of them, that shall come to their knowledge; and do all in their power to hinder and prevent the same, that the friendship between them may be uninterrupted.

ART. 9. If any person or persons, citizens or subjects of the United States, or any other person, not being an Indian, shall presume to settle upon the lands confirmed to the said nations, he and they shall be out of the protection of the United States; and the said nations may punish him, or them, in such manner as they see fit.

ART. 10. The United States renew the reservations heretofore made in the before mentioned treaty at fort McIntosh, for the establishment of trading posts, in manner and form following; that is to say: six miles square at the mouth of the Miami or Omie rivers; six miles square at the portage upon that branch of the Miami which runs into the Ohio; six miles square upon the lake Sandusky, where the fort formerly stood; and two miles square upon each side the Lower Rapids, on Sandusky river: which posts, and the lands annexed to them, shall be for the use and under the Government of the United States.

ART. 11. The post at Detroit, with a district of land beginning at the mouth of the river Rosine, at the west end of lake Erie, and running up the southern bank of said river six miles; thence northerly, and always six miles west of the strait, until it strikes the lake St. Clair, shall be reserved for the use of the United States.

ART. 12. In like manner, the post at Michilimackinac, with its dependencies, and twelve miles square about the same, shall be reserved to the sole use of the United States.

ART. 13. The United States of America do hereby renew and confirm the peace and friendship entered into with the said nations, at the treaty before mentioned, held at fort McIntosh; and the said nations again acknowledge themselves, and all their tribes, to be under the protection of the said United States, and no other Power whatever.

ART. 14. The United States of America do also receive into their friendship and protection, the nations of the Pattawatimas and Sacs; and do hereby establish a league of peace and amity between them, respectively; and all the articles of this treaty, so far as they apply to these nations, are to be considered as made and concluded in all, and every part, expressly with them and each of them.

ART. 15. And whereas, in describing the boundary before mentioned, the words, if strictly construed, would carry it from the portage on that branch of the Miami which runs into the Ohio, over to the river Auglaize; which was neither the intention of the Indians, nor of the commissioners; it is hereby declared, that the line shall run from the said portage directly to the first fork of the Miami river, which is to the southward and eastward of the Miami village; thence down the main branch of the Miami river to the said village, and thence down that river to lake Erie, and along the margin of the lake to the place of beginning.

Done at fort Harmar, on the Muskingum, this ninth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.

In witness whereof, the parties have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and seals.

AR. ST. CLAIR.

[Signed by the sachems and warriors of the Sac, Chippewa, Ottawa, Pattawatami, Delaware, and Wyandot tribes of Indians.]

Be it remembered, that the Wyandots have laid claim to the lands that were granted to the Shawnees at the treaty held at the Miami; and have declared, that, as the Shawnees have been so restless, and caused so much trouble, both to them and to the United States, if they will not now be at peace, they will dispossess them, and take the country into their own hands; for that the country is theirs of right, and the Shawnees are only living upon it by their permission. They further lay claim to all the country west of the Miami boundary, from the village to the lake Erie, and declare that it is now under their management and direction.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

Whereas the Wyandots have represented, that within the reservation from the river Rosine, along the strait, they have two villages, from which they cannot, with any convenience, remove; it is agreed, they shall remain in possession of the same, and shall not be in any manner disturbed therein.

*The Secretary of War to the President of the United States.*

The Secretary of War, having examined the negotiations of the Governor of the Western territory, with certain Northern and Northwestern Indians, and the treaties made in consequence thereof, at fort Harmar, on the 9th of January, 1789, begs leave to report:

That the several Treaties of Peace which have been made with the Northern tribes of Indians, and those northwest of the Ohio, since the conclusion of the late war with Great Britain, are as follows, to wit:

1st. The treaty at fort Stanwix, on the 22d day of October, 1784, between Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler, and Arthur Lee, commissioners plenipotentiary from the United States, on the one part, and the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations, on the other.

2d. The treaty entered into by the said commissioners plenipotentiary, and the sachems and warriors of the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, and Ottawa nations of Indians, at fort McIntosh, the 21st day of January, 1785.

3d. The treaty at the mouth of the great Miami, the 31st of January 1786, between commissioners from the United States, and the Chiefs and Warriors of the Shawanee nation.

That the treaties of fort Stanwix and fort McIntosh were entered on the journals of the United States, in Congress assembled, June the 3d, 1785, and the treaty of the Miami, on the 17th day of April 1786.

That it may be proper to observe, that the Indians are greatly tenacious of their lands, and generally do not relinquish their right, excepting on the principle of a specific consideration, expressly given for the purchase of the same.

That the practice of the late English colonies and government, in purchasing the Indian claims, has firmly established the habit in this respect, so that it cannot be violated but with difficulty, and an expense greatly exceeding the value of the object.

That the treaties of fort Stanwix and of fort McIntosh do not state that the limits therein defined are by virtue of a purchase from the Indians.

That the said treaties have been opposed, and complained of, will appear by the representation to Congress, accompanying this report, marked No. 1.

That, in consequence of the said representation, Congress, on the 21st day of July, 1787, passed the following resolve:

“Resolved, That the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern department, inform the five nations, the Hurons, and other Indian nations, who joined in the representation made to Congress, dated the 18th day of December, 1786, that Congress, on the 13th of the present month, July, 1787, received their said representation, and have taken it into their serious consideration, and, in due time, will send them an answer.”

That, on the 5th of October following, Congress resolved:

“That a general treaty be held with the tribes of Indians within the limits of the United States, inhabiting the country northwest of the Ohio, and about Lake Erie, as soon after the first of April next as conveniently may be, and at such place, and at such particular time, as the Governor of the Western Territory shall appoint, for the purpose of knowing the causes of uneasiness among the said tribes, and hearing their complaints, of regulating trade, and amicably settling all affairs concerning lands and boundaries, between them and the United States.

“That the Governor of the Western Territory hold the said treaty agreeably to such instructions as shall be given him for that purpose.”

That, on the 12th of October, 1787, Congress resolved:

“That twenty thousand dollars be, and hereby are, appropriated for the purpose of Indian treaties, whenever the same shall hereafter be judged necessary by a majority of the United States, in Congress assembled, and that the resolutions for holding a general treaty with the Indians, passed the fifth day of the present month, be, and they are hereby, repealed.”

That on the 22d of October, 1787, Congress resolved:

“That the Governor of the Western Territory be, and he is hereby, empowered to hold a general treaty with the Indian tribes in the ensuing spring, if, in his judgment, the public good requires it; and that he be authorized to draw for such sums of money, appropriated by the resolve of Congress of the 12th instant, as may be necessary to effect this object, not exceeding the sum of fourteen thousand dollars.”

That, on the 2d of July, 1788, Congress resolved:

“That the sum of twenty thousand dollars, in addition to the fourteen thousand dollars already appropriated, be appropriated for defraying the expenses of the treaties which have been ordered, or which may be ordered to be held on the present year, with the several Indian tribes in the Northern department, and for extinguishing the Indian claims; the whole of the said twenty thousand dollars, together with six thousand dollars of the said fourteen thousand dollars, to be applied solely to the purpose of extinguishing Indian claims to the lands they have already ceded to the United States, by obtaining regular conveyances for the same, and for extending a purchase beyond the limits hitherto fixed by treaty; but that no part of the said sums be applied for any purpose other than those above mentioned.”

That the instructions to the Governor of the Western Territory, marked No. 2, will further show the sense of Congress on this subject.

That the treaties of fort Harmar, on the 9th of January, 1789, with the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations, the Mohawks excepted, and with the Sachems and Warriors of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, Chippewa, Patti-watima, and Sac nations, inhabiting parts of the country northwest of the Ohio, appear to have been negotiated by the Governor of the Western Territory, so as to unite the interests of the United States with the justice due the said Indian nations.

That the reservation in the treaty with the Six Nations, of six miles square, round the fort at Oswego, is within the territory of the State of New York, and ought to be so explained as to render it conformable to the constitution of the United States.

That, if this explanation should be made, and the Senate of the United States should concur in their approbation of the said treaties, it might be proper that the same should be ratified, and published, with a proclamation enjoining an observance thereof.

All which is humbly submitted to the President of the United States.

H. KNOX.

WAR OFFICE, *May 23d*, 1789.

#### No. 1.

*Speech of the United Indian Nations, at their Confederate Council, held near the mouth of the Detroit river, the 28th November and 18th December, 1786.*

PRESENT—The Five Nations, the Hurons, Delawares, Shawanese, Ottawas, Chippewas, Powtewattimies, Twich-twees, Cherokees, and the Wabash confederates.

*To the Congress of the United States of America:*

BRETHREN OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: It is now more than three years since peace was made between the King of Great Britain and you, but we, the Indians, were disappointed, finding ourselves not included in that peace, according to our expectations: for we thought that its conclusion would have promoted a friendship between the United States and Indians, and that we might enjoy that happiness that formerly subsisted between us and our elder brethren. We have received two very agreeable messages from the thirteen United States. We also received a message from the King, whose war we were engaged in, desiring us to remain quiet, which we accordingly complied with. During the time of this tranquillity, we were deliberating the best method we could to form a lasting reconciliation with the thirteen United States. Pleased at the same time, we thought we were entering upon a reconciliation and friendship with a set of people born on the same continent with ourselves, certain that the quarrel between us was not of our own making. In the course of our councils, we imagined we hit upon an expedient that would promote a lasting peace between us.

BROTHERS: We still are of the same opinion as to the means which may tend to reconcile us to each other; and we are sorry to find, although we had the best thoughts in our minds, during the beforementioned period, mischief has, nevertheless, happened between you and us. We are still anxious of putting our plan of accommodation into execution, and we shall briefly inform you of the means that seem most probable to us of effecting a firm and lasting peace and reconciliation: the first step towards which should, in our opinion, be, that all treaties carried on with the United States, on our parts, should be with the general voice of the whole confederacy, and carried on in the most open manner, without any restraint on either side; and especially as landed matters are often the subject of our councils with you, a matter of the greatest importance and of general concern to us, in this case we hold it indispensably necessary that any cession of our lands should be made in the most public manner, and by the united voice of the confederacy; holding all partial treaties as void and of no effect.

**BROTHERS:** We think it is owing to you that the tranquillity which, since the peace between us, has not lasted, and that that essential good has been followed by mischief and confusion, having managed every thing respecting us your own way. You kindled your council fires where you thought proper, without consulting us, at which you held separate treaties, and have entirely neglected our plan of having a general conference with the different nations of the confederacy. Had this happened, we have reason to believe every thing would now have been settled between us in a most friendly manner. We did every thing in our power, at the treaty of fort Stanwix, to induce you to follow this plan, as our real intentions were, at that very time, to promote peace and concord between us, and that we might look upon each other as friends, having given you no cause or provocation to be otherwise.

**BROTHERS:** Notwithstanding the mischief that has happened, we are still sincere in our wishes to have peace and tranquillity established between us, earnestly hoping to find the same inclination in you. We wish, therefore, you would take it into serious consideration, and let us speak to you in the manner we proposed. Let us have a treaty with you early in the spring; let us pursue reasonable steps; let us meet half ways, for our mutual convenience; we shall then bring in oblivion the misfortunes that have happened, and meet each other on a footing of friendship.

**BROTHERS:** We say let us meet half way, and let us pursue such steps as become upright and honest men. We beg that you will prevent your surveyors and other people from coming upon our side the Ohio river. We have told you before, we wished to pursue just steps, and we are determined they shall appear just and reasonable in the eyes of the world. This is the determination of all the chiefs of our confederacy now assembled here, notwithstanding the accidents that have happened in our villages, even when in council, where several innocent chiefs were killed when absolutely engaged in promoting a peace with you, the thirteen United States.

Although then interrupted, the chiefs here present still wish to meet you in the spring, for the beforementioned good purpose, when we hope to speak to each other without either haughtiness or menaces.

**BROTHERS:** We again request of you, in the most earnest manner, to order your surveyors and others, that mark out lands, to cease from crossing the Ohio, until we shall have spoken to you, because the mischief that has recently happened has originated in that quarter; we shall likewise prevent our people from going over until that time.

**BROTHERS:** It shall not be our faults if the plans which we have suggested to you should not be carried into execution; in that case the event will be very precarious, and if fresh ruptures ensue, we hope to be able to exculpate ourselves, and shall most assuredly, with our united force, be obliged to defend those rights and privileges which have been transmitted to us by our ancestors; and if we should be thereby reduced to misfortunes, the world will pity us when they think of the amicable proposals we now make to prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood. These are our thoughts and firm resolves, and we earnestly desire that you will transmit to us, as soon as possible, your answer, be it what it may.

Done at our Confederated Council Fire, at the Huron village, near the mouth of the Detroit river, December 18th, 1786.

*The Five Nations,  
Hurons, Ottawas, Twichtwees, Shawanese,  
Chippewas, Cherokees, Delawares,  
Poutewatimies, The Wabash Confederates.*

No. 2.

OCTOBER 26th, 1787.

*Instructions to the Governor of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the river Ohio, relative to an Indian treaty in the Northern Department.*

SIR:

You are carefully to examine into the real temper of the Indian tribes, inhabiting the Northern Indian Department of the United States. If you find it hostile, and that the welfare of the frontiers, and the settlements forming in that country, demand a treaty, you will then, in conjunction with the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department, unless the attendance of the said superintendent shall be prevented, by any unforeseen event, hold as general a one as you can, with all the tribes.

The primary objects of the treaty are, the removing all causes of controversy, so that peace and harmony may continue between the United States and the Indian tribes, the regulating trade, and settling boundaries. For these purposes, you will do every thing that is right and proper.

The treaties which have been made, may be examined, but must not be departed from, unless a change of boundary, beneficial to the United States, can be obtained.

Although the purchase of the Indian right of soil is not a primary object of holding this treaty, yet you will not neglect any opportunity that may offer, of extinguishing the Indian rights to the westward, as far as the river Mississippi.

You may stipulate, that the East and West line ordered to be run by the ordinance of the 20th of May, 1785, shall be the boundary between the United States and the Indian tribes: provided, they stipulate that it shall run throughout, unto the river Mississippi. And you may stipulate, that any white persons going over the said boundary, without a licence from the proper officer of the United States, may be treated in such manner as the Indians shall think proper.

You will use every possible endeavor to ascertain who are the real head men and warriors of the several tribes, and who have the greatest influence among them; these men you will attach to the United States, by every means in your power.

Every exertion must be made to defeat all confederations and combinations among the tribes, and to conciliate the white people inhabiting the frontiers, towards them.

CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary.*

JULY 2d, 1788.

*Additional instructions to the Governor of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the river Ohio, relative to the treaty to be held with the Western Indians, in pursuance of the resolutions of Congress, passed in October last.*

SIR:

An additional sum of twenty thousand dollars has been appropriated for the purpose of procuring a permanent peace with the Indian tribes, with which you are authorized to hold a treaty. This sum, and six thousand dollars out of the fourteen thousand heretofore appropriated for holding the said treaty, are particularly directed to be applied solely to the purpose of obtaining a boundary advantageous to the United States, between them and the said Indian tribes, and for further extinguishing by purchase Indian titles, in case it can be done on terms beneficial to the Union.

But it is not expected that any further purchases of lands will be made unless on terms evidently advantageous to the United States, or that any part of the said additional sum will be expended, but in cases apparently necessary.

In fixing a boundary between the United States and the Indian tribes, instead of the East and West line mentioned in your instructions, you will endeavor to establish an east and west line as far north as the completion of the forty first degree of north latitude.

In your negotiations with the Indians, you will make immediate payments, so far as you shall have moneys in hand; but, in case you shall find it necessary to engage any considerable part of the said additional sum, you are to stipulate, that the payments thereof be made in two or three equal annual instalments, the first to be as late in the year 1789, as can be obtained.

CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary.*

*The Governor of the Western Territory to the President of the United States.*

NEW YORK, May 2d, 1788.

SIR:

I have the honor to lay before you the treaties concluded, in pursuance of the instructions received from Congress on the twenty sixth of October, 1787, and second of July, 1788, with several of the Indian nations, in January last. That they were not presented at an earlier period, was owing, in part, to my own indisposition; to the severity of the winter, which rendered the communication by the Ohio, for a long time impracticable; and to the circumstance that the last Congress did not assemble after it was in my power to have sent them forward.

With the treaties, I beg leave to submit the minutes of the proceedings at the different meetings, after the nations were assembled, and I have added to them, by way of appendix, all the letters and messages that passed between them and me prior to their assembling. These were communicated to the Secretary of War, from time to time, and though they will, no doubt, be submitted by him to your consideration, I thought it best, as they form a considerable part of the transactions, to connect them in that way, that the whole might be seen together.

By the instruction of July the second, I was directed to endeavor at extending the northern boundary, as far north, as the completion of the forty first degree of north latitude. Besides that it would have been extremely difficult to have made the Indians comprehend how that was to be ascertained, I found that any attempt to extend the limits at that time, would be very ill received, if not defeat entirely the settling a peace with them; it was therefore not proposed, and the boundaries remain as settled at the former treaties, except the rectifying an error about the portage at the Miami village.

The negotiation was both tedious and troublesome, and for a long time had an unpromising aspect, but it came at last to as favorable an issue as could have been expected; and I trust will be attended with consequences friendly to the frontier parts of the United States. There are, however, several nations on the Wabash, and the rivers which empty themselves into it, that are ill disposed, and from whom there is reason to expect, that a part of the frontier of Virginia, and the settlement forming on the Miami, will meet annoyance; indeed, that they have not been disturbed during the winter was not expected, either by me or the chiefs of the nations, who met me at fort Harmar. The Wyandots did appoint persons to go to them, and inform them of the result of the treaty, and insist upon their desisting from further hostilities, which may have had some effect in producing the late tranquillity.

The claim of the Wyandot nation to the lands reserved to the Shawanese, was strongly insisted upon by them, and to be made an article of the treaty—to that I could not consent; but, to satisfy them, and that it might be kept in remembrance, it is inserted at the bottom of it, by way of memorandum. It seems this is a claim that has always been held up, and the reason it was so much insisted on at this time, they said, was, that they were sure that the Shawanese, and Cherokees incorporated with them, would continue to give us trouble; that it could not be expected to be borne with much longer; that they would be driven out of the country, and then it would be claimed and held by the United States, by right of conquest; they farther added, that, if the Shawanese continued their depredations, they would themselves drive them off. They also proposed that a post should be taken by the United States, at the Miami village, as the surest means to overawe the nations on the Wabash. It is certainly well situated for that purpose, and would command the greatest part of the Indian trade. As it was very uncertain whether Congress might approve of such a measure, as a post so far inland, would with difficulty be supported, and were in no readiness to carry it into execution, if it should be approved, I desired them to consider well, whether it could be done without a contest with the Indians who live there; and whether, in that case, there was not danger of they themselves being involved, through the ungovernableness of their young men. They acknowledged they thought there was danger of both, but promised to send some of their principal men to the Miamies, and prepare them for receiving a garrison peaceably, and are to give me notice in the spring.

The reason why the treaties were made separately with the Six Nations and the Wyandots, and more westerly tribes, was, a jealousy that subsisted between them, which I was not willing to lessen, by appearing to consider them as one people—they do not so consider themselves; and I am persuaded their general confederacy is entirely broken: indeed, it would not be very difficult, if circumstances required it, to set them at deadly variance.

The great length of time that elapsed between the appointed period for the meeting, and that at which the Indians assembled, during which, numbers of them were constantly going and coming, has increased the expense in the article of provisions considerably; the utmost possible economy, however, was used through the whole of the business, and, in transacting it, I flatter myself with meeting the approbation of Congress.

With the utmost respect, I have the honor to be, &c.

AR. ST. CLAIR.

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

[The three following are the treaties first referred to in the report of the Secretary of War:]

*Articles of a Treaty concluded at fort Stanwix, on the twenty-second day of October, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, between Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler, and Arthur Lee, commissioners plenipotentiary from the United States, in Congress assembled, on the one part, and the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations, on the other.*

The United States of America give peace to the Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas, and Cayugas, and receive them into their protection, upon the following conditions:

ARTICLE 1. Six hostages shall be immediately delivered to the commissioners by the said nations, to remain in possession of the United States till all the prisoners, white and black, which were taken by the said Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas, and Cayugas, or by any of them, in the late war, from among the people of the United States, shall be delivered up.

ART. 2. The Oneida and Tuscarora nations shall be secured in the possession of the lands on which they are settled.

ART. 3. A line shall be drawn, beginning at the mouth of a creek about four miles east of Niagara, called Oyonwayea, or Johnston's Landing Place, upon the lake named by the Indians Oswego, and by us Ontario; from thence southerly, in a direction always four miles east of the carrying path, between lakes Erie and Ontario, to the mouth of Tehoseroron, or Buffalo creek, on lake Erie; thence south, to the north boundary of the State of Pennsylvania; thence west, to the end of the said north boundary; thence south, along the west boundary of the said State, to the river Ohio; the said line, from the mouth of the Oyonwayea to the Ohio, shall be the western boundary of the lands of the Six Nations; so that the Six Nations shall and do yield to the United States, all claims to the country west of the said boundary; and then they shall be secured in the peaceful possession of the lands they inhabit, east and north of the same, reserving only six miles square round the fort of Oswego, to the United States, for the support of the same.

ART. 4. The commissioners of the United States, in consideration of the present circumstances of the Six Nations, and in execution of the humane and liberal views of the United States, upon the signing of the above articles, will order goods to be delivered to the said Six Nations, for their use and comfort.

OLIVER WOLCOTT,  
RICHARD BUTLER,  
ARTHUR LEE.

[Signed by the sachems and warriors of the Mohawk, Onondaga, Seneca, Oneida, Cayuga, Tuscarora, and Seneca Abeal tribes of Indians.]

*Articles of a Treaty concluded at fort McIntosh, the twenty-first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, between the commissioners plenipotentiary of the United States of America, of the one part, and the sachems and warriors of the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, and Ottawa nations, of the other.*

The Commissioners plenipotentiary of the United States, in Congress assembled, give peace to the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, and Ottawa nations of Indians, on the following conditions:

ARTICLE 1. Three chiefs, one from among the Wyandot, and two from among the Delaware nations, shall be delivered up to the commissioners of the United States, to be by them retained till all the prisoners, white and black, taken by the said nations, or any of them, shall be restored.

ARR. 2. The said Indian nations do acknowledge themselves and all their tribes to be under the protection of the United States, and of no other sovereign whatsoever.

ARR. 3. The boundary line between the United States and the Wyandot and Delaware nations, shall begin at the mouth of the river Cayahoga, and run thence, up the said river, to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of Muskingum; then down the said branch to the forks at the crossing place above fort Lawrence; then westerly to the portage of the Big Miami, which runs into the Ohio, at the mouth of which branch the fort stood, which was taken by the French in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two; then along the said portage to the Great Miami or Omie river, and down the southeast side of the same to its mouth; thence, along the south shore of lake Erie, to the mouth of Cayahoga, where it began.

ARR. 4. The United States allot all the lands contained within the said lines to the Wyandot and Delaware nations, to live and to hunt on, and to such of the Ottawa nation as now live thereon; saving and reserving for the establishment of trading posts, six miles square at the mouth of Miami or Omie river, and the same at the portage on that branch of the Big Miami which runs into the Ohio, and the same on the lake of Sandusky, where the fort formerly stood, and also two miles square on each side of the lower rapids of Sandusky river, which posts, and the lands annexed to them, shall be to the use and under the government of the United States.

ARR. 5. If any citizen of the United States, or other person, not being an Indian, shall attempt to settle on any of the lands allotted to the Wyandot and Delaware nations in this treaty, except on the lands reserved to the United States in the preceding article, such person shall forfeit the protection of the United States, and the Indians may punish him as they please.

ARR. 6. The Indians who sign this treaty, as well in behalf of all their tribes as of themselves, do acknowledge the lands east, south, and west, of the lines described in the third article, so far as the said Indians formerly claimed the same, to belong to the United States; and none of their tribes shall presume to settle upon the same, or any part of it.

ARR. 7. The post of Detroit, with a district, beginning at the mouth of the river Rosine, on the west end of lake Erie, and running west six miles up the southern bank of the said river, thence northerly and always six miles west of the strait, till it strikes the lake St. Clair, shall be also reserved to the sole use of the United States.

ARR. 8. In the same manner, the post of Michilimackinac, with its dependencies, and twelve miles square about the same, shall be reserved to the use of the United States.

ARR. 9. If any Indian or Indians shall commit a robbery or murder on any citizen of the United States, the tribe to which such offenders may belong, shall be bound to deliver them up at the nearest post, to be punished according to the ordinances of the United States.

ARR. 10. The commissioners of the United States, in pursuance of the humane and liberal views of Congress, upon this treaty's being signed, will direct goods to be distributed among the different tribes for their use and comfort.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

It is agreed that the Delaware chiefs, Kelelamand, or Colonel Henry, Hengue Pushees, or the Big Cat, Wicoalind, or Captain White Eyes, who took up the hatchet for the United States, and their families, shall be received into the Delaware nation, in the same situation and rank as before the war, and enjoy their due portions of the lands given to the Wyandot and Delaware nations in this treaty, as fully as if they had not taken part with America, or as any other person or persons in the said nations.

GEO. CLARK,  
RICHARD BUTLER,  
ARTHUR LEE.

[Signed by the sachems and warriors of the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, and Ottawa nations of Indians.]

*Articles of a Treaty concluded at the mouth of the Great Miami, on the northwestern bank of the Ohio, the thirty-first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, between the commissioners plenipotentiary of the United States of America, of the one part, and the chiefs and warriors of the Shawanee nation, of the other part.*

ARTICLE 1. Three hostages shall be immediately delivered to the commissioners, to remain in the possession of the United States until all the prisoners, white and black, taken in the late war, from among the citizens of the United States, by the Shawanee nation, or by any other Indian or Indians residing in their towns, shall be restored.

ARR. 2. The Shawanee nation do acknowledge the United States to be the sole and absolute sovereigns of all the territory ceded to them, by a treaty of peace, made between them and the King of Great Britain, the fourteenth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.

ARR. 3. If any Indian or Indians of the Shawanee nation, or any other Indian or Indians residing in their towns, shall commit murder or robbery on, or do any injury to, the citizens of the United States, or any of them, that nation shall deliver such offender or offenders to the officer commanding the nearest post of the United States, to be punished according to the ordinances of Congress; and, in like manner, any citizen of the United States, who shall do an injury to any Indian of the Shawanee nation, or to any other Indian or Indians residing in their towns, and under their protection, shall be punished according to the laws of the United States.

ARR. 4. The Shawanee nation, having knowledge of the intention of any nation or body of Indians to make war on the citizens of the United States, or of their counselling together for that purpose, and neglecting to give information thereof to the commanding officer of the nearest post of the United States, shall be considered as parties in such war, and be punished accordingly; and the United States shall, in like manner, inform the Shawanees of any injury designed against them.

ARR. 5. The United States do grant peace to the Shawanee nation, and do receive them into their friendship and protection.

ARR. 6. The United States do allot to the Shawanee nation, lands within their territory, to live and hunt upon, beginning at the south line of the lands allotted to the Wyandots and Delaware nations, at the place where the main branch of the Great Miami, which falls into the Ohio, intersects said line; then, down the river Miami, to the fork of that river, next below the old fort which was taken by the French in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two; thence due west to the river De la Panse; then, down that river, to the river Wabash; beyond which lines none of the citizens of the United States shall settle, nor disturb the Shawanees in their settlement and possessions. And the Shawanees do relinquish to the United States, all title, or pretence of title, they ever had to the lands east, west, and south, of the east, west, and south lines before described.

ART. 7. If any citizen or citizens of the United States shall presume to settle upon the lands allotted to the Shawanees, by this treaty, he or they shall be put out of the protection of the United States.

In testimony whereof, the parties hereunto have affixed their hands and seals, the day and year first above mentioned.

G. CLARK,  
RICHARD BUTLER,  
SAM'L H. PARSONS.

[Signed by the chiefs and warriors of the Shawanee nation.]

1st CONGRESS.]

No. 2.

[1st SESSION.]

WABASH, CREEKS, CHEROKEES, CHICKASAWS, AND CHOCTAWS.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS AUGUST 7, 1789.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

The business which has hitherto been under the consideration of Congress, has been of so much importance, that I was unwilling to draw their attention from it to any other subject. But the disputes which exist between some of the United States, and several powerful tribes of Indians within the limits of the Union; and the hostilities which have, in several instances, been committed on the frontiers, seem to require the immediate interposition of the General Government.

I have, therefore, directed the several statements and papers, which have been submitted to me on this subject by General Knox, to be laid before you for your information.

While the measures of Government ought to be calculated to protect its citizens from all injury and violence, a due regard should be extended to those Indian tribes whose happiness, in the course of events, so materially depends on the national justice and humanity of the United States.

If it should be the judgment of Congress that it would be most expedient to terminate all differences in the Southern district, and to lay the foundation for future confidence, by an amicable treaty with the Indian tribes in that quarter, I think proper to suggest the consideration of the expediency of instituting a temporary commission for that purpose, to consist of three persons, whose authority should expire with the occasion.

How far such a measure, unassisted by posts, would be competent to the establishment and preservation of peace and tranquillity on the frontiers, is, also, a matter which merits your serious consideration.

Along with this object, I am induced to suggest another, with the national importance and necessity of which, I am deeply impressed; I mean, some uniform and effective system for the militia of the United States. It is unnecessary to offer arguments in recommendation of a measure, on which the honor, safety, and well-being of our country so evidently and so essentially depend. But, it may not be amiss to observe, that I am particularly anxious it should receive as early attention as circumstances will admit, because, it is now in our power to avail ourselves of the military knowledge disseminated throughout the several States, by means of the many well instructed officers and soldiers of the late army; a resource which is daily diminishing by deaths, and other causes. To suffer this peculiar advantage to pass away, unimproved, would be, to neglect an opportunity which will never again occur, unless, unfortunately, we should again be involved in a long and arduous war.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

NEW YORK, August 7, 1789.

*Report from Henry Knox, Secretary of War, to the President of the United States, relating to the several Indian tribes.*

WAR OFFICE, June 15, 1789.

SIR:

The time it will require to complete a full statement of the Department of War, induces me to submit to your view, in a series of numbers, such parts thereof as seem to claim an immediate attention.

As most of the nations of Indians within the limits of the United States are, at present, discontented, and some of them turbulent, I have conceived it proper to commence, by a statement of the Indian Department. In the performance of this business, I have not barely confined myself to facts, but I have taken the liberty of suggesting such measures as appear to my mind to be necessary for the happiness and reputation of the public.

By the ordinance of Congress of the 7th August, 1786, for the regulation of Indian affairs, which is herewith submitted, the department is divided into the Northern and Southern districts.

The report on the treaties of fort Harmar, submitted the 23d of May last, will shew the situation of those tribes with whom the United States have formed treaties, since the conclusion of the war with Great Britain.

I have now the honor to transmit a paper, No. 1, relative to the Wabash Indians. Were the subsisting disorders with those Indians quieted, and they attached to the interests of the United States, it is not probable that any further troubles with the more distant Indians would soon arise.

Number 2, which will be submitted shortly, will shew the situation of the Southern Indians, and contain some observations on the difficulties subsisting between them and the frontier people of the States of Georgia and North Carolina.

I have the honor to be, &c.

H. KNOX.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

No. 1.

*Report from H. Knox, Secretary of War, to the President of the United States,*

RELATIVE TO THE NORTHWESTERN INDIANS.

WAR OFFICE, June 15th, 1789.

By information from Brigadier General Harmar, the commanding officer of the troops on the frontiers, it appears that several murders have been lately committed on the inhabitants, by small parties of Indians, probably from the Wabash country.



Some of the said murders having been perpetrated on the South side of the Ohio, the inhabitants on the waters of that river are exceedingly alarmed, for the extent of six or seven hundred miles along the same.

It is to be observed, that the United States have not formed any treaties with the Wabash Indians; on the contrary, since the conclusion of the war with Great Britain, hostilities have almost constantly existed between the people of Kentucky and the said Indians. The injuries and murders have been so reciprocal, that it would be a point of critical investigation to know on which side they have been the greatest.

Some of the inhabitants of Kentucky, during the year past, roused by recent injuries, made an incursion into the Wabash country, and, possessing an equal aversion to all bearing the name of Indians, they destroyed a number of peaceable Piankeshaws, who prided themselves in their attachment to the United States.

Things being thus circumstanced, it is greatly to be apprehended that hostilities may be so far extended as to involve the Indian tribes with whom the United States have recently made treaties. It is well known how strong the passion for war exists in the mind of a young savage, and how easily it may be inflamed, so as to disregard every precept of the older and wiser part of the tribes who may have a more just opinion of the force of a treaty.

Hence it results, that, unless some decisive measures are immediately adopted to terminate those mutual hostilities, they will probably become general among all the Indians northwest of the Ohio.

In examining the question how the disturbances on the frontiers are to be quieted, two modes present themselves, by which the object might perhaps be effected; the first of which is by raising an army, and extirpating the refractory tribes entirely, or 2dly by forming treaties of peace with them, in which their rights and limits should be explicitly defined, and the treaties observed on the part of the United States with the most rigid justice, by punishing the whites, who should violate the same.

In considering the first mode, an inquiry would arise, whether, under the existing circumstances of affairs, the United States have a clear right, consistently with the principles of justice and the laws of nature, to proceed to the destruction or expulsion of the savages, on the Wabash, supposing the force for that object easily attainable.

It is presumable, that a nation solicitous of establishing its character on the broad basis of justice, would not only hesitate at, but reject every proposition to benefit itself, by the injury of any neighboring community, however contemptible and weak it might be, either with respect to its manners or power.

When it shall be considered that the Indians derive their subsistence chiefly by hunting, and that, according to fixed principles, their population is in proportion to the facility with which they procure their food, it would most probably be found that the expulsion or destruction of the Indian tribes have nearly the same effect: for if they are removed from their usual hunting grounds, they must necessarily encroach on the hunting grounds of another tribe, who will not suffer the encroachment with impunity—hence they destroy each other.

The Indians being the prior occupants, possess the right of the soil. It cannot be taken from them unless by their free consent, or by the right of conquest in case of a just war. To dispossess them on any other principle, would be a gross violation of the fundamental laws of nature, and of that distributive justice which is the glory of a nation.

But if it should be decided, on an abstract view of the question, to be just, to remove by force the Wabash Indians from the territory they occupy, the finances of the United States would not at present admit of the operation.

By the best and latest information, it appears that, on the Wabash and its communications, there are from 1500 to 2000 warriors. An expedition against them, with the view of extirpating them, or destroying their towns, could not be undertaken with a probability of success, with less than an army of 2,500 men. The regular troops of the United States on the frontiers, are less than six hundred; of that number, not more than four hundred could be collected from the posts for the purpose of the expedition. To raise, pay, feed, arm, and equip 1900 additional men, with their necessary officers for six months, and to provide every thing in the hospital and quartermaster's line, would require the sum of 200,000 dollars; a sum far exceeding the ability of the United States to advance, consistently with a due regard to other indispensable objects.

Were the representations of the people of the frontiers (who have imbibed the strongest prejudices against the Indians, perhaps in consequence of the murders of their dearest friends and connexions) only to be regarded, the circumstances before stated, would not appear conclusive—an expedition, however inadequate, must be undertaken.

But when the impartial mind of the great public sits in judgment, it is necessary that the cause of the ignorant Indians should be heard as well as those who are more fortunately circumstanced. It well becomes the public to inquire before it punishes; to be influenced by reason, and the nature of things, and not by its resentments.

It would be found, on examination, that both policy and justice unite in dictating the attempt of treating with the Wabash Indians: for it would be unjust, in the present confused state of injuries, to make war on those tribes without having previously invited them to a treaty, in order amicably to adjust all differences. If they should afterwards persist in their depredations, the United States may with propriety inflict such punishment as they shall think proper.

But at present, were the measure just, the Union could not command an army for coercion, but at the expense of some great national object.

In case no treaty should be held, the events which are rising in rapid succession on the frontiers, must be suffered to take their own course. Their progress and issue will deeply injure, if not utterly destroy, the interests and government of the United States in the Western territory.

The estimates of the Governor of the Western territory herewith submitted, will shew, that, in addition to the property already in his possession, a treaty with the Wabash Indians may be effected for the sum of 16,150 dollars. If additional territory should be the object, it would require the further sum of ——— dollars.

It is, however, to be remarked, that it is very possible that this sum may not effect the object intended. It can be considered only as an experiment dictated by a regard to public justice, which ought in all cases to govern the conduct of a nation.

The United States having come into the possession of sovereignty, and an extensive territory, must unavoidably be subject to the expenses of such a condition.

The time has arrived, when it is highly expedient that a liberal system of justice should be adopted for the various Indian tribes within the limits of the United States.

By having recourse to the several Indian treaties, made by the authority of Congress, since the conclusion of the war with Great Britain, excepting those made January 1789, at fort Harmar, it would appear, that Congress were of opinion, that the Treaty of Peace, of 1783, absolutely invested them with the fee of all the Indian lands within the limits of the United States; that they had the right to assign, or retain such portions as they should judge proper.

But it is manifest, from the representations of the confederated Indians at the Huron village, in December, 1786, that they entertained a different opinion, and that they were the only rightful proprietors of the soil; and it appears by the resolve of the 2d of July, 1788, that Congress so far conformed to the idea, as to appropriate a sum of money solely to the purpose of extinguishing the Indian claims to lands they had ceded to the United States, and for obtaining regular conveyances of the same. This object was accordingly accomplished at the treaty of fort Harmar, in January, 1789.

The principle of the Indian right to the lands they possess being thus conceded, the dignity and interest of the nation will be advanced by making it the basis of the future administration of justice towards the Indian tribes.

The whole number of Indian warriors south of the Ohio, and east of the Mississippi, may be estimated at 14,000. Those to the northward of the Ohio, and to the southward of the lakes, at about 5,000. In addition to these, the old men, women, and children, may be estimated at three for one warrior, the whole amounting to 76,000 souls.

It is highly probable, that, by a conciliatory system, the expense of managing the said Indians, and attaching them to the United States for the next ensuing period of fifty years, may, on an average, cost 15,000 dollars annually.

A system of coercion and oppression, pursued from time to time, for the same period, as the convenience of the United States might dictate, would probably amount to a much greater sum of money; but the blood and injustice which would stain the character of the nation, would be beyond all pecuniary calculation.

As the settlements of the whites shall approach near to the Indian boundaries established by treaties, the game will be diminished, and the lands being valuable to the Indians only as hunting grounds, they will be willing to sell



further tracts for small considerations. By the expiration, therefore, of the above period, it is most probable that the Indians will, by the invariable operation of the causes which have hitherto existed in their intercourse with the whites, be reduced to a very small number.

These general reflections have arisen on considering the particular case of the Wabash Indians, respecting whom one observation more may be added.

The United States must soon possess the posts within their limits on the lakes. This circumstance will either awe the Wabash Indians, or, in case of their continuing refractory, enable the Union to operate against them with a much greater prospect of success than at present.

All which is humbly submitted to the President of the United States.

H. KNOX.

BY THE UNITED STATES, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.—August 7, 1786.

*An Ordinance for the regulation of Indian Affairs.*

Whereas the safety and tranquillity of the frontiers of the United States do, in some measure, depend on the maintaining a good correspondence between their citizens and the several nations of Indians in amity with them: And whereas the United States, in Congress assembled, under the ninth of the articles of confederation and perpetual union, have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the trade, and managing all affairs with the Indians not members of any of the States; provided that the legislative right of any State within its own limits be not infringed or violated:

*Be it ordained by the United States, in Congress assembled,* That, from and after the passing of this ordinance, the Indian department be divided into two districts, viz. The *southern*, which shall comprehend within its limits all the nations in the territory of the United States who reside southward of the river Ohio; and the *northern*, which shall comprehend all the other Indian nations within the said territory, and westward of Hudson river: *Provided,* That all councils, treaties, communications, and official transactions, between the superintendent hereafter mentioned for the northern district and the Indian nations, be held, transacted, and done, at the outpost occupied by the troops of the United States in the said district. That a superintendent be appointed for each of the said districts, who shall continue in office for two years, unless sooner removed by Congress, and shall reside within, or as near the district for which he shall be so appointed, as may be convenient for the management of its concerns. The said superintendents shall attend to the execution of such regulations as Congress shall from time to time establish, respecting Indian affairs. The superintendent for the northern district shall have authority to appoint two deputies, to reside in such places as shall best facilitate the regulations of the Indian trade, and to remove them for misbehavior. There shall be a communication of all matters relative to the business of the Indian department, kept up between the said superintendents, who shall regularly correspond with the Secretary of War, through whom all communications, respecting the Indian department, shall be made to Congress; and the superintendents are hereby directed to obey all instructions which they shall from time to time receive from the said Secretary of War. And whenever they shall have reason to suspect any tribe or tribes of Indians of hostile intentions, they shall communicate the same to the Executive of the State or States whose territories are subject to the effect of such hostilities. All stores, provisions, or other property, which Congress may think necessary for presents to the Indians, shall be in the custody and under the care of the said superintendents, who shall render an annual account of the expenditures of the same to the board of treasury.

*And be it further ordained,* That none but citizens of the United States shall be suffered to reside among the Indian nations, or be allowed to trade with any nation of Indians within the territory of the United States. That no person, citizen or other, under the penalty of five hundred dollars, shall reside among, or trade with any Indian, or Indian nation, within the territory of the United States, without a licence for that purpose first obtained from the superintendent of the district, or one of the deputies, who are hereby directed to give such licence to every person who shall produce from the supreme Executive of any State, a certificate, under the seal of the State, that he is of good character, and suitably qualified and provided for that employment, for which licence he shall pay the sum of fifty dollars to the said superintendent, for the use of the United States. That no licence to trade with the Indians shall be in force for a longer term than one year; nor shall permits or passports be granted to any other persons than citizens of the United States, to travel through the Indian nations, without their having previously made their business known to the superintendent of the district, and received his special approbation. That, previous to any person or persons obtaining a licence to trade as aforesaid, he, or they, shall give bond in three thousand dollars to the superintendent of the district, for the use of the United States, for his or their strict adherence to, and observance of, such rules and regulations as Congress may from time to time establish for the government of the Indian trade. All sums to be received by the said superintendents, either for licences or fines, shall be annually accounted for by them with the board of treasury.

*And be it further ordained,* That the said superintendents, and the deputies, shall not be engaged, either directly or indirectly, in trade with the Indians, on pain of forfeiting their offices; and each of the superintendents shall take the following oath, previous to his entering on the duties of his appointment: "I, A. B., do swear, that I will well and faithfully serve the United States in the office of superintendent of Indian affairs, for the ——— district; that I will carefully attend to all such orders and instructions as I shall from time to time receive from the United States, in Congress assembled, or the Secretary of War; that I will not be concerned, either directly or indirectly, in trade with the Indians; and that, in all things belonging to my said office, during my continuance therein, I will faithfully, justly, and truly, according to the best of my skill and judgment, do equal and impartial justice, without fraud, favor, or affection." And the superintendent for the northern district shall administer to his deputies, the following oath, before they proceed on the duties of their office: "I, A. B., do swear, that I will well and faithfully serve the United States, in the office of deputy superintendent of Indian affairs, in the northern district; that I will carefully attend to all such orders and instructions as I shall from time to time receive from the United States, in Congress assembled, the Secretary of War, or the superintendent of the district aforesaid; and that in all things belonging to my said office, during my continuance therein, I will faithfully, justly, and truly, according to the best of my skill and judgment, do equal and impartial justice, without fraud, favor, or affection." And the said superintendents, and deputy superintendents, shall, each of them, give bond, with surety, to the board of treasury, in trust for the United States; the superintendents, each, in the sum of six thousand dollars, and the deputy superintendents, each, in the sum of three thousand dollars, for the faithful discharge of the duties of their office.

*And it is further ordained,* That all fines and forfeitures, which may be incurred by contravening this ordinance, shall be sued for, and recovered before any court of record within the United States, the one moiety thereof to the use of him or them, who may prosecute therefor, and the other moiety to the use of the United States. And the said superintendents shall have power, and hereby are authorized, by force, to restrain therefrom, all persons who shall attempt an intercourse with the said Indians, without a licence therefor, obtained as aforesaid.

*And be it further ordained,* That in all cases where transactions with any nation or tribe of Indians shall become necessary to the purposes of this ordinance, which cannot be done without interfering with the legislative rights of a State, the superintendent in whose district the same shall happen, shall act in conjunction with the authority of such State.

Done, &c.

CHAS. THOMSON, *Secretary.*

NEW YORK, June 14, 1789.

SIR:

I have been honored with your letter of the 12th, and, in reply, have to observe, that, by the resolution of Congress, of the 29th of August, 1788, I was directed to repair to the Mississippi, in order to hold a treaty with the Indians, who inhabit the country upon that river, for the extinguishing their claims to lands, within certain limits, if any such claims existed, and to lay out certain donations of land to the ancient inhabitants. From thence, I was to proceed to Post St. Vincennes, upon the Wabash, and lay out like donations for the inhabitants there; but the instructions contained no directions to make any purchase about the post, from a presumption, I suppose, that a cession had been made there to the crown of France. With the remainder of the goods from former treaties, and the warrants I have received from the board of treasury, there is sufficient, I suppose, in my hands, to defray the expense of the treaty with the Mississippi Indians, exclusive of the provisions. What they may amount to, I cannot ascertain, as I am ignorant of the Indian numbers. They are inconsiderable; but an immediate provision for the payment of the provisions, either for that, or any other treaty, is not necessary, the contractors being obliged to furnish all rations that may be required by the United States.

Should it be thought proper to treat with the Indians of the Wabash and Miami, a further sum will be necessary, and I have enclosed an estimate of what the expense would probably amount to. It appears, indeed, of absolute necessity, that the savages should be brought to peace, either by treaty, or by force.

It is impossible for me to judge what sum would induce them to extend the northern boundary of the last cession to the Mississippi, neither is it very well known, what nations are the proprietors of the country that would be obtained by that extension. Perhaps a provisional power to make such agreements, and limiting the sum, might not be improper, as the expense of another meeting for that purpose might be avoided, if the proprietors attended at the treaty in contemplation. The stipulations could be made then, and the payment at an after period.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

Major General Knox.

AR. ST. CLAIR.

## No. 2.

*Report from H. Knox, Secretary of War, to the President of the United States, dated War Office, July 6th, 1789,*

## RELATING TO THE SOUTHERN INDIANS.

**THE CREEKS.**—This nation of Indians is divided into two districts, the Upper and the Lower Creeks.

The former reside chiefly on the waters of the Alabama river, in about sixty towns or villages. The latter on the waters of the Apalachicola river, in about forty towns. The Creeks are principally within the limits of the United States, but some of the most southern towns of the Lower Creeks, or Seminoles, are within the territory of Spain, stretching towards the point of Florida. The gun-men, or warriors of the whole nation, are estimated at six thousand.

Besides the chiefs of the respective towns, the Creeks appear, at present, to be much under the influence and direction of Alexander McGillivray.

The father of this person was an inhabitant of Georgia, and adhering to Great Britain in the late war, his property was confiscated by that State. His mother was a principal woman of the Upper Creeks.

He had an English education; his abilities and ambition appear to be great; his resentments are probably unbounded against the State of Georgia, for confiscating his father's estate, and the estates of his other friends, refugees from Georgia, several of whom reside with him among the Creeks. He is said to be a partner of a trading house which has the monopoly of the trade of the Creeks. The communications to the Indian country are through the Floridas, under the protection of the Spanish colonies. The profits of this commerce centre in Great Britain, and one of the Bahama islands is the intermediate place of deposit.

The State of Georgia is engaged in a serious war with the Creeks; and as the same may be so extended and combined, as to require the interference of the United States, it will be highly proper that the causes thereof should be stated and examined.

The first treaty between the State of Georgia and the Creeks, after the conclusion of the war with Great Britain, was held at Augusta, in November, 1783. At this treaty, certain lands on the Oconee were ceded by the Creeks to the State of Georgia. A copy of this treaty is not among the papers of Congress; but the purport, as it respects the boundaries then established, is recited by the Legislature of the State of Georgia, in their report on Indian affairs, hereunto annexed.

The second treaty was held at Galphinton, on the 12th of November, 1785; by which the boundary lines defined by the treaty of Augusta, in November, 1783, were confirmed, and a new boundary line obtained, to extend from the forks of the Oconee and Oakmulgee, to the source of the St. Mary's. A copy of this treaty is hereunto annexed, in the papers marked A.; also, a letter from the commissioners of the United States, and a report of a committee accepted by the Legislature of Georgia, on the 11th of February, 1786.

A third treaty was held by the commissioners of Georgia and the Creeks at Shoulderbone, on the 3d of November, 1786. At this treaty, it would appear that the Creeks acknowledged the violation of the two former treaties recognised, and ratified the former boundaries, and gave six hostages for the faithful execution of the conditions.

On the one side, the Creeks object entirely to the validity of the said treaties, stating that the cessions to the State of Georgia were made by the chiefs of two towns only; whereas, the lands ceded were the property of the whole nation, as will more fully appear by the letters of Alexander McGillivray, marked B, and numbered 1, 2, 3, and 4.

The letter of Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, Joseph Martin, and Lach. McIntosh, Esquires, commissioners of the United States, dated at the Keowee, the 17th of November, 1785, marked A, states, that, as there were only two towns properly represented at Galphinton, instead of about one hundred, the number in the whole nation, they could not treat with them on behalf of the United States. But that, "the day after they left Galphinton, the agents of Georgia held a treaty with the few Indians then present, and obtained a cession of all the lands south of the Altamaha, and eastward of the line to be run southwest, from the junction of the Oakmulgee and Oconee rivers, till it shall strike St. Mary's, with a confirmation of the lands ceded to the State by the same towns north-east of the Oconee river, in 1783."

The letter of James White, Esq. superintendent of the United States for the southern district, and the proceedings held by him with the Lower Creeks at Cussetahs, will further show the sentiments of the said Lower Creeks, of the said treaties, marked C.

On the other side, the Legislature of Georgia, by their committee, 23d October, 1787, marked D, states that the Cherokees, by a treaty made at Augusta, on the 3d of May, 1783, and the Creeks, by the treaty of Augusta, in the succeeding November, both nations made the same relinquishment of the lands on the Oconee, on account of mutual claims which had not before been settled between them.

That it was not until a few months after the treaty of Galphinton, that uneasiness began to be fomented in the nation, and some murders were committed.

That this conduct of the Creeks was considered by the government of Georgia as an infraction of the treaties, and they demanded reparation accordingly. That commissioners were appointed, with full powers to inquire into the causes, and restore peace, but with powers, also, if unavoidable, to take eventual measures of defence.

That this proceeding of Georgia produced the treaty at Shoulderbone, whereby the violence was acknowledged, the boundaries confirmed, and hostages given.

"That the committee cannot forbear to observe, that, during the course of all these transactions, the communications were made in solemn, open, and ancient form, and the articles of the treaties were mutually respected, until the aggression posterior to that of Galphinton.

"And that, whilst it is admitted on the one hand, that there was no principle of representation of the parts of the nations known in civilized governments, it cannot be denied on the other, that it was such as had been common, and the Indians acknowledged without doubt, and regret their forming a part, and being members of the State."

The committee after stating some circumstances relative to the proceedings of James White, Esq. the superintendent, "report it as their opinion, that the ultimate causes of the war, was the too sudden interference with the treaties of the State, by which the minds of the Indians were perplexed; and the impression induced, that, in a war, they should not have the strength of the Union to fear, and that another disposition would be made of the territory, than that which considers it as part of the State. That representations to this effect should be immediately transmitted to Congress, and the support of the Union demanded."

That the papers whereon this statement is founded, and the general subject of the said dispute between the State of Georgia and the Creeks, have several times been discussed and considered in the late Congress.

That the report of the committee of Congress, as stated on the journals of the 3d of August, 1787, will show the perplexities of this case.

That the subject was further debated in Congress on June 27th, and decided on July 15th, 1788, will appear by their journals.

That, in obedience to the order of Congress of the 15th of July 1788, the Secretary of War made the report marked E.

That, in consequence of the resolve of Congress of the 26th of October 1787, commissioners were appointed by the States of South Carolina and Georgia. That the time for which the superintendent was elected, expired on the 29th of November, 1788.

That, the proceedings of the said commissioners and superintendent, as communicated by the latter, are hereunto attached, marked F.

That in addition to the information of the superintendent, it appears from the public newspaper, marked G, that the two commissioners from Georgia and South Carolina have given a further invitation to a treaty, to be held at Oconee during the present month.

But it also appears from the public newspapers, that, instead of the proposed treaty, parties of Indians have been making inroads into Georgia, and that the outrages committed by them have excited an alarm, which has extended itself to Savannah, the capital of the State.

Hence it will appear, from this general statement of facts,

1st. That, hostilities still rage between the State of Georgia, and the Creek Indians.

2d. That the cause of the war is an utter denial, on the part of the Creeks, of the validity of the three treaties, stated to have been made by them with the State of Georgia.

3d. That the United States, in Congress assembled, by their resolve of the 15th of July, 1788, have caused it to be notified to the Creeks, "that, should they persist in refusing to enter into a treaty upon reasonable terms, the arms of the United States shall be called forth for the protection of that frontier."

From this result, the following questions arise:

1st. Whether the circumstance of the commissioners not having received an answer from Alexander McGillivray to their letter of November 28th, 1788, and his letter to Andrew Moor, Esq. of the 4th of January, and to his Excellency the Governor of South Carolina the 26th of February, 1789, (letter B) together with the recent irruption of parties of Creeks into the State of Georgia, amount to a refusal to treat on reasonable terms, and of consequence form that crisis of affairs in which the arms of the Union are to be called forth, agreeably to the resolve of Congress of the 15th of July, 1788?

2d. Whether the final report of the commissioners is necessary to be received before decision can be made on the case? or,

3d. Whether, in the present state of public affairs, any proper expedients could be devised for effectually quieting the existing hostilities between the State of Georgia and the Creek nation, other than by raising an army?

All which is humbly submitted to the President of the United States.

H. KNOX.

A. No. 1.

KEOWEE, the 17th November, 1785.

SIR:

Agreeable to our appointment, we arrived at Galphinton on the 24th and 28th of October, to meet and treat with the Creeks, having previously procured every thing necessary for this purpose. By the 29th, the chiefs of two towns, with sixty men, arrived, and from them, as well as those we sent to invite the Indians to meet and treat with us, we received assurances that the chiefs of all the towns would certainly come; that they were very much pleased with the intention of Congress, and very desirous of establishing with them a permanent peace.

On the 7th of November, we were informed that some false reports had been circulated through the nation, which had created jealousies among them, and discouraged them from coming to meet us; and that we had only to expect the Tallassee king, with twenty young men, in addition to those already arrived. On the next day, we agreed to meet the Indians, and explain to them the object of our commission, at the same time remarking, we could not treat with so few of their nation, there being but two towns properly represented, instead of about one hundred—the number in the whole nation. As those towns had been always friendly to the United States, we gave them some presents and left them.

The commissioners of Georgia visited us, previous to our conference with the Indians, and delivered us the protest marked A, to which we returned the answer marked B. The day after we left Galphinton, the agents of Georgia held a treaty with the few Indians then present, and obtained a cession of all the lands south of the Altamaha and eastward of a line to be run southwest from the junction of the Ocmulgee and Oconee rivers, till it shall strike St. Mary's, with a confirmation of the lands ceded to the State by the same towns, northeast of the Oconee river, in 1783.

By various informations we have had from the Creek nation, the accounts Colonel Martin brought us from the Cherokees, and a letter wrote by McGillivray, a half breed, to General Pickens, marked C, (which we enclose to shew Congress the ability of this man, who has great influence among his countrymen,) it appears that he is forming a dangerous confederacy between the several Indian nations, the Spaniards, and British agents, with whom he is connected. His resentment is chiefly against the citizens of Georgia, who banished his father, and confiscated a capital property which he had in that State.

There is a capital British company of merchants, engaged, by licence from the court of Spain, to supply all the Indian nations to the southward, with goods, through East Florida, in which company, it is said, McGillivray is a partner, and they have their agents in all the towns from Tennessee, southwardly.

We are, with due respect, sir, your most obedient and humble servants.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS,  
ANDREW PICKENS,  
JOS. MARTIN,  
LACH. M'INTOSH.

The Honorable CHARLES THOMSON, Esquire,  
Secretary to the United States, in Congress assembled.

[NOTE.—The protest, marked A, and the answer marked B, have been taken off the files of Congress by some committee, and never returned.]

## A. No. 2.

*Articles of a treaty concluded at Galphinton, on the 12th day of November, 1785, between the underwritten commissioners, in behalf of the State of Georgia, of the one part, and the kings' headmen and warriors in behalf of themselves and all the Indians in the Creek nation, of the other, on the following conditions:*

ARTICLE 1. The said Indians, for themselves and all the tribes or towns within their respective nations, within the limits of the State of Georgia, have been, and now are, members of the same, (since the day and date of the constitution of the State of Georgia.)

ART. 2. If any citizen of this State, or other person or persons, shall attempt to settle any of the lands reserved to the Indians for their hunting grounds, such person or persons may be detained until the Governor shall demand him or them; and then it shall be lawful for any of the tribes near such offenders, to come and see the punishment according to such laws as now are, or hereafter shall be, enacted by the said State for trying such offenders.

ART. 3. It shall in no case be understood that the punishment of the innocent, under the idea of retaliation, shall be practised on either side.

ART. 4. If any citizen of this State, or other white person or persons, shall commit a robbery, or murder, or other capital crime, on any Indian, such offenders shall be delivered up to justice, and shall be tried according to the laws of the State, and due notice of such intended punishment shall be sent to some one of the tribes.

ART. 5. If any Indian shall commit a robbery, or murder, or other capital crime, on any white person, such offenders shall receive punishment adequate to such offence; and due notice of such intended punishment shall be given to his honor the Governor.

ART. 6. In case of any design being formed in any neighboring tribe against the peace or safety of the State, which they shall know or suspect, they shall make known the same to his honor the Governor.

ART. 7. All white person or persons shall be at liberty, and conducted in safety into the settled parts of the State, when they shall require it, except such persons as shall come under the restrictions pointed out in the second article.

ART. 8. The Indians shall restore all the negroes, horses, and other property, that are or may be among them, belonging to any citizen of this State, or any other person or persons whatsoever, to such person as the Governor shall direct.

ART. 9. That the trade with the said Indians shall be carried on as heretofore.

ART. 10. All horses belonging to any Indian, that shall be found in the said State, such horses shall be restored to such person, as the head of the tribe, where such Indian may reside, shall direct.

ART. 11. The present temporary line, reserved to the Indians for their hunting grounds, shall be agreeable to a treaty held at Augusta, in the year 1783; and that a new temporary line shall begin at the forks of the Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers; thence, in a southwest direction, until it shall intersect the most southern part of the stream called St. Mary's river, including all the islands and waters of the said stream; thence, down the said stream, to the old line; and all the ground without the said new temporary line, when run and completed, shall be reserved to the said Indians for their hunting grounds as aforesaid.

In witness whereof, the parties have hereunto affixed their hands and seals, the day and year before written.

While the commissioners of the United States were at Galphinton, the commissioners of Georgia copied their draught of the articles intended to be proposed to the Creeks, and which were afterwards the basis of the treaty with the Cherokees.

B. H.

## A. No. 3.

GEORGIA:

*In General Assembly, Saturday, February 11, 1786.*

The committee to whom was referred the proceedings of the State commissioners, appointed to attend the continental commissioners to a meeting with the Cherokees and other Indians to the southward, report:

That it appears to your committee, certain commissioners of the United States, in Congress assembled, at Galphinton, did attempt a treaty with the Creek Indians, and did also, at Hopewell, in the State of South Carolina, enter into a pretended treaty with some of the Cherokees, and some parts of other tribes therein named, which said pretended treaty, and all other proceedings that have yet transpired, are a manifest and direct attempt to violate the retained sovereignty and legislative right of this State, and repugnant to the principles and harmony of the Federal Union; inasmuch as the aforesaid commissioners did attempt to exercise powers that are not delegated by the respective States to the United States, in Congress assembled: Wherefore your committee recommend the following resolutions:

1st. That the delegates of this State be directed to make a representation of the conduct of the said commissioners to the United States, in Congress assembled, and to move and contend for an immediate abolition of their powers, as the continuation of such appointment would tend to weaken and destroy that entire confidence in the wisdom and justice of Congress, which this State wishes ever to preserve.

2d. That the delegates be requested to apply for, and immediately send to the Governor, authenticated copies of the commissioners' instructions, and all proceedings thereon of the said commissioners, in order that such measures may be taken as will most effectually preserve the sovereign, territorial, and legislative rights of this State, as well as the rights and privileges to which each citizen is entitled, by the confederation and by the laws of the land.

3d. That all and every act and thing done, or intended to be done, within the limits and jurisdiction of this State, by the said commissioners, inconsistent of the beforementioned rights and privileges, shall be, and the same are hereby declared to be, null and void.

4th. That the thanks of this House be given to the Hon. Edward Telfair, and to John King, and Thomas Glasscock, Esqrs. commissioners on the part of this State, for their patriotism and vigilance in discharging the duties required of them at the aforesaid meetings; that each of them be allowed three dollars per day, during their actual attendance on the said business; and that the Governor and Council take order accordingly.

Which was agreed to.

Extract from the minutes.

JAS. M. SIMMONS, *Clk. G. A.*

## B. No. 1.

*LITTLE TALLASSIE, September 5, 1785.*

SIR:

I am favored with your letter by Brandon, who, after detaining it near a month, sent it by an Indian a few days ago. He perhaps has some reasons for keeping himself at a distance from this. He caused old Mr. McQueen to take charge of this letter in answer to yours, he being shortly to set out for Augusta.

The notification you have sent us is agreeable to our wishes, especially as the meeting is intended for the desirable purpose of adjusting and settling matters on an equitable footing between the United States and the Indian nations. At the same time, I cannot avoid expressing my surprise that a measure of this nature should have been so long delayed on your parts. When we found that the American independency was confirmed by the peace, we expected that the new Government would soon have taken some steps to make up the differences that subsisted between them and the Indians during the war, and to have taken them into protection, and confirm to them their hunting grounds. Such a conduct would have reconciled the minds of the Indians, and secured to the States their attachment and friendship, and considered them as their natural guardians and allies. Georgia, whose particular interest it was to have endeavored to conciliate the friendship of this nation, but, instead of which, I am sorry to observe that violence and

prejudice had taken place of good policy and reason in all their proceedings with us. They attempted to avail themselves of our supposed distressed situation. Their talks to us breathed nothing but vengeance; and, being entirely possessed with the idea that we were wholly at their mercy, they never once reflected that the colonies of a powerful monarch were nearly surrounding us, and to whom, in any extremity, we might apply for succor and protection; and who, to answer some end of their policy, might grant it to us. However, we yet deferred any such proceeding, still expecting we could bring them to a sense of their true interest; but, still finding no alteration in their conduct towards us, we sought the protection of Spain, and treaties of friendship and alliance were mutually entered into: they to guaranty our hunting grounds and territory, and to grant us a free trade in the ports of the Floridas.

How the boundary or limits between the Spaniards and the States will be determined, a little time will show, as I believe that matter is now on foot. However, we know our own limits, and the extent of our hunting grounds; and, as a free nation, we have applied, as we have a right, and have obtained protection for, so that we shall pay no regard to any limits that may prejudice our claims, that were drawn by an American, and confirmed by a British, negotiator. Yet, notwithstanding we have been obliged to adopt these measures for our preservation, and from real necessity, we sincerely wish to have it in our power to be on the same footing with the States as before the late unhappy war; to effect which is entirely in your power. We want nothing from you but justice. We want our hunting grounds preserved from encroachments. They have been ours from the beginning of time, and I trust that, with the assistance of our friends, we shall be able to maintain them against every attempt that may be made to take them from us.

Finding our representations to the State of Georgia of no effect, in restraining their encroachments, we thought it proper to call a meeting of the nation on the matter; we then came to a resolution, to send out parties to remove the people and effects from off the lands in question, in the most peaceable manner possible.

Agreeable to your requisition, and to convince you of my sincere desire to restore a good understanding between us, I have taken the necessary steps to prevent any future predatory excursions of my people, against any of your settlements. I could wish that the people of Cumberland shewed an equal good disposition to do what is right. They were certainly the first aggressors since the peace, and acknowledged it in a written certificate, left at the Indian camp they had plundered.

I have only to add that we shall prepare ourselves to meet the commissioners of Congress, whenever we shall receive notice, in expectation that every matter of difference will be made up and settled, with that liberality and justice, worthy the men who have so gloriously asserted the cause of liberty and independency, and that we shall in future consider them as brethren and defenders of the land.

I am, with much respect, sir, your most obedient servant,

HON. ANDREW PICKENS, Esq.

ALEX. MCGILLIVRAY.

I should be sorry that your interest should suffer in the hands of Brandon, but he has committed so many thefts in horses, and to satisfy the people we have given him up to be made an example of, and I imagine his goods are gone for satisfaction. He is a very unfit person for a trader; as I have pretty well cleared the nation of such kind of people, he must not look for indulgence in these parts.

A. McG.

B. No. 2.

LITTLE TALLASSIE, 8th April, 1787.

SIR:

I had the pleasure to receive the letter that you favored me with by Mr. Miller, on your arrival at the Cussetahs.

It is with real satisfaction that I learn of your being appointed by Congress, for the laudable purpose of inquiring into, and settling the differences that at present subsist between our nation and the Georgians. It may be necessary for you to know the cause of those differences, and of our discontents, which, perhaps, have never come to the knowledge of the honorable body that has sent you to our country.

There are chiefs of two towns in this nation, who, during the late war, were friendly to the State of Georgia, and had gone at different times to that State, and, once, after the general peace, when the people of Augusta demanded a cession or grant of lands belonging to, and enjoyed as hunting ground by the Indians of this nation, in common, on the East of the Oconee river, which demand was rejected by those chiefs, on the plea that those grounds were hunting lands of the nation, and could not be granted by two individuals; but, after a few days, a promise was extorted from them, that, on their return to their own country, they would use their influence to get a grant confirmed. Upon these men reporting this affair, on coming home, a general convention was held at the Teickibatiks town, when those two chiefs were severally censured for their conduct, and the chiefs of ninety-eight towns agreed upon a talk to be sent to Savannah, disapproving, in the strongest manner, of the demand made upon their nation, and denied the right of any two of their country, to making any cession of land, which could only be valid by the unanimous voice of the whole, as joint proprietors, in common. Yet, these two, regardless of the voice of the nation, continued to go to Augusta, and other places within that State, continuing to make such promises, to obtain presents, our customs not permitting us to punish them for the crime; we warned the Georgians of the dangerous consequences that would certainly attend the settling of the lands in question. Our just remonstrances were treated with contempt, and those lands were soon filled with settlers. The nation, justly alarmed at the encroachments, resolved to use force to maintain their rights; yet, being averse to shedding the blood of a people whom we would rather consider as friends, we made another effort to awaken in them a sense of justice and equity; but, we found from experience, that entreaty could not prevail, and parties of warriors were sent out to drive off all intruders, but to shed no blood, only where self preservation made it necessary.

This was in May, 1786. In October following, we were invited, by commissioners of the State of Georgia, to meet them, in conference, at the Oconee, professing a sincere desire for an amicable adjustment of our disputes, and pledging their sacred honors for the safety and good treatment of all those that should attend and meet them. It not being convenient for many of us to go to the proposed conference, a few towns, say their chiefs, attended, most of whom, merely from motives of curiosity, and were surprised to find an armed body of men, prepared for, and professing hostile intentions, than peaceable commissioners. Apprehensions for personal safety, induced those chiefs to subscribe to every demand that was asked by the army and its commissioners; lands were again demanded, and the lives of some of our chiefs were required, as well as some innocent traders, as a sacrifice to appease their anger. Assassins have been employed to effect some part of their atrocious purposes. If I fall by the hand of such, I shall fall a victim in the noblest of causes—that of falling in maintaining the just rights of my country. I aspire to the honest ambition of meriting the appellation of the preserver of my country, equally with those chiefs among you, whom, from acting on such principles, you have exalted to the highest pitch of glory; and, if, after every peaceable mode of obtaining a redress of grievances having proved fruitless, the having recourse to arms to obtain it, be marks of the savage, and not of the soldier, what savages must the Americans be, and how much undeserved applause have your Cincinnatus, your Fabius, obtained. If war names had been necessary to distinguish those chiefs in such a case, the man-killer, the great destroyer, &c. would have been the proper appellations.

I had appointed the Cussetahs, for all the chiefs of the lower Creeks, to meet in convention. I shall be down in a few days, when, from your timely arrival, you will meet the chiefs, and will learn their sentiments, and I sincerely hope that the propositions that you shall offer us will be of such a nature that we can safe accede to. The talks of the former commissioners of Congress, at Galphinton, were much approved of, and your coming from the white town (seat of Congress) has raised great expectations that you will remove the principal, and almost only

cause of our disputes, that is, securing to us all our possessions and hunting grounds entire, and clear them of encroachments. When we meet, we shall talk these matters over. Meantime,

I have the honor to be, with regard, sir, your most obedient servant,

ALEX. MCGILLIVRAY.

The Indians that were detained as hostages in Augusta, must speedily be liberated, or hostilities will soon commence, as their relations are uneasy on their accounts.

HON. JAMES WHITE, Esq.  
*Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the United States.*

B. No. 3.

LITTLE TALLASSIE, UPPER CREEKS, *January 4th, 1789.*

SIR:

I take this opportunity to write to you, in answer to a letter which you did me the favor to write me in September last, from Seneca, in which was enclosed a proclamation issued by Congress, requiring all the whites that are settled on the lands of the Cherokees, to remove from off them immediately. This measure, together with the talk from the Governor of Virginia, appears to have given much satisfaction to the Cherokees. The Little Turkey, or Coweta King, with some warriors, relations to the Dragging Canoe, have been to consult me on these subjects, bringing with them all the talks that they had received for some time past. I gave it as my opinion to them, that the talks in question might be safely relied on; that the talk of Congress was a strong one, to their people, who would obey it, and the Governor being a principal chief and ruler, he would not speak with a forked tongue; and that, in the ensuing spring, there would be a great meeting, for the purpose of concluding a general peace, the terms of which would be very favorable to them; in the meantime, the chiefs should advise all the young warriors to attend closely to hunting during the winter, instead of risking their lives for a scalp, which, when obtained, would not purchase clothing for their families; and that, considering them as an oppressed people, I had agreed to give them assistance, to enable them to obtain a good peace; but they were not to consider me as engaged to support them in an unjust and an unnecessary war.

The people of your State, who complain of our people molesting them, are not rightly informed: for, besides that I always have endeavored to confine the excursions of our warriors to the people with whom we have ground of quarrel, the State of Virginia and its dependencies are very far distant, and I never knew that a Creek had ever been near Kentucky, at least from the nation; there are several who have wives and families among the Cherokees, and constantly reside there; those I cannot answer for, being to be reckoned as Cherokees. It is the custom of a Creek to disregard all connexions and country, and cleave to his wife; those that have wives abroad, never return to their native land.

The gentlemen, my friends, do me justice when they inform you that I am desirous of peace. I have been now five years in laboring to bring about one with the State of Georgia, but in vain; more than a twelvemonth after the general peace was spent by us in representing to them, in friendly terms, the cruelty and injustice of their proceedings, of wresting forcibly from us a large portion of our hunting lands, and which were in a great measure necessary for our support; that we were not situated as several other Indian nations were, with immense wildernesses behind us. On the contrary, we were surrounded from west to north, by the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cumberland, and Cherokees, and on every other side by the whites, so that our hunting grounds were already very insufficient for our purposes; to all which we were always answered in haughty and contemptuous language, with threats to drive us over the Mississippi; so that, having nothing to hope from their justice or humanity, it was resolved to raise up the red hatchet for self preservation. As our cause was just, so fortune has favored our exertions in driving them from the contested ground. Though the war has reduced them to an extremity of distress, yet their stubbornness of pride is such, they take no measures to retract the conduct which has brought them to it; they have spurned every attempt that Congress has offered at, to accommodate, by its interference, the disputes between us. The new Congress will equally find them obstinate and intractable; the only method they can adopt, will be to leave the Georgians to their fate; and in another season 'tis probable that they will be brought to reason.

I shall be glad to be favored with an account, when convenient, soon after the meeting of the new Congress, and in what manner the new constitution is finally settled. Any thing that I can serve you in, pray freely command.

I remain with regard, your most obedient servant,

ALEX. MCGILLIVRAY.

HON. ANDREW MOOR, Esquire,

*Commissioner for treating with the Cherokees for State of Virginia.*

B. No. 4.

*Little Tallassie, Upper Creek Nation, 26th February, 1789.*

SIR:

Your Excellency's letter of 6th November, is just come to hand, enclosed in one from the superintendent and commissioners, by which I find that the respectable State of South Carolina, viewing with concern the continuance of the destructive contest carrying on between our nation, the Creeks, and their sister State of Georgia, have been induced, from their good intentions to both, to offer their interference to bring about an amicable adjustment of the disputes subsisting between us, which offer we can have no good reason for objecting to; and as your Excellency, as chief of the State, has stepped forward as the mediator, it is very necessary that you, in that capacity, should be informed of the real grounds of such dispute, and from the account which I shall give you of it, you will readily admit, that we had the best reasons for opposition. Directly after the conclusion of a general peace was announced to us all, the Georgians sent up an invitation to our chiefs to meet them in treaty at Augusta, professing it was with an intention of burying the hatchet, and with it the remembrance of every injury which they had sustained from us in the war of Britain. The call being at an inconvenient season, the proper chiefs not being in the way, a few people who, during the war, pretended to neutrality, attended the call at Augusta, and on conferences then held, the leading people of the upper parts of that State made a demand of a large cession of lands, comprehending our best hunting grounds, as a compensation for the injuries sustained by them in the war, and which was enforced by bands of armed men, who at the same time surrounded them, threatening them with instant death if it was refused. The two chiefs then present being of the second rank, truly told them that the demand was unexpected, and were unprepared to answer it, and being only two men, could not promise that any grant that they should be forced to consent to make, would be confirmed by the chiefs of the nation, as it was not unknown to the white people that it was necessary that the joint voice of the whole nation should make and confirm such grants. This reply not satisfying the Georgians, they persisted and renewed their threats; then these men, to escape the threatened danger, consented as far as what concerned them, but could not engage to bind the whole to their act. When these men arrived in the nation, a general convention was immediately called to deliberate on this affair; the chiefs of more than forty towns assembled, when they reprobated the transactions of the two inferior chiefs in strong terms, and refused to consent to any such cession, and desired me to inform the Georgians of the same, and to warn them that, if the threatened encroachments were made, a war would immediately ensue, which I did in a letter to Mr. Houston, the Governor.



This is a true account of the transactions of the first of three pretended treaties which the commissioners mention in their letter to me; the second invitation which we received to treat, was made by Colonel Hawkins and General Pickens, under the appointment of Congress, as they informed me, and mentioned that they had not, at that time, fixed upon any place to meet us; but, when that point was settled, they would give a second notification, and which I never received. Soon after I learned that the Georgians took up the matter, and smuggled a treaty at Galphinton, on Ogeechee, to which place they secretly invited a few of our people, whom they had bribed and secured to their interests, and who they were sure would agree to any thing that was asked of them, and there of course a cession was again asked of them, with a large addition. Sometime after, I received a letter from Col. Hawkins, desiring to know my reasons for not meeting at Ogeechee, at the same time remarking, that he did not consider the few that attended, a proper representation of the Creek nation; he said nothing to them; the authority of the commissioner of Congress, I expect, will be sufficient evidence to overturn any claim that is founded on a grant of this treaty.

Another convention protested, through me, in warm terms, to the Georgians, respecting their conduct in offering to make pretensions to cessions of land obtained from a few beggars, who only want to obtain presents. The third invitation which was sent to us to treat, was from the Georgians only, through their commissioners, at the head of whom was Mr. M. Habersham, President of the Executive Council, and he proposes the Oconee river for the place of meeting. In the letter, they "pledged their sacred honor" for the safety and welfare of every one that would attend their conferences; but I being so often threatened, and having the worst opinion of the back people, as they are called, did not go, but sent a few Coweta warriors, to report to me on their return. During the conferences of Oconee, an additional cession was demanded, which was strongly opposed by the Cowetas, and others, for which they were violently insulted by a Colonel Clark, in the presence of the commissioners, who could not prevent it; and, though their sacred honors were pledged for maintaining good order, yet several warriors, of different towns, were forcibly seized upon by armed men, and conveyed to Augusta, more as prisoners than hostages, to be kept as a pledge that my life and six more of leading men, should be taken. Such a conduct convinced the whole nation that it was full time to adopt measures for the general safety. A general convention was appointed, to be held in May for that purpose, and a few days before it was opened, a Doctor White arrived in the nation, with an appointment of Superintendent of Indian Affairs, from Congress; the chiefs assembled, shewed him every attention, and, on account of his arrival, the two men who had given the grants, as before related, were called upon to attend, (for they had not mingled themselves with the others for shame) that Doctor White should know the truth. He very minutely interrogated those men concerning the foregoing matters, and they gave him the same account of the first treaty, as it is called, and of the rest, as I have done. The Doctor used his best ability to get the chiefs in convention to consent to the disputed cession, but in vain; on the contrary, the chiefs, by their speaker, the king of the Cowetas, told Doctor White, that, before they would give more lands, they would rather risk an attempt to resume what the nation had formerly been deprived of. The Doctor, on his going away, required of me a written representation of the causes of our discontents, to be shewn to Congress, which I gave him, and am certain that it is in the possession of that honorable body; the subject of which made part of the deliberations of a committee ordered to sit upon Indian affairs, and to report the same. A printed report of that committee I have now in the house, and, from sentiments contained in it, I had great hopes that it would form the basis for accommodating matters between us and the Georgians, and which would be very satisfactory to us. I beg leave next to remark to you, that, if the Georgians, after the peace, had conducted themselves to us with moderation and humanity, we should not have fallen out with them for trifles; and they have brought the war on themselves, by manifesting, at the outset, an unaccommodating and persecuting spirit towards us. Our situation does by no means admit of our giving away our lands; we are already closely surrounded, and our hunting grounds much circumscribed. There is the State of Georgia on the east, southeast and southwest by the Spanish Floridas, west by the nations of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, on the north by the Cherokees and Cumberland. We are not situated as the western and northern nations, with immense deserts at our back; all this tells us that we must struggle hard to preserve our hunting grounds, and perish to a man in its defence: for where can we go to possess ourselves of new ones? Such forcible considerations with us, may weigh nothing in the minds of those who think that Indians are only animals fit to be exterminated; and this is a language which I know is held in many places in your country; but let us be what we may, let it be attempted when it will, it will be found no very easy enterprise. I have given your Excellency a very circumstantial account of the origin of the contest between us and the Georgians, from which you will find, that the Georgians have no well founded cause of quarrel with us, and that they can have no just claim to your assistance; for, to support them in this contest, is to side with injustice and oppression; a reproach which I firmly believe that the respectable State over which you preside will not subject its magnanimity and honor to. "Very far am I, sir, from spurning at your offered mediation; but the letter of the commissioners puts it out of my power, or rather makes it of no effect, as they declare that it is impossible for them to comply with our requisition, to restore to us the territory usurped from us by the Georgians," wishing us to "reconsider the matter, as the Georgians' claims are founded on three treaties signed by our headmen and warriors."

The treaties alluded to have been faithfully reported to you. One of the new commissioners, General Pickens, formerly by letter acknowledged to me, that he was in Augusta at the time the first treaty, as it is called, was held, and the manner in which a consent to a cession was extorted was very unfair. The General, as a gentleman, will not deny his assertion. I cannot take upon myself to engage to meet the commissioners to enter into an investigation of this subject; it will be attended with no good effect; the claims will be endeavored to be maintained, and we shall be as firm in attempting to overthrow it, and disagreeable, if not bloody consequences would be the result of such conferences. I understand your Excellency very well when you say, that you are not unprepared for a change of circumstances; that is, we shall, or must, purchase peace of the Georgians, at the expense of sacrificing our rights, properties, and life itself, or you are resolved to join that State in hostility against us. The commissioners also say that Congress is resolved to do justice to Georgia. All this has the most formidable appearance. I by no means make light of the great power which thus menaces: if 'tis determined, as I suspect it is the case, to attempt a conquest of our country, we will be found as determined to oppose it. Spain is bound by treaty to protect and support us in our claims and properties; we shan't want for means of defence, but still I hope, for I earnestly desire, that your influence and power will be used to set every matter to rights in a peaceable manner, rather than to exercise the calamities of war.

I am returned, a month or two since, from a four through the principal of the Lower towns and Seminoles, which I made for the purpose of urging them to a strict observance of the truce; and I believe I can venture to assure your Excellency, that no complaints will be made for any breaches of it throughout the winter.

I have the honor to be, with most respectful consideration,  
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

ALEX. MCGILLIVRAY.

His Excellency THOMAS PICKENS, Esq.  
Governor of the State of South Carolina.

C. No. 1.

FAYETTEVILLE, May 24th, 1787.

SIR:

Being lately returned from the Creek nation, which occasioned the alarm in Georgia last summer, I do myself the honor of sending you an account of the state of those Indians.

The invasion which threatened that State had subsided ere my arrival; and first appearances seemed to promise tranquillity; for hostages had been given by some of the Indians to give satisfaction, and enlarge the boundary of the State. I soon discovered these hostages were but of imaginary consequence; they were taken from the Cusitash, a town not only without imputation of offence on this occasion, but at all times attached to the white people in a sin-



gular manner. My tour to the nation convinced me, that these men answered no other purpose by their detention, than to alienate the minds of such of the Indians as might be favorably disposed; they have since been dismissed, all but a youth, who, in his impatience of confinement, put himself to death. The further Creeks who had insulted the State, continue in the same disposition; and if their hatchet has been hitherto restrained it has been through their respect to the United States. Their dispositions had been favorably inclined by the liberal sentiments of the former commissioners from Congress, and they had got information that there was an agent now coming to them from that honorable body. This withheld their resentment to the State of Georgia. They have all along been avowedly opposed to the new settlements of the white people. The sentiments of the *Lower towns* seemed not so well known till I went out; but at a full meeting of these latter, they also protested against what they termed the Georgian encroachments, which they declared they would repel by force. From a sketch of the proceedings at that meeting, (paper No. 1) you may see that the very Indians, said to have made the grants, were the first to accuse the State of having extorted land from them under pretence of cessions. All their expressions, indeed, were mingled with respect for the power that had delegated the superintendent to whom they addressed their talk. "But there was a third party, (the Georgians) they said, which evidently meant injustice and oppression." The meeting, upon the whole, concluded so unfavorably, that there was room to apprehend an immediate invasion. To that, however, a temporary stop was put by an idea of their influential Chief, McGillivray. In this there was something so singular, that perhaps I may be excused for relating it circumstantially. The following, therefore, was nearly the address of that Indian Chief: "Notwithstanding that, as the guardian of the Indian rights, I prompt them to defend their lands, yet I must declare I look upon the United States as our most natural allies. Two years I waited before I would seek for the alliance I have formed. I was compelled to it. I could not but resent the greedy encroachments of the Georgians; to say nothing of their scandalous and illiberal personal abuse. Notwithstanding which, I will now put it to the test whether they or myself entertain the most generous sentiments of respect for Congress. If that honorable body can form a government to the southward of the Altamaha, I will be the first to take the oath of allegiance thereto; and in return to the Georgians, for yielding to the United States that claim, I will obtain a regular and peaceable grant of the lands on the Oconee, on which they have deluded people to settle, under pretence of grants from the Indians, you yourself have seen how ill founded. However, if this takes place, I will put this matter out of dispute for them. I will give you to the first of August for an answer."

I hope I shall be excused for relating this unexpected proposal in his own words, as nearly as I can recollect; his motives were probably inclination as well as interest. I could discover that his natural bias is not towards his Spanish allies, and he is a trader of a company that imports largely, from which the government of Pensacola exacts an exorbitant impost. On the other hand, he would not only expect a more moderate duty through the Altamaha, but the Indian country is more accessible through that way.

The strength of these Indians is about 6,000 gun-men, mostly well armed with rifles; they extend down the waters of the Alabama, and Apalachicola rivers, along to the point of Florida, through the Spanish territories; through which they could have a convenient retreat in case they were forced by an expedition against them. It is beyond a doubt that they receive every encouragement, from the jealous policy of the Spaniards, against us; from this source they are already provided with ammunition, magazines of which are dispersed through their towns, and reserved for a public occasion. I am well informed, that when the Creeks were threatened from Georgia, the Spanish influence, in favor of those Indians, was very active with the Choctaws.

With what conveniency the United States could carry on a war with the Creeks, I cannot determine; but I may be permitted to remark, that the State of Georgia, only in holding a partial treaty with some of them, last autumn, was obliged to have recourse to a paper medium, which is already depreciated 400 per cent.; and it was with great difficulty that the troops raised for this Indian business could be kept together till it terminated in the unsubstantial manner it did.

The causes that excite an unfriendly disposition in the Indians, may in part be gathered from Mr. McGillivray's letter, which comes enclosed to you. Besides, there are the following, among other causes:

The natural reluctance of the Indians to part with any of their lands: for, to use their own expression, they look on their lands as their blood and their life, which they must fight for rather than part with. 2d. Because, in obtaining the new purchase, a sufficiently general consent of the nation was wanting; and even that partial consent extorted by threats, as they pretend. 3d. The white people on the frontier continuing their encroachments; they pursue their surveys into the Indian country, and destroy the game there.

Much also of the Indian animosity may be ascribed to the instigations of Mr. McGillivray, who is said to be in Spanish pay, and entertains a personal resentment to the State of Georgia. To this may be added habits of enmity contracted during the war, and their connexion with the British. In like manner, the Spanish influence now succeeds to that.

I have sent you the letter from Mr. McGillivray, not only as it may serve to give some idea of the character of the man, but also, as it contains a state of Indian complaints.

The two papers (No. 2 and 3) from the Legislature and Executive of the State of Georgia, will help to shew in what manner that Government has received the institution of a superintendent within the claim of their jurisdiction.

Permit me to enclose, also, a letter to McGillivray, and a talk to the Lower Creeks; you will please to judge if any of the contents may be proper to offer to the attention of Congress; it appeared necessary for me to mention at least the proposal, as above, from McGillivray.

I am, with the greatest respect, sir, your obedient and humble servant,

JAMES WHITE.

The Honorable Major General KNOX.

C. No. 2.

CASSETASH, April 4, 1787.

SIR:

I flattered myself I should have been able in person to deliver you the enclosed. Unfortunately, the decline of my health has disappointed me in that expectation. It is with difficulty, indeed, that I have reached thus far; but I am encouraged by reflecting, that if our efforts are successful in removing the misunderstanding which seems to have taken place between the people of Georgia and some part of the Creek nation, we shall have rendered good offices, perhaps, equally to both. That this can be effected, I the more readily hope, as each party seems to entertain an inclination to avoid the further effusion of human blood on the occasion. I assure you, sir, the better and more moderate people among us, appear to wish there may be no cause to proceed to extremes.

As for the United States, the very nature of their Government is averse to violence; and if, through the ties of the confederation, there is a necessity to turn the force of the continent into this quarter, it will not be without regret that there is occasion for the disagreeable measure.

In like manner, it is with pleasure I perceive by your letters, that the Indians only wish their rights may not be violated. Let both parties, therefore, condescend a little. For my part, the very small share of persuasion I possess among the white people, shall be exerted for so good a purpose, as, indeed, it has not been hitherto neglected; your more powerful influence among this people cannot certainly take place to a better end; matters may be amicably settled. It will prove a mutual advantage.

I confess, among the herd of white people, there are many who may be ripe for precipitating themselves into measures as injurious to others, as destructive to themselves. The same, no doubt, among the Indians. To restrain this temper, is the duty of more sober reflection.

As for the occasion of these animosities, which I am sorry has subsisted, the territory of the State is, in my opinion, amply extensive; and this consideration is a security for the Indians, that there will be no similar ground

for complaint in future; as it cannot be an object with Government to disperse its subjects still more widely, while there is so much internal room for cultivation; I can take upon me to assure you that measures are adopted with strict severity for curbing the licentiousness of any who might be disposed to give offence to this people.

On the other hand, the white people are not without heavy complaints. They allege that the assassination in cold blood of their unsuspecting fellow citizens, can scarcely be atoned for—barbarities which may, indeed, raise the indignation of a civilized people; but, as you well know, it requires a different spirit to bring them to any terms, so you will be the first to discountenance these marks, not of the soldier, but the savage.

With respect to the subject that produced these enormities, if I may be permitted to remark without the imputation of partiality, it is obvious that, as the Creeks have no written laws or customs, it was to be supposed the people of Georgia would in reason view that purchase as good which they were to make from the people who were in the indisputed possession and use—the case of your Lower towns—however, as the subject of grievances is at all times a tender one, I am sorry if I have not touched it with a finger sufficiently delicate. Let us rather turn our views to the means of future peace and happiness. For this purpose, I am anxious for an early meeting, and I hope I am not deceived in thinking you will heartily concur in endeavors of so humane a tendency.

As I propose going to the northward as soon as I see this business in any regular train, it would do me pleasure to convey any word to your correspondent Mr. H. who thinks of you with sentiments of singular esteem, and who is a man of a benevolence and philanthropy expanded beyond party and national contractedness.

I am, with great esteem, your obedient servant,

JAMES WHITE.

The Honorable ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRAY, Esq.  
*One of the Chiefs of the Creek nation.*

[For the answer to this letter, *vide B.*]

C. No. 3.

*At a meeting of the Lower Creeks.—April 10, 1787.*

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:

The occasion that brings me here to see you, is, I believe, partly of the same nature as that for which you have met together. But before I enter upon the business, I cannot help expressing the pleasure I feel at seeing so many of our particular friends assembled. The Lower towns of the Creek nation have always shown a moderation and a prudence, which I feel and admire. If this disposition is continued, it will establish such a friendship and commerce, as will be infinitely better than quarrelling and bloodshed.

There are many present who are already informed that I am sent here by the great council which, in peace and war, directs the affairs of all the thirteen united nations of white men, of which the Virginians, your neighbors, make a very small part. I come now from the centre of their government; at the distance from here of a whole moon's journey, on strong horses.

BROTHERS: The Virginians of Georgia, who form one of the thirteen fires of our great council, complained, at the meeting last autumn, that their country was attacked, and their people killed by some bad men of the Creek nation. They demanded assistance, if due satisfaction was not given against the offenders. But the old and wise men of the great council, the Congress, before they would send out a strong army to assist in killing their brothers, the Indians, with whom they would rather be at peace, wished first to inquire into the matter, and see if all things could not be amicably settled. For this purpose they have sent me out.

NOW, BROTHERS, from peace may we not all reap advantage? There can be none from spilling each other's blood. The Master of Breath lends us that breath but for a little while; why then should we snatch it from one another sooner than he designs? For this reason, I hope both parties will be moderate. Perhaps it hath been a little the fault of both parties that any of the human blood hath been spilt on the occasion; I hope that now, each will yield a little to the other. When our friends of the Creek nation, who are now at Augusta, come up, they will tell you how much I inculcated this to the white people; I was happy to find them disposed to it, except a few of their mad young men, who were too apt to be disposed to war; but their nation will not be rigorous in their demands; they have presents in waiting for the Indians, who, I hope, will go down and receive the goods. I am convinced that this nation will not, in the end, lose any thing by confirming the grant of such lands as many of the respectable men of the nation have thought might be spared, and have already granted; which gift it would look unmanly to retract, if it could be done, but it cannot.

BROTHERS: I have carefully avoided to mention any old cause of quarrels, and I hope there will be none for the future. You will find that the headmen among the Virginians have lately made provision for severely punishing any of their bad folks, who shall disturb their friends the Indians.

I will not trouble you further, but to mention one thing, which concerns us all, and which I feel from my heart; the red people and the white are equally interested in it. We are countrymen; we live in the same land; we breathe the same air; we should be brothers. The Kings and people who live over the great water, will wish to subdue us all. They will use cunning and force. Perhaps at this very time there are men employed among you to set you against us. It is not so long since, but you must remember how one of these Powers made violent efforts of this kind, even upon us, the white people, their children. But to tell you what is done by others of them to people of your color, towards the mid-day sun, would fill you with horror. Ought we not, therefore, to grasp one another with a strong arm of friendship, the more easily to repel these foreigners? Go down, then, and receive the presents which are kept for you as marks of friendship, when you run the line, as you have agreed. You will be assured that every care has been taken by the Virginians to prevent your receiving any offence; as you, I flatter myself, will also do by them. For my part, when I return from whence I came, I shall have the pleasure to tell the great council of Congress this; then they, far from sending an army into the Creek nation, will exert themselves to give trade, and the comforts of life, to you and your families. This will make the chain of our friendship brighter, and, indeed, will be better for us all.

Before I make an end, I must inform you that our friend Chewocleymicho, and his companions, the hostages, are in good health and spirits. I have sent down to request they may be brought up, that it may not appear hard to keep our friends too long from their relations. But I hope the time passes away agreeably with them; for when I left them, they had nothing to do but to drink rum and be merry. If there is any just cause of complaint, I now beg it may be known, that I may use my best endeavors to find a remedy. All we have to request is, that you go and receive your presents, and attend at running the line, according to your agreement at the treaty.

C. No. 4.

*Proceedings of the meeting of the Lower Creeks.—April 10, 1789.*

Present: the principal chiefs of the lower towns; also, the Tallassee, or Half-way-house king; and from the further Creeks, Alex<sup>r</sup> McGillivray. Of the white people, besides the superintendent of Indian affairs, the two State commissioners, Messrs. Barnard and Galphin.

Mr. McGillivray opened the business, by telling the Indians “they knew for what purposes this meeting was called: he regretted it had not been earlier, that their sentiments respecting the white people's settling their

lands, might have been certainly known; that the Virginians (*i. e.* Georgians) had falsely persuaded the rest of the white people they had purchased those lands from them; there was now a gentleman come out to inquire into this business; that he came from a different quarter, and would be a good witness to the truth. He (McGillivray) had no doubt they would treat him with the highest respect, and with every attention to what he might have to say to them." He then requested the superintendent to put any questions, or make any proposals he thought proper. During the talk of the superintendent, the Indians observed a singular decorum and attention, till he came to request them to go down and run the line; at which they interrupted, by asking if the white people wanted to make any more of them prisoners (*i. e.* hostages.)

In answer to the talk, the Tallassee king spoke first. He said, that "he was glad the superintendent had come out, that he might make known his complaints, of which he had many. He had always been a friend to the white people; that, after the war, he was invited to Augusta, where he expected to be treated like a friend; instead of which, the white people, their long knives in their hands, insisted on his making a cession of land, which he had no right to do; but that, after three days' importunity, he was obliged to consent, on condition the nation would agree to it."

The Hallowing king of the Cowetas seemed principally to undertake to speak for the Indians in general. He expressed their thankfulness to the superintendent for coming so great a journey, with the good intention of settling the quarrel between them and the Georgians. If the matter rested between them and Congress, no doubt it could be amicably concluded; but there was a third party, who had no mind to do justice. He gave an historical account of the progress of the white people, from even before their establishment to the southward of the Savannah, as he had seen himself, or been informed by older men. But, says he, "these last strides tell us they never mean to let their foot rest; our lands are our life and breath; if we part with them, we part with our blood. We must fight for them."

The superintendent then endeavored to show the difficulty, nay, the impossibility of evacuating the lands on which people had settled, after buying them, in the opinion that they were granted by the Indians, in atonement for the many unprovoked injuries the State had sustained. He adduced many reasons to make it probable the Tallassee king had made the grants unconstrained. He promised them every security should be given them against all future encroachments; and he offered to take off several conditions of the late treaty, that might seem to bear too hard. But they insisted, the great grievance was taking their land; and that they could not dispense with. When they were desired to declare if nothing would do but relinquishing the lands on the Oconee, they answered, that, or war.

The superintendent took his leave, assuring them of his good wishes to the nation; and that he would always use his endeavors in obtaining for them whatever might be fair and reasonable; but that he was sorry to think their demands in the present case were neither.

Mr. McGillivray's proposal was made next day.

#### D. No. 1.

Augusta, Geo. 15th November, 1787.

SIR:

I do myself the honor to enclose to your Excellency a report of a committee of the General Assembly of this State, respecting the Creek Indians. It so fully informs your Excellency of the unavoidable necessity there is for a war with that nation, that little is left for me to say on the subject. In my letter to our delegates, of the 9th of August, I inform them of the murders committed by the Indians, and by their answer, it appears the letter was laid before Congress, since which time our frontiers have been the scene of blood and ravages; they have killed thirty-one of our citizens, wounded twenty, and taken four prisoners; they have burnt the court house and town of Greensburgh, in the county of Greene, and a number of other houses in different parts of the country. The Assembly, fully convinced that the State never can have a secure and lasting peace with that perfidious nation, until they have severely felt the effects of war, have ordered three thousand men to be raised, and given the Executive power to call forth fifteen hundred more, should the first not be adequate. The arming and equipping these troops will be attended with such expense, that the aid of the Union will be required, in addition to our exertions, and I flatter myself the United States will grant such assistance as will enable us to prosecute the war with vigor, and establish us in the blessings of peace. I would also take the liberty of remarking, that I have reason to think the Creek Indians are supplied with arms and ammunition from the Spanish government of West Florida, and whether it may not be proper for Congress officially to remonstrate against such supplies being granted them, whilst engaged in a war with us.

I have the honor to be, with respect, &c.

GEORGE MATHEWS.

#### D. No. 2.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, TUESDAY, the 23d October, 1787.

The House proceeded to take into consideration the report of the committee, to whom was referred the message of his Honor the Governor, of the 18th instant, together with such parts of the despatches accompanying the same, as relates to the Creek Indians: and the same being read and amended, was agreed to by the House, and is as follows:

"The committee, consisting of General Clarke, Mr. Telfair, Mr. Joseph Habersham, Mr. Seagrove, and Mr. Walton, to whom were referred the papers marked No. 1, accompanying the Governor's message of the 18th instant, respecting Indian affairs, report:

"That, in examining the letters and documents committed to them, they have necessarily been led to a reference to the treaties and principal transactions with the Indians, which have taken place since the Revolution and the establishment of peace with Great Britain. And they find that, on the thirty-first day of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, the Cherokees, by a treaty held at Augusta, among others, agreed to and subscribed the following clause:

"*Clause 3d.* That a new line shall be drawn, without delay, between the present settlements in the said State, and the hunting ground of the said Indians, to begin on Savannah river, where the present line strikes it; thence, up the said river, to a place on the most northern branch of the same, (commonly called Keowee) where a northeast line, to be drawn from the top of the Oconna mountain, shall intersect; thence, along the said line, on a southwest direction, to the top of the said mountain; thence, in the same direction, to Tuegola river; thence, to the top of the Currahee mountain; thence to the head or source of the most southern branch of the Oconee river, including all the waters of the same; and thence, down the middle of the said branch, to the Creek line. And that, on the first day of November following, by a treaty also held at Augusta, among others, the Creeks agreed to and subscribed a similar clause, for establishing the same line for their hunting grounds. And both nations made the same relinquishment, on account of mutual claims which had not before been settled between them; and this boundary was again acknowledged and confirmed at another treaty, held with the Creeks at Galphinton, the 12th day of November, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, and extended from the confluence of the Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers, to the source of St. Mary's. That it is true, that, some few months after the holding of this latter treaty, some uneasinesses began to be fomented in the nation, and some murders were committed. This was considered and declared to be an

infraction of the treaty, and reparation was demanded. It was made a serious object of Government, and the Legislature being convened, our domestic situation and our relative one with the Union, were considered with all possible attention and respect. Commissioners were appointed, with full powers to inquire into the causes, and to restore peace; but with power also, if unavoidable, to take eventual measures of defence. This proceeding produced another treaty, which was held at Shoulderbone, on the third of November, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, whereby the violation was acknowledged, the boundaries contained in the former treaties again recognized, and ratified, and seven hostages were pledged for the faithful execution of the condition. Your committee cannot forbear, here, to observe, that, during the course of all these transactions, the communications were made in solemn, open, and ancient form, and the articles of the treaties were mutually respected, until the aggression posterior to that of Galphinton. And that, whilst it is admitted on the one hand, there was no principle of representation of the parts of the nation known in civilized government, it cannot be denied on the other, that it was such as had been common; and the Indians acknowledged, without doubt, and regret their forming a part, and being members of the State. Peace being thus restored by the treaty of Shoulderbone, but before the articles were yet carried into full effect, the State received the appointment of a superintendent of Indian Affairs, by the Congress of the United States for the southern department, and on the 15th January, in the present year, the same was acknowledged by the following resolutions of the Legislature:

“That this House have a due sense of the attention of Congress to the affairs between this State and the Indians within its territory.

“Resolved, That his Honor the Governor be requested to communicate to the said superintendent, that the Government of this State, on the former part of the last year, received certain advice, that it was the intention of the Creek Indians to make war against the white inhabitants of the same; and that a short time after they did actually commit hostilities.

“That, in consequence thereof, and agreeably to the articles of confederation and perpetual union, which this State holds as the rule of its good faith, and as the evidence of its portion of sovereignty of the Union, measures were taken, which had for their object, the present security of the State, and the restoring of peace and tranquillity, by the most expeditious and certain means; and that, under Providence, the measures have been attended with the desired success.

“That, immediately after the measures before mentioned were determined on, the delegates of this State were directed to make full representation of the same to Congress, with the motives which compelled the State to the same, without the delay which would unavoidably have arisen from the remote distance of the State from the residence of Congress, which no doubt has been done accordingly.”

“And afterwards, a committee was appointed to confer with the said superintendent on the subject of his mission, and on the 6th of February they reported, and of which the following are extracts:

“Your committee report, that they have conferred with the honorable the superintendent of the United States, and have laid before him the papers and instructions committed to their care, to which he has been pleased to return the following answer:

“Gentlemen of the committee for Indian Affairs, accept my thanks for your polite communication of the different materials in your possession, to assist in acquiring an idea of the situation of Indian affairs in this district. The not having been engaged in this line till very lately, will hardly permit me to remark on the subject as you request. I will only express my satisfaction, in observing the moderation, as well as spirit, with which this State pursued her plan of checking the savage violence on the late occasion. The report I have to make to the United States in Congress, taking its complexion from these circumstances, will probably induce them to a more cheerful participation of the expense.

“The spirit and prudence of the State will, no doubt, farther dictate means of future tranquillity, as well as those of invigorating the hands of the superintendent of Indian Affairs, so far as is conducive to the execution of his office, within the limits this State.

“I wish to do myself the honor of assuring the honorable the Legislature, that, as they may think it advisable for me, in my official capacity, to be present at making the temporary line, I will cheerfully attend to that, or any other measure they will favor me with, pointing out in the line of my duty; and that, in every official transaction, I shall observe a most sacred respect to the rights of the State of Georgia.

“I am, with great respect, your humble servant,

JAS. WHITE.’

“The same committee having reported the expediency of new regulations for Indian Affairs, a bill was brought in for that purpose, and being carried into effect, a board of commissioners were appointed, of which the said superintendent was one. The commissioners, having convened, entered upon the duties of their office; and it was expected that the Indians would be down some time in the spring on the fulfilment of the Shoulderbone treaty. That, in the mean time, the appointment of commissaries, with some other arrangements, were made, and the superintendent determined to visit the nation. When there, he wrote to the Governor, from the Buzzard-roost, on the 12th of March, stating the appearances of mischief with some of the Indians, the probable good effects of his mediation, and of the giving up the hostages, which he recommended. It was also said, ‘there is no doubt but the Upper Creeks may be reconciled to the boundary as wished;’ and by a letter from Mr. John Galphin, one of the commissaries, written at the same time, and on the same sheet, he says ‘I saw Mr. McGillivray lately, who says he only waits for Doctor White, and, if he comes, he will have the line run between the Indians and the Georgians by the first of May;’ and he also advised that the hostages should be given up. Upon the foundation of these letters, the surrender of the hostages was agreed to, and two of the principal ones went on with the answers, and the others were to accompany the commissaries.

“But that, on the 13th of April following, another letter, from the superintendent to the Governor, dated from the Cussetahs, advises to prepare for war, in any event; adding, that his personal safety was assured to be in danger, should he threaten the nation with the force of the Union; and upon his return to Augusta, on the 23d of April, in a farther address to the Governor, he ascribes the suspension of hostilities between the Indians and the State, to propositions communicated to him by Mr. McGillivray, for a new State to be laid off, south of the Altamaha, and mentions that he had acceded to a truce until the first of August. And here ends the knowledge of your committee, of transactions with, or by, the superintendent. It was but a little while, however, before several murders were committed on our frontier, and which have been repeated, from time to time, until mutual hostilities have at length taken place on the whole length of our borders and a war, by the savages, is now raging with all its horrors.

“And here, too, the task of your committee becomes distressingly difficult. As lovers of their country, and as servants of the State, it is equally their desire, and their duty, to be true and to be just; and, while they wish to treat the servants of the Union with the strictest respect, they ought to guard our Government at home against the improper imputation of wrong. They therefore report it as their opinion, that the ultimate causes of the war were the too sudden interferences with treaties of the State, by which the minds of the Indians were perplexed, and the impression induced, that, in a war with the State, they should not have the strength of the Union to fear; and that another disposition would be made of the Territory, than that which considers it as part of the State. That representations to this effect should be immediately transmitted to Congress, and the support of the Union demanded.

“That, in the meantime, the most vigorous and decisive measures be taken, by the Government of this State, for suppressing the bloody violences of the Indians. For which purpose, your committee advise, that a law be passed, as speedily as possible, for raising and forming magazines of arms, ammunition, stores, and provision in kind, and for enlisting of men for the protection of the State.”

Extracts from the minutes.

JAS. M. SIMMONS, *Clk. G. A.*

E. No. 1.

The Secretary of the United States for the Department of War, in obedience to the order of Congress of the 15th instant to report a plan for the protection of the frontier of Georgia, agreeably to the principle of the resolve of Congress of the 21st of July, 1787, reports:

That he conceives it is intended the protection to be afforded the State of Georgia, should be complete, in case the Creek Indians should persist in refusing to enter into a treaty on reasonable terms, and to comprehend all operations offensive, as well as defensive, that may be deemed necessary for the full accomplishment of the object.

That unless rigorous exertions be made in the first instance, calculated to terminate effectually the contest, in one campaign, the United States will hazard the event of being drawn into a tedious, expensive, and inglorious war.

That the strength of the Wabash Indians, who were principally the object of the resolve of the 21st of July, 1787, and the strength of the Creek Indians is very different. That the said Creeks are not only greatly superior in numbers, but are more united, better regulated, and headed by a man whose talents appear to have fixed him in their confidence.

That your Secretary humbly apprehends the regular troops of the Union on the Ohio were considered as the basis of the before recited resolve, of the 21st July, 1787. That the militia intended to have been drawn forth were to have acted as auxiliaries to the said regular troops, and that all the arrangements were to have been made under the direction of the commanding officer of the said troops. That the case is widely different on the frontiers of Georgia, no troops of the United States being there, nor is it easily practicable to remove any considerable body from the Ohio, were the measure expedient in other respects.

That this difference of circumstances will require a different and more extensive arrangement for the protection of the frontier of Georgia than any that were contemplated by the aforesaid resolve of the 21st of July, 1787.

That the frontier of Georgia may be protected either by a large body of militia, detached from time to time, or by a corps of troops regularly organized and enlisted for a certain period. That a consideration of the expense and irregularity of detachments of mere militia, compared with the economy and vigor of a corps of troops properly organized, would evince the great superiority and advantage to be derived to the public by an adoption of the organized troops.

That, from the view of the object your Secretary has been able to take, he conceives that the only effectual mode of acting against the said Creeks, in case they should persist in their hostilities, would be by making an invasion of their country with a powerful body of well regulated troops, always ready to combat and able to defeat any combination of force the said Creeks could oppose, and to destroy their towns and provisions.

Your Secretary humbly conceives, that any interference on the part of the United States with less force and energy, would cherish the hostilities of the Creeks instead of extinguishing them.

That he conceives the operation herein stated would require an army of two thousand eight hundred non-commissioned officers and privates of the different species of troops, to be raised for the term of nine months.

That the said troops should be commanded by one major general, and one brigadier general, to be appointed by Congress, who should also appoint an inspector and quarter master to said troops.

That the pay and emoluments of said officers be fixed by Congress.

That the organization of the troops should be as follows:

Three regiments of infantry, of seven hundred each; one regiment of cavalry, of five hundred and sixty; one corps of artillery of one hundred and forty.

That if Congress should approve of these numbers, they might be apportioned as follows:

<i>Georgia.</i> —One regiment of infantry, - - - - -	700
Five companies of cavalry, of 70 each, - - - - -	350
	<u>1050</u>
<i>South Carolina.</i> —One regiment of infantry, - - - - -	700
Two companies of artillery, of 70 each, - - - - -	140
	<u>840</u>
<i>North Carolina.</i> —One regiment of infantry, - - - - -	700
Three companies of cavalry, - - - - -	210
	<u>910</u>
	<u>2800</u>

That all the regimental officers be appointed by the said States, respectively, according to the proportions to be specified by the Secretary of War.

That the said troops should be mustered, and inspected, in the manner to be directed by the Secretary of War, which musters should be considered as essential vouchers in the settlement of the accounts of the troops.

That the said troops should be paid by the States in which they are respectively raised, according to the rates of pay established for the troops of the United States.

That suitable clothing, to the value of ten dollars, be allowed each non-commissioned officer and private, who should enlist for the said term of nine months, which, with tents, the necessary camp equipage, and wagons or other means of transportation, agreeably to the proportions to be specified by the Secretary of War, should be furnished to the troops, by the States in which they shall be raised.

That the States of North and South Carolina should also subsist their quotas respectively until their arrival at the place of rendezvous to be appointed by the commanding officer.

That the rations and forage of said army should be provided by contract by the State of Georgia, while acting within the said State, and also for the quotas of South and North Carolina until they should return to the places of dismission within the said States respectively.

That the issues of the rations of provision and forage, should be checked in the manner to be directed by the Secretary of War, and for every ration of provision allowed accordingly the United States should be charged a sum not exceeding — parts of a dollar, and for every ration of forage not exceeding — parts of a dollar.

That the amount of pay, transportation, and subsistence of said troops, should be settled in the manner and forms to be previously established by the Board of Treasury, and the same, when completed, should be passed to the credit of said States, on the existing requisitions, according to the amount they may have respectively furnished.

That as it is highly probable that the said States may be deficient in arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, the same be furnished out of the arsenals of the United States, and be transported by the Secretary of War, by water, to such ports within the said States as may be most convenient, and addressed to the executives of the same.

That ten pieces of light field artillery, with their necessary apparatus, and a suitable quantity of ammunition be also transported by the Secretary of War to Savannah in Georgia, for the purposes of the said expedition, addressed to the major general who may be appointed for the expedition.

That the expenses of every species, which would be incurred for the various objects of the said army, for nine months, may be estimated at four hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

All which is humbly submitted to Congress.

H. KNOX.

## F.

IN CONGRESS, *October 26th, 1787.*

*Instructions to the Commissioners for negotiating a treaty with the tribes of Indians in the Southern Department, for the purpose of establishing peace between the United States and the said tribes.*

GENTLEMEN:

Several circumstances rendering it probable that hostilities may have commenced, or are on the eve of commencing, between the State of North Carolina and the Cherokee nation of Indians, and between the State of Georgia and the Creek nation of Indians, you are to use every endeavor to restore peace and harmony between the said States and the said nations, on terms of justice and humanity.

The great source of contention between the said States and the Indian tribes, being boundaries, you will carefully inquire into, and ascertain, the boundaries claimed by the respective States; and although Congress are of opinion that they might constitutionally fix the bounds between any State and an independent tribe of Indians, yet, unwilling to have a difference subsist between the General Government and that of the individual States, they wish you so to conduct the matter that the States may not conceive their legislative rights in any manner infringed, taking care, at the same time, that whatever bounds are agreed upon they may be described in such terms as shall not be liable to misconstruction and misrepresentation, but may be made clear to the conceptions of the Indians, as well as whites.

The present treaty having for its principal object the restoration of peace, no cession of land is to be demanded of the Indian tribes.

You will use the utmost care to ascertain who are the leading men among the several tribes—the real head-men and warriors; these you will spare no pains to attach to the interest of the United States, by removing, as far as may be, all causes of future contention or quarrels; by kind treatment, and assurances of protection; by presents of a permanent nature; and by using every endeavor to conciliate the affections of the white people inhabiting the frontiers towards them.

You will encourage the Indians to give notice to the superintendent of Indian affairs of any designs that may be formed by any neighboring Indian tribe, or by any person whatever against the peace of the United States.

You will insist that all prisoners, of whatever age, sex, or complexion, be delivered up, and that all fugitive slaves belonging to citizens of the United States be restored.

## F. No. 1.

WINNSBOROUGH, *25th June, 1788.*

SIR:

I beg leave to lay before you the steps taken by the commissioners to bring about a treaty with the Creek Indians, agreeably to the resolves of Congress.

A talk was sent to that nation the 29th of March last, addressed to Mr. McGillivray, and the head men and warriors, urging the necessity there was to treat, and in the most pointed terms insisting, as a first principle, that every hostile procedure should instantly cease. A Mr. Whitfield was the bearer; he is a respectable character, and has formerly traded with them; he writes us that the Indians are highly pleased with what Congress has done, and willing to treat on the principles of justice and equity; on that ground they will meet the superintendent and commissioners; in the interim, all hostilities to cease. This, I have the pleasure to inform you, is the case at present, and the sooner it can be effected the better, as it is the wish of the Indians that the treaty be held as speedily as possible.

The above accounts I laid before the Executive of the State of Georgia, who agreed with me in opinion, that the 15th September next is as early as this matter can be begun on. The reason is obvious; the State of North Carolina not complying with the resolves of Congress, in forwarding the needful, nor is it to be expected that they intend it, (see a copy of the Governor's letter enclosed) and even supposing they had, upon a general calculation the sum allowed by Congress would have been too small to carry into effect a treaty with the Creeks alone, considering the greatness of their nation; presents, I make no doubt, are expected by them. The goods on hand from the last treaty amount to not more than £400, and many of them consist of perishable articles, which of course have suffered.

The two commissioners, Generals Pickens and Matthews, with myself, made an estimate a few days ago at Augusta, a copy of which you have herewith. As these gentlemen, as well as myself, calculated on the lowest scale, I make no doubt you will think with me, that a further supply is necessary; there is every reason to believe there will be present from one thousand to fifteen hundred Indians, and each Indian, General Pickens (who has been on similar occasions of this kind before) assures me, at such a time, which cannot well be denied them, expects *double rations*. Upon the whole, I trust, on a matter of such consequence to the States, Georgia in particular, that Congress will give it a reconsideration, and make such provision as they conceive best on this business. The treaty, as I before mentioned, will take place on the 15th September next, therefore no time ought to be lost.

I beg leave further to observe, that my commission as superintendent expires the 29th of August; it will be necessary to prolong the time, if it is the wish of Congress to continue to be represented in the southern department. I shall conclude, with assuring you, that the States of South Carolina and Georgia will contribute every thing in their power towards facilitating the treaty under the auspices of Congress; before whom I beg you will lay the purport of this without delay. They may depend on my utmost exertions in forwarding a plan so highly necessary.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

RICHARD WINN.

General Knox, *Secretary of War.*

## F. No. 2.

EDENTON, *19th March, 1788.*

SIR:

The resolution of Congress of 26th October, to which you refer in the letter you did me the honor of addressing to me on the 18th day of February last, did not come to me till after the adjournment of the Assembly; and as I considered that the settling the boundary between this State and the Indians a subject of too much importance for me to act in, without the direction of the Legislature, I laid aside the consideration of it till since I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's letter.

I yesterday laid all the papers relating to this business before the Council of State, for their consideration, *who concurred with me in opinion that the powers of the Executive department of this State did not extend so far as to comprehend all the objects contained in the instructions sent forward by Congress, for the government of the commissioner to be appointed by this State, and though the resolution of Congress, passed as early as the 26th of October, no hostilities have hitherto been committed on the inhabitants of this State by the Cherokees, nor have we any intimation from the inhabitants of the frontier that any such hostilities are at present apprehended.* I have not, therefore, appointed a commissioner to treat with the Cherokees. Should the States of South Carolina and Georgia be of opinion that the co-operation of this State can, in any manner, facilitate the negotiation with the Creeks, we will be ready to adopt any measure that may have a tendency to promote the peace and security of the State of Georgia, at any time when they may think proper to favor us with an intimation in what manner we can be useful to them.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration and respect, sir, &c.

SAML. JOHNSTON.

*His Excellency the GOVERNOR of South Carolina.*

DR. *An Estimate of Money necessary to be advanced by the Southern States for carrying on a Treaty with the Creek Indians.* CR.

		£ s. d.		£ s. d.
None expected, - - - - -	To the commissioner of N. Carolina.		By money advanced by North Carolina,*	
The commissioners of South Carolina and Georgia, are supposed to be in actual service 60 days each, or perhaps longer.	To the commissioner of South Carolina, £70 0 0		By do. advanced by South Carolina, - -	466 13 4
	To the commissioner of Georgia, - - - 70 0 0	140 0 0	By do. advanced by Georgia - - - -	466 13 4
It is supposed that the shortest treaty will hold 20 days; therefore, it will take the men 10 days to go and return from the place where the treaty is to be held.	One major, 30 days, a 13s. - - - - -	19 10 0	By amount of goods supposed to be on hand, - - - - -	400 0 0
	Two captains, 30 days, a 10s. - - - - -	30 0 0	Deficiency now wanting to carry the treaty into effect, - - - - -	958 8 4
	Four lieutenants, 30 days, a 7s. - - - - -	42 0 0		
	100 privates, 30 days, a 1s. 6d. - - - - -	225 0 0		
	Rations for the above, a 6d. per day each, - - - - -	85 5 0	401 15 0	
General Pickens says, at the last treaty with the Cherokees, there were 1500 Indians—a nation much inferior to the Creeks. This representation may be greater. So says Mr. Whitfield.	Rations for 1000 Indians, 20 days, a 9d. - - - - -	750 0 0		
	To money advanced to persons going to, and from, the nations, with talks, and to expresses to other places, - - - - -	150 0 0		
No person can be got to go to the Indians under four dollars per day. Mr. Whitfield has been out now about three months. The goods and provisions will be transported a considerable distance; houses must be built to receive the public stores; ten or twelve wagons will be wanted.	To wagon hire, transporting the goods and provisions to the place where the treaty is to be held, and the building two rough houses for the reception of goods, and for the accommodation of the commissioners, -	200 0 0		
	Two linguisters must be employed; one on the side of the commissioners, the other for the Indians. Commissaries must also be employed.	To two linguisters, commissaries, and money for supporting the commissioners' table, - - - - -	50 0 0	
The commissioners think the presents ought to be as considerable as possible, as the Indians expect them so.	To presents necessary to be given the Indians, - - -	600 00 0		
	Total, - - - - -	£2,291 15 0		£2,291 15 0

This calculation made at Augusta, in the State of Georgia, the 13th day of June, 1788, by the Commissioners, and signed

RICHARD WINN.

\* None.



## F. No. 4.

WINNSBOROUGH, *August 5, 1788.*

SIR:

By talks received from the head men and warriors of the Cherokee nation, dated the 30th June last, I am given to understand, that a party from North Carolina (called Franklin State) with Servier at their head, came over and destroyed several of their towns, killed near thirty of the Indians, made one prisoner, and obliged the remainder to fly with their families to some of the Lower towns for protection. Notwithstanding these outrages, there are, at this present time, near thirty of their towns in friendship with the white people, whose wish is to remain so, as their talks run continually, for a lasting peace to be established between them and the whites. The Overhills, the other part of the nation, where the above affair happened, seem determined for war, of which I shall make the Governor of North Carolina acquainted. The daily encroachments made on the territories of this set of people, is such as to induce them, through me, to lay their distressed situation before Congress, which this opportunity gives me the honor of now doing, presuming they will see with me, the real necessity there is for an accommodation taking place with this nation, and order the necessary supplies accordingly, for carrying the treaty into effect. I must beg leave to add, that, could I have been supplied with the needful, I should have called this nation to a permanent treaty long ere this.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

RICHARD WINN.

SIR: This moment General Pickens' letter came to hand, which I have taken the liberty to enclose to you.

R. WINN.

General KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

## F. No. 6.

WINNSBOROUGH, *August 8, 1788.*

SIR:

The gentleman who was sent to the Creek nations, with talks from the commissioners, has returned with answers which appear to be friendly. The Indians are willing to come to a treaty next month, therefore, the 15th day is set for that purpose; the meeting will be held on the Tugelo river, at the house of a Mr. Lachland Cleaveland, on the Georgia side, in consequence of which, hostilities have ceased on both sides.

I make no doubt the wish of Congress will be fully answered, provided the Assembly of Georgia repeal a law, which, in some measure, militates against the resolves of Congress, in carrying into effect the treaty with that nation. The Assembly are now sitting on the business, which, I hope, will have the desired effect.

I have the honor to be, sir, your humble servant,

RICHARD WINN.

General KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

## F. No. 7.

WINNSBOROUGH, *October 14, 1788.*

SIR:

I have had the honor of receiving your several letters, with the duplicates of each, enclosing the different resolves of Congress, of July 15th, August 4th, and 14th, respecting Indian affairs, and shall at all times be happy, through you, to lay before that honorable body such information as offers in that department.

From several conferences with the commissioners, relative to the Creek Indians, and opening a correspondence with McGillivray, who is their head man, we were led to believe, that our negotiations would terminate in a peace between that nation and the State of Georgia; and agreeably to what I before informed you, had actually appointed the time and place for holding a treaty, not doubting, when we met, to get over every obstacle in bringing it to an issue. However, not having the supplies necessary in time, and receiving a letter (see No. 1, enclosed) from the Governor of Georgia, we wrote to McGillivray, and the head men and warriors, to postpone the treaty until the spring of next year; to this we have had no answer as yet, but have received a letter from him (see No. 2, enclosed) wherein he insists, as a leading principle, upon having the boundaries the same as they were when the State of Georgia was a British province; these terms of treaty he mentions in his first letter to the commissioners, but neither they nor myself imagined this would operate in his breast, or with the Indians, as a barrier to the treaty, when we produced the different articles of peace entered into since, with the bounds prescribed, and mutually agreed to by both parties. (See a copy of our letter, to which No. 2 is an answer.) It evidently appears by his last, if we are to expect peace with these Indians, it must be on his own terms. From these considerations, we may think it our duty to reply in a different manner to what we have; as soon as we have an answer to our last, respecting the postponing the treaty, I shall do myself the honor of transmitting you a copy of it.

Before I quit the subject of the Creek Indians, it will be necessary to inform you (in order to make the Governor of Georgia's meaning appear more clear) that the Georgians have, at this time, a law existing, wherein they have given as bounty land to their soldiers, a large tract of country which belongs to the Indians.

This I remonstrated to the Executive of that State; and this was another motive for the treaty's being postponed, as such a law should be repealed before an accommodation could take place.

With due respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

RICHARD WINN.

The Honorable General KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

## F. No 8.

AUGUSTA, (GEORGIA) *August 14, 1788.*

GENTLEMEN:

The disagreeable and unhappy situation of our State affairs is such, that I am sorry, on this occasion, to be under the necessity to declaim against their inability of carrying into effect the business fully, of the proposed treaty with the Creek nation of Indians.

In order to obviate the many difficulties and insufficiency that appeared in the operation of the said treaty, I did, with the advice of the Executive, call the Legislature to convene in Augusta, the 22d ultimo, but without effect; and the Executive have it not in their power to make any appropriations. I have, and will continue to exert myself, in endeavoring to obtain a credit from the mercantile line, either on public or private faith, and, if successful, will give you early notice thereof. But in this I doubt.

I would, therefore, (if Congress does not appropriate a further sum for carrying on the said treaty, as the superintendent, I presume, represented the whole to that honorable body) most seriously recommend, that you endeavor all in your power to have the said treaty postponed if possible. I promise you the sight of the business shall not be put off, but every preparation in our power shall be exerted. You have to urge, on your parts, the reason for postponing the treaty to be, that of the change of Government, and of other matters; that I dare say would be

sufficient, particularly to Mr. McGillivray, who is a sensible, intelligent man. If possible that the same could be postponed until the spring of the next year, it would be well; but at any rate, for two or three months. This matter would be best managed by the person you appoint to go to the nation, who ought to be a sensible man. I shall engage that peace be observed by the citizens of this State, against the Creek nation, as far as is in my power to enforce; you will please, also, to urge the observance of the same on their parts, against the citizens of this State.

I flatter myself, gentlemen, taking a review of our situation, that you will do all in your power to obtain peace with the Indians within your district, and the citizens of the United States.

I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of respect, your most obedient humble servant,  
GEO. HANDLEY.

Hon. RICHARD WINN, Esq. *Superintendent*, and  
The Hon. GEO. MATHEWS and ANDREW PICKENS, Esqrs.  
*Commissioners of Indian Affairs.*

F. No. 9.

FORT CHARLOTTE, July 16, 1788.

*To Alexander McGillivray, Esquire, and others, the Chief Men and Warriors of the Creek nation.*

This day your letter was opened, which you were pleased to address to us, as also the talks of the Hallowing King, of the Lower, and Mad Dog, of the Upper Creeks, in answer to the one sent you by Mr. Whitfield.

We are happy to find that you are willing to meet us in treaty, so as to convince the world that your conduct, and the leading men of the Indians, is such as to dispose you to do that which is right and just. On such grounds, we are equally willing to meet.

You mention you expect a requisition will be made by us to the people of Georgia, to retire from the Oconee river, within the bounds claimed under the British Government. This we are not authorized to do, but will write to the Governor of Georgia, requesting him to issue his proclamation that no further trespasses be committed, and that all hostilities do cease. We make no doubt you will lose sight of all matter of little weight, and bring fully into view the grand object of the treaty, agreeably to the resolves of Congress, so as to restore peace and harmony once more between the citizens of Georgia and the Creek Indians, on the principles of justice and humanity; as we do firmly assure you 'tis what we ardently wish.

As to the time and place for holding the treaty, this power was fully vested in the superintendent and the Executive of Georgia, and they had, previous to any advice received from Mr. Whitfield, (except his letter of May 15th) appointed the 15th September next, the day on which the treaty is to begin, on the river Tugulo, the dividing line between South Carolina and Georgia, at the house of Lachland Cleaveland, on the Georgia side, at which time and place we hope to meet you and the Creek chiefs as brothers. We wish to see every thing conducted in the greatest friendship.

We conclude, thanking you for your polite attention to Mr. Whitfield, and shall be disposed to make you a like return in future.

We have the honor to be, your obedient servants,

RICHARD WINN, *Superintendent.*  
ANDREW PICKENS, *Commissioner for South Carolina.*  
GEORGE MATHEWS, *Commissioner for Georgia.*

F. No. 10.

LITTLE TALLASSEE, 12th August, 1788.

GENTLEMEN:

I have received your letter of the 16th July, this day. It is with equal surprise and concern, that I learn from you that the honorable the Congress has not authorized you, its commissioners, to give us a full redress of our complaints, and to give us full satisfaction in what concerns our territory, which the Georgians are attempting to wrest from us forcibly; all which we were taught to expect from the justice and humanity of that honorable body, from the measure adopted by them in sending Doctor White among us, to be fully and truly informed of the cause of the war between us and Georgia. We had great expectations that we should soon experience the good effects of it, in having the causes of our discontents removed; and more particularly, on Mr. Whitfield's coming here, we did so firmly believe that we were on the point of obtaining a satisfactory peace, that we were eager to meet you and conclude one; but your letter discovers to me that nothing has been done, and all is yet to do.

It was expected that the requisition which I made to you for removing the Georgians from the disputed lands, was to be considered by you as it was meant by us, as an indispensable preliminary to form the basis on which the treaty of peace was to be concluded.

I feel much pleasure in your approving of the leading sentiments as expressed in my letter by Mr. Whitfield, and it is with regret that I remark, that our enemy does not manifest an equal disposition with us, to terminate the war, by agreeing to equitable terms of peace; and, as we ask no concession from them as the price of peace, so they ought not to demand any on our side.

When I next meet the chiefs, which will be early in September, I will explain to them the contents of your letter.

Meantime I answer you, as well knowing that they will not consent to treat, unless they see their requisition enforced.

I have the honor to be, with most respectful consideration, your most obedient servant,

ALEX'R MCGILLIVRAY.

To the Hon. Generals RICHARD WINN, ANDREW PICKENS, and GEORGE MATHEWS,  
*Commissioners appointed by the honorable the Congress, to treat with the Southern Nations of Indians.*

F. No. 11.

WINNSBOROUGH, 8th December, 1788.

SIR:

I do myself the honor to enclose you a copy of McGillivray's last letter to the commissioners and myself, together with our answer, by which you will discover, if the Indians evade coming to a treaty, they mean war, and will, in my opinion, come down in great force against the State of Georgia.

On the receipt of his letter, which never came to hand till the 13th of last month, though dated so early as the 15th of September, I immediately directed a meeting of the commissioners at Hopewell, when it was agreed on, that the treaty could not take place sooner than next May, or June, as it was thought necessary the Indians should have time to consult, and finally determine on the last talk sent them, which is the answer alluded to, wherein we expressly request their reply to be pointed and decisive, and that it be despatched to us as soon as possible. Should they do this, it will give Congress and the Georgians timely notice to prepare for the worst, or otherwise, as it may happen.

Not long since, a fort, between French Broad and Holston rivers, was taken by the Cherokees and Creeks. Ten persons were killed, and about thirty were made prisoners. The war is still carried on between North Carolina and the Cherokees. By a talk I lately held with one of the chiefs of that nation, he says, "notwithstanding what has happened between them, their principal men wish for peace; that they are now holding a great talk among their head men and warriors, the result of which was not determined, but he thinks they would gladly bury the hatchet."

I have every reason to believe that McGillivray is trying to unite the two nations, the Creeks and Cherokees. The South Carolina and Georgia commissioners think, with me, that, if the State of North Carolina would send forward their commissioner with the supplies, a treaty might be effected with the Cherokees, before a junction with the Creeks could take place.

Sir, with regard, I have the honor to be, your most obedient servant,

RICHARD WINN.

The Honorable Major General KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

F. No. 12.

LITTLE TALLASSEE, 15th September, 1788.

GENTLEMEN:

I have received your letter of 28th of August, wherein you desire that the proposed treaty between us may be deferred until the spring of the next year; the reasons you give us for that measure are good, and to which we do agree, hoping that a new Congress, acting on the principles of the new constitution of America, will set every thing to rights between us on the most equitable footing, so that we may become real friends to each other, settling on the same land, and having but one interest.

We expected that, upon Mr. Whitfield's return, a truce of arms would have been directly proclaimed in Georgia, and can't account for the delay of that measure; and in fact, there has been no observance of it on their part, from June till now. They have been driving and plundering our hunting camps of horses and skins, &c. and it is only lately, that a Coweta Indian brought me a paper, which he found fastened to a tree near to Flint river, which, upon a close examination, I find to be a threatening letter directed to me. It is wrote on the back of an advertisement, with gunpowder; a part of it rubbed out as it dried, and with the carriage. The writing says something of the war, and your savage subjects, and an establishment of peace you must "not expect, until all our damages are made good at the treaty, and satisfaction we will have for our grievances," from all which, I foresee great difficulty in the attempt to preserve strict suspension of hostility. I can only assure you, that we shall regulate ourselves by the conduct of the Georgians, and act according to circumstances. The writing I mention, is signed Jan. Alexander, 5th August, 1788. The Cherokees are daily coming in to me, complaining of acts of hostility committed in the most barbarous manner by the Americans, and numbers are taking refuge within our territory, who are permitted to settle and build villages under our protection. Such acts of violence, committed at the time that the Congress, through you, is holding out to the whole nations and tribes, professions of the most friendly nature, makes it appear to all, that such professions are only deceitful snares to lull them into a security, whereby the Americans may the more easily destroy them.

Be not offended, gentlemen, at the remark; 'tis true that it is universal through the Indians.

I am, with great respect, gentlemen, your humble servant,

ALEX. M'GILLIVRAY.

The Honorable Generals RICHARD WINN, ANDREW PICKENS, and GEORGE MATHEWS,  
*Commissioners for treating with the Southern Nations of Indians.*

F. No. 13.

HOPEWELL ON KEOWEE, Nov. 28th, 1788.

SIR:

Your letter of the 12th August and 15th September are now before us. With regard to the former, wherein you mention *nothing has been done, and all is yet to do*, give us leave to tell you, that every thing in our power has been done, in order to bring forward a treaty, and, under the authority of Congress, to give you full and ample redress in what concerns your territory. At the same time we must observe, that that honorable body will not lose sight of doing equal justice to the State of Georgia, whose claim to what you call the disputed lands, is confirmed by three different treaties, signed by your head-men and warriors. Therefore, we earnestly recommend you and the chiefs seriously to consider, under these circumstances, how impossible it is for us to comply with your requisition, relative to removing the people from the Oconee lands; this can only be the business of the treaty, after a full investigation of the right of claim.

In answer to your last, where you so pointedly attack that body under whom we have the honor to act, we cannot be silent, least it should be tortured into a conviction of guilt. Narrow and illiberal indeed must be that mind, that could for a moment suppose, that Congress, after withstanding one of the greatest Powers of Europe, with her allies, together with almost the whole of the Indian tribes combined, should at this day have recourse to base artifice, in order to accomplish the ruin of a few Indian tribes, while she is enjoying the blessings of peace at home, and an honorable name among the nations of the world.

We have already enclosed you the Governor of Georgia's proclamation, dated July the 31st, last, for a truce of arms, which has been as strictly adhered to as possible; and any thing that has happened in violation of it, had you been more explicit, and mentioned the time and place where the Indians' horses and skins were plundered, strict inquiry might have been made, and the offenders punished.

If we take a view of the conduct of the Indians on your part, we have more right to complain: we daily hear of the most cruel depredations, committed by the Creeks on the Georgians; the man you allude to, (Alexander) we are credibly informed, was in pursuit of a party of Creeks that had stole twelve horses from Green county, and notwithstanding we have had every assurance given us, that hostilities should cease. The Governor of Georgia has lately handed us a list of the different counties that have recently suffered, to wit:

Liberty County, between 25 and 30 negroes, and several large stocks of cattle.

Effingham, one man killed.

Wilkes, from 6 to 10 horses plundered.

Greene, from 21 to 27 horses do.

Washington, 6 horses do.

Franklin, from 16 to 20 horses do. One man wounded.

We must add to the above list, a pair of fine dun geldings, taken from General Martin, about a mile from his plantation, by some of the Coweta Indians, while he was acting under Congress as agent for the Cherokees and Chickasaws.

The Seminolean Indians are likewise doing a deal of mischief; we know not whether they belong to any part of the Creeks, but wish to be informed. From these violations committed, what can the Union expect, unless a stricter compliance on your part is observed in putting a stop to hostilities? We are well assured, Congress will not look on in silence, and see any part of the Union robbed of its citizens. Enclosed you will find a late resolve of Congress, and a proclamation relative to the Cherokees.

It is our sincere wish that you will meet us the eighth day of June next, at the place appointed before; but should this appear to you at too distant a period, a month sooner will be no object with us in holding a treaty. In the interim, we fully assure you nothing shall be wanting on our parts, in the observance of a strict suspension of arms, on a presumption that you will act in like manner. We request that you will consult the head men and warriors, on this occasion, and send us a pointed and decisive answer, signed jointly, as soon as possible.

We are, sir, with due respect, your obedient servants,

RICHARD WINN,  
ANDREW PICKENS,  
GEORGE MATHEWS.

To ALEXANDER M'GILLIVRAY, Esq.

*and the head men and warriors of the Creek nation.*

F. No. 14.

WINNSBOROUGH, Dec. 19th, 1788.

SIR:

Since I had the honor of writing you last, I have received by express, from the Governor of North Carolina, that the Legislature of that State has appointed a John Steele, Esq. commissioner on Indian Affairs, and voted their quota, agreeably to the resolves of Congress. They have also requested the Governor to issue his proclamation, that hostilities do cease against the Cherokees, and to send a talk to Mr. McGillivray, that it is their wish to be at peace with the Creeks. These steps being taken on the part of North Carolina, there is not the least doubt of a friendly treaty taking place with the Cherokees, which persuades me will lead to one with the Creeks. The Executive of that State think the last of May the best time for holding a treaty.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

RICHARD WINN.

Hon. Maj. Gen. KNOX.

F. No. 15.

WINNSBOROUGH, March 1, 1789.

SIR:

I think it necessary to inform you, that a treaty will take place with the Cherokee Indians, the third Monday in May next, at the upper war-ford on French broad river, in the neighborhood of Swananno, State of North Carolina.

The Creek Indians, 'tis supposed, will also treat; they are now holding a great talk in their nation, the result of which is not yet come to hand.

I have the honor to subscribe myself, your most obedient servant,

RICHARD WINN.

The Honorable Major General KNOX.

G.

*A talk, lately sent by the Commissioners of Indian affairs in the Southern Department, to the Creeks' correspondent.*

TO THE HEAD-MEN, CHIEFS, AND WARRIORS, OF THE CREEK NATION.

We last year appointed a time and place for holding a treaty with you, to establish a lasting peace between you and us, that we might again become as one people; you all know the reasons why it was not held at that time.

We now send you a talk, inviting you to a treaty on your bank of the Oconee river, at the rock landing. We wished to meet you at that place on the 8th of June, but, as that day is so near at hand, you might not all get notice. We therefore shall expect to meet you on the 20th of June.

We have changed the place of meeting from that of the last year; so that none of you should have reason to complain; it is your own ground, and on that land we wish to renew our former trade and friendships, and to remove every thing that has blinded the path between you and us.

We are now governed by a President, who is like the old King over the great water; he commands all the warriors of the thirteen great Fires. He will have regard to the welfare of all the Indians; and, when peace shall be established, he will be your father and you will be his children, so that none shall dare to do you harm.

We know that lands have been the cause of dispute between you and the white people; but we now tell you that we want no new grants; our object is to make a peace, and to unite us all under our great chief warrior and President, who is the father and protector of all the white people. Attend to what we say: Our traders are very rich, and have houses full of such goods as you used to get in former days; it is our wish that you should trade with them, and they with you, in strict friendship.

Our brother, George Galphin, will carry you this talk; listen to him; he will tell you nothing but truth from us. Send us your answer by him.

ANDREW PICKENS,  
H. OSBORNE,

*Commissioners of the United States for Indian affairs, in the Southern Department.*

APRIL 20, 1789.

G. No. 1.

AUGUSTA, August 9, 1787.

GENTLEMEN:

From a wish that you may be informed, and through you the honorable the Congress of the United States, of the situation of this State with the Creek Indians, I do myself the pleasure to enclose you two talks I have received from that nation, with my answers thereto, from which it appears there is reason to expect this State will be compelled to engage in a war with them. It would ill become a free people, and more particularly those of Georgia, to give satisfaction for the warriors that have been killed for murders committed on our peaceable inhabitants, in violation of the most solemn treaties entered into with us, as this State had experienced many and repeated injuries from that nation, during the late war with Great Britain, such as killing our inhabitants and plundering us of our property, all of which we were willing to sacrifice rather than continue the war a day longer than the United States wished to crown the Union with peace.

That you may be as well informed as the nature and situation of matters will admit, it is needful that I should inform you, that, from letters I received from James White, Esq. agent for Indian affairs for the southern department, dated last March and April, there was some reason to think the Indians were not perfectly for peace; and, on his return to the State, he informed me that they had assured him that no hostilities should be committed or injury done to this State before August, or until they received an answer from Congress or him; but, in direct violation of this promise, they did, on the 29th day of May, in the county of Greene, kill and scalp two of our men, and carried off a negro and fourteen horses. A party of militia crossed the Oconee river in pursuit of the murderers fell in with some Indians of that nation, and killed twelve, which, from the first talk I received, appear to be of the Lower towns, and the murderers from the Upper Towns, which is the distinction they make. From their talk I thought we were to have peace; as they remark, it was impossible for us to tell whether it was the Upper or Lower Creeks that had done the murder, or been killed by our men. Their talk of the 27th of July insolently demands the officer that commanded the party, and as many of his men to be delivered to them as will make satisfaction for the twelve warriors they have lost. Candor compels me to say, when I think of this insolent demand, the repeated alarms they have given our frontiers, and the injury the State sustains from them, that I feel my blood run warm in my veins, and a just impulse to chastise them for their insolence and perfidy, and think it my indispensable duty, if they commit hostilities on this State, to take the most effectual means in my power for the defence of the same, by carrying the war into their country, or such other measures as may be most for the safety and happiness of the inhabitants of this country.

I have the honor to be, with much respect and real esteem, gentlemen, your most obd't serv't,

GEO. MATHEWS.

G. No. 2.

CUSSETAHS, June 14, 1787.

The beloved man from Congress was here, and we had talk with him; what was agreed upon there, did not answer; then Mr. McGillivray came over here, and matters were settled. Mr. White and Mr. McGillivray came upon terms, and it was told to them, and they agreed to it, till such time as Col. White sent an answer back. We then thought that matters were settled, and we did nothing but mind our business. Mr. McGillivray promised to acquaint the Upper Towns of this, and for them to lie still. We then expected that Mr. White would inform the State of Georgia of this, and tell them that we were their friends. We minded nothing but our hunting; we always talk together, and always agreed, and promised that if any thing happened we would not go on rashly, but let one another know our grievances. You always promised that the innocent should not suffer for the guilty. You certainly knew us; we were always among the houses; we did not know of the Upper Towns doing any mischief, nor did we think that our friends would kill us for what other bad people did. You could not think that it was any of the Lower Towns did you any mischief, when we were at your houses and living with you in a manner that you might be sure it was not us. We knew nothing of these bad people going out to do any mischief, or we would have sent you word; and we don't think but you must have known that we were your friends, or we should not have been among you a hunting; and hope you will send us an answer, and tell us the reason that you have killed your friends for what other people did. It is not the rule of the Indians to acquaint you of this, but to take satisfaction; but we were always your friends, and we will not take rash steps, unless you will throw us away and not have us for friends. We always were your friends, and will be, let what will happen, is the reason we lie still, although we have lost nine of our people innocently; but still we wont take rash steps. We must have an answer immediately, that we may know what to do. Hope you will consider us, the Lower Towns, to be your friends. We look upon all white people as one, and suppose you look upon all Indians as one, is the reason you have killed your friends, who were your friends in the time of war, and are yet. We have had a meeting lately with the Northward Indians. We told them, and so did Mr. McGillivray, that we had settled matters with the Virginians, and could not go to war. The Oakgees went, unknown to any of the rest of the towns, and killed some of your people: not as many as you killed of your friends; but we wont take rash steps, as we are your friends; and we would be glad of an answer, to know what to do. We have told you the number killed; we have a number of people out a hunting; we don't know but there is more killed innocently; but we will lie still, and hope you will send us an answer: it shall be received as friends to us still, as we look upon you as friends still. We are sure that you must have been sensible that it was not the people that was among you did the murder. It was your rule that the innocent should not suffer for the guilty. Hope you will send an answer, that we may know what to do. We speak the voice of the whole Lower Towns, and hope you will consider us as friends. We hope you will send us an answer, and a white flag with it, that we may still be friends; and we will have all the towns together, and hear your answer; and then we will be friends again. No person need be afraid to come up, as the whole nation will be acquainted with this. Who brings an answer will bring a white flag, upon a pole, in his hand. We shall wait for an answer, and nothing shall be done to you, no hurt whatever. The talk you sent to Mr. Barnard, by John Galphin, he delivered to Mr. Barnard a good while ago, two days after he arrived, which we have not yet heard, nor seen Mr. Barnard, as he has not come to town yet to tell us the talk. We hope you will consider us as friends, as you are sensible we are your friends: for, when the English offered us great presents to go and kill you, we told them we would not; that you were our friends and brothers; we were born in one land, and we were your friends and brothers, and will be to the last day, though you have not treated us as friends; but it might be a mistake; and hope, my friends, that you will not delay an answer, but let it come up with speed. There is a fellow down there belonging to our town, the Cussetahs, we hope he wont be hurt, but let him and John Galphin's negro, that he went down with, if you are afraid to send up, if you will send up the talk by John Galphin's negro and the Indian that is there, if you will be so good as to send them safe over the Oconee, then we shall be good friends, and try to keep the path white between us. You will likewise appoint somebody to give out the talks up here, and let a man be here constantly, that when there are any bad people who wants to do mischief, that they can send word down to alarm the settlements, so that we may then live like brothers; and let us try to keep peace, for peace is better than war. We can't blame you for taking satisfaction, if you had not taken satisfaction from those people who were at the houses with you every day; and if it is done in a mistake, we must try and take satisfaction from those bad people that went down and did the first mischief. However, I hope you will send us a good talk as soon as possible; the sooner it comes the better for both parties, that we may take one another by the hand again, and see one another once more in friendship, as we always will.

By the request of the Lower Creeks, the two chiefs, the Hallowing King of the Cowetas, and the Fat King of the Cussetahs.

JOHN GALPHIN.  
JAS. DOUZEAZEAX,  
*Interpreter.*

G. No. 3.

*To the head-men and warriors of the Lower Creeks.—29th June, 1787.*

## FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:

Your friendly talk we have just received by our commissary, Mr. Barnard, and are very sorry to be informed that some of your people, our friends, should have been killed through mistake by our warriors, to revenge the murders of some of our peaceable inhabitants. Yourselves must be fully convinced that our people have not been the aggressors in this instance. As soon as the murders were committed by the Indians, our warriors crossed the river, and unfortunately fell in with your people. It was impossible then to distinguish whether you were our friends or enemies. We never knew, until we received your talk, by whom our people were murdered, whether by Upper, or whether by Lower Creeks. We have repeatedly assured you it was our desire to be at peace with the whole of your nation. We still have the same wish, notwithstanding what has passed.

BROTHERS: Remember the caution we now give you: should any acts of hostilities be in future committed against our people, or should any property be taken from them, be assured it will be impossible to prevent our warriors from doing themselves justice. Our great council are to meet in a day or two, previous to which, had we not received your talk, a large army would have been sent into your nation. What consequences would have attended this, you are capable of judging. We have sent orders to our warriors not on any pretence to cross the Oconee river. We wish you to give your people the same instructions. This will be the means of preventing any disputes in future.

BROTHERS: Should the conduct of the Upper Creeks render it necessary to march an army into the nation, be assured we will consider your towns as friends and brothers, and treat you as such.

BROTHERS: If you have the friendship for us you express, it is your duty to keep a watchful eye on the conduct of those who you may suppose have a wish or desire to disturb our friendship. Mr. Barnard or Mr. Galphin are always among you. If you hear of any mischief intended against our settlements, it is your duty to inform one or both of them of it immediately. This you are particularly bound to observe by an article of the last treaty, entered into with our commissioners at Shoulderbone.

You acknowledged that the beloved man of the Upper creeks, Mr. McGillivray, made a promise to our beloved man who was sent from the White town, that no mischief whatever should be done. After having this assurance, our people considered themselves safe, and looked upon all the Indians of your nation as friends and brothers. Have you not often entered into the most solemn engagements with us? And have not you as often violated them? What had our people to expect, when they saw their peaceable countrymen murdered? They determined to take satisfaction for the repeated injuries they had received, and it was with great difficulty that we, the grand council, could prevent our young warriors from marching in a body into the heart of your nation. From your late conduct, and

the assurance you have given us in your talk, rest satisfied that we consider you, the Lower towns, as our best friends and brothers; and if you do not long continue to hold fast the chain of our friendship, it will not be the faults of the white people.

You express a wish in your talk to have one of your people, who has been some time at Mr. Galphin's, sent to you. We have inquired for him, and find he has been gone several days, and hope he is now safe among you. Mr. Barnard, who is always with you, will carefully attend to all talks that we may send, and deliver them out to you as soon as they arrive among you.

BROTHERS: We really regret the loss of your innocent people who have lately been killed. It is your duty as men and warriors to do yourselves justice, by taking satisfaction of the persons who were the cause of it. In doing this, we shall be fully convinced of your brotherly love and friendship towards us.

BROTHERS: It is our wish to see you and the Upper Creeks one people; but should they continue to create differences between you and us, and you should think yourselves unable to take satisfaction, we will, as all friends and brothers ought to do, be ever ready to give any assistance you may require.

#### G. No. 4.

*In a meeting of the Lower Creeks in the Cussetahs, 27th July, 1787.—Talk of the Fat King to his honor Governor Matthews and the Council.*

#### FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:

The talk you sent us in answer to ours, by your commissary, Mr. Barnard, we have seen this day; and, as that talk is not satisfactory to our people, we have agreed upon to send you this one more.

FRIENDS: 'Tis not we that have forgot the talks at Shoulderbone, but you. Among other things, it was proposed by you, and agreed to by us, that no hasty revenges should be taken in future by either side; and in the late affairs 'tis you that have been rash: for when the injury was done to you, you did not wait but for a little while and look around you to find out from whence the blow came, but fell directly upon our people, your real friends, who were daily among your houses, and whose persons you well knew, and some that were taken, declared themselves and towns to you, which you disregarded; it might have been from people of another nation for what you knew at that time.

FRIENDS: You ought not to think of making us accountable for any measures of the Upper towns, our brothers. They had two men killed last summer, and they can answer for themselves. They went against you unknown to Mr. G. or us, and he did not mean to break the promise he made to Mr. White, as he had declared to the whole nation, and a talk from him is still expected by us.

FRIENDS: You must give us immediate satisfaction, life for life, an equal number for twelve of our people destroyed by you. The leader of these mad people that did the mischief, and so many of his people, should fall for satisfaction; ('tis our custom to give it) then the tears of the relations of the dead will be dried up, and our hearts not continue hot against you: for it is in vain that you call us friends and brothers, and don't consider and treat us as such; and as you wish the chain of friendship to be kept bright between us, we expect you will not fail to give us the desired satisfaction, as we should have given you had we been in fault.

When you do this, you will then send a gentleman into our land to renew friendship, as we have often gone into yours for such purposes.

A. MCGILLIVRAY.

In twenty days from the date that Mr. Galphin sets out, we shall expect the return of Mr. Galphin.

#### G. No. 5.

*To the Fat King and other head-men of the Lower Creeks.—7th August, 1787.*

When we received your talk by Mr. Barnard, our commissary, we considered you as friends and brothers. In the one you now send us, there appears to be much reason to suspect you of deceit, and that you were then, as well as now, secretly our enemies. Whether this sudden change has been owing to the duplicity of your beloved man Mr. Gillivray, or whether you assume this conduct, it matters not. On what principle can you demand satisfaction? Your warriors were killed for the murder of our innocent inhabitants, committed by your nation, in direct violation of the most solemn treaties entered into with us. We wished, and still do wish, we could forget the many and repeated injuries you have done us during and since the late war with Great Britain. It is in vain to talk of satisfaction. Did you not, last summer, kill six of our peaceable frontier inhabitants? and did you not, at Shoulderbone, engage to have an equal number of your men put to death for them? Have you done this? No! Did you not, just before we received your last talk, murder two of our people on the Oconee? And did you not, also, at the very time Mr. Barnard was down from you, kill two white men? Have you complied with a single article of the treaties of Augusta, Galphinton, and Shoulderbone? No! Instead of complying with your several engagements, you have repeatedly murdered our innocent people, burned their houses, and carried off their property. All these outrages we have submitted to, rather than enter into a war with you. Your conduct towards us long since has authorized our putting flames to your towns, and indiscriminately killing your people; but a wish to be at peace with you, and to spare the effusion of human blood, has prevented this. Now open your ears *wide*, and hear what we tell you: Should any act of hostility, or depredations, be committed on our people by your nation, be perfectly assured we will not hesitate to do ourselves ample justice, by carrying war into your country, burning your towns, and staining your land with blood. You will then be compelled to fly for refuge to some other country.

It now rests with you, whether we engage in war or not; if we do, remember yourselves are answerable for the consequences. The hatchet once lifted is not easily buried.

*General Knox, Secretary of War, to the President of the United States.*

WAR OFFICE, July 28th, 1789.

SIR:

Having examined the report of the commissioners for treating with the Southern Indians, dated the 30th of June last, and the papers accompanying the same, I have the honor to observe:

That it is the opinion of the said commissioners, that the Creek nation of Indians are, generally, disposed to enter into a treaty with the United States, for the purpose of establishing a permanent peace.

That it is of great importance that the favorable dispositions of the said Creek nation should be embraced immediately, in order to terminate, by an equitable peace, the disturbances and hostilities which have for some years past existed on the Southern frontiers.

That the said commissioners having been appointed by the States of South Carolina and Georgia, in consequence of the resolves of the late Congress, of the 26th of October, 1787, it may be considered that their powers expired with the late confederation.

That, therefore, it may be proper to institute a commission, to consist of three persons, to be appointed conformably to the constitution, who should be invested with full powers to inquire into, and decide on, all causes of com-

plaint between the citizens of the United States and the Southern nations and tribes of Indians, and to negotiate and conclude with them, firm treaties of peace, on principles consistent with the national justice and dignity of the United States.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

H. KNOX.

The President of the United States.

GEORGIA, ROCK LANDING, ON THE OCONEE RIVER, June 30th, 1789.

SIR:

Agreeably to the appointment of the Executive of North Carolina, under the act of Congress of the 27th of October, 1787, we attended at the Upper War-ford, on French Broad river, from the 25th of last month, to the 7th instant, in order to meet, in treaty, the chiefs and head men of the Cherokee Indians, but as they did not attend on or before that day, we found it necessary to repair to this place, as the Executive of the State of Georgia had appointed the 20th of this month for treating with the Creek Indians. A treaty with the Creeks appearing to us to be of the greatest importance, we sent to the Cherokees a talk, No. 1. A.

On our way to this place, we met several of the Cherokee head men, at Seneca, who gave us the fullest assurances that no hostilities or depredations should be committed by any of their people, against the citizens of the United States, until a treaty should be held; and we have every reason to confide in their promises.

Some late depredations which were committed by the Creeks on the frontiers of this State, so alarmed their chiefs, that they returned home after having been a few days on their journey to this place. The talks No. 1, and 2; Mr. McGillivray's letter, No. 3; Mr. George Galphin's letter, No. 4; Mr. John Galphin's letters, No. 5, 6 and 7; and Mr. McGillivray's letter, No. 8; will explain to your excellency their reasons.

We have now with us, Mr. John Galphin, a chief speaker of the Lower Creeks; the White Bird King, or the Great King; with sixteen other Indians. They will return to the nation to-morrow, with our general talk, No. 9, and our letter to Mr. McGillivray, No. 10.

The great scarcity of corn, for upwards of eighty miles around us, was our principal reason for postponing the Creek treaty so long; by the middle of September we shall be aided with the new crop.

We are happy to inform your Excellency, from good authority, that the Creeks are, very generally, disposed for peace. We are well assured, that all the head men of that nation, with upwards of two thousand Indians, will attend the treaty in September, and we have the fairest prospects of establishing a permanent peace with the Creeks, on such terms as will be pleasing to the Indians, satisfactory to the State of Georgia, and honorable to the Union.

In justice to the State of Georgia, we cannot conclude this letter without expressing our entire satisfaction in the conduct of her government; they have cheerfully advanced several thousand dollars, to enable us to meet so large a body of Indians, in a manner suitable to the importance of the occasion.

We have the honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servants.

ANDREW PICKENS,  
H. OSBORNE.

His Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON,  
*President of the United States.*

No. 1. A.

UPPER WAR-FORD, ON FRENCH BROAD RIVER, 7th June, 1789.

*To the Head-men, Chiefs, and Warriors, of the Cherokee Nation.*

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:

Agreeable to our appointment with you, we met at this place, expecting to have the pleasure of meeting you, to settle all disputes that have subsisted between you and the white people. We have waited here for you twelve days, and we are now obliged to go and meet the Creeks, on the Oconee, on the 20th of this month, so that we can stay no longer. We are, therefore, under the necessity of postponing the treaty with you till some other time that will be appointed and made convenient for both parties.

We are sorry to find that the people of Cumberland have reason to complain; many of those people have been killed by the Indians. You all know that the people of Cumberland make no encroachments upon your lands; the line was settled at Seneca, and the people of Cumberland do not go over it. We hope none of your people are concerned in such mischief, as it would interrupt the good intentions of Congress towards your people. We expect you will put a stop to all such proceedings against any of our people, until we meet you in treaty, when we have no doubt of settling all matters to your satisfaction. In token of our friendship, we send you a string of white beads.

ANDREW PICKENS,  
JOHN STEELE,  
H. OSBORNE.

No. 1.

*A talk from the Head-men and Chiefs of the Lower Creek nation, to the Commissioners of the United States, of Indian affairs, in the Southern Department.—May 23d, 1789.*

We received your talk by Mr. George Galphin, but at that present time we were not able to give you an answer, in consequence of a great meeting and a talk being concluded by Mr. McGillivray, and the whole nation, in consequence of the encroachments of the Georgians on our hunting grounds. Orders were given out for our warriors to be in readiness to turn out in respect to their lands. We then first sent runners every where to stop and turn back all parties they could come up with, until we could hear from Mr. McGillivray, and have his advice in the matter. There are some people, we believe, gone on, the consequence of which we cannot be accountable for, as they were gone before your talk came in; but I hope there will be no blood spilt; your delay in not sending up your talk sooner, is the reason of it: had your talk come a little sooner, it might have been a great deal better. We have been informed you would send a talk to us, but its not coming, we did not know what to do. Now we have sent to Mr. McGillivray to know when he will appoint the time for setting off to meet you at the place you appointed. Mr. Galphin is gone to settle this matter with him; he will bring you word when it will be agreed on by the chiefs of the Lower Creek nation.

No. 2.

*A Talk from the Chiefs, Head-men, and Warriors, of the Lower Creek Nation.—1st June, 1789.*

The day is coming at last, that I hope we shall see you our fathers, friends, and brothers again, as we used in friendship, and renew all our former friendships. It was never our intention to be against any white people. We now come to take you by the hand, with a clear and willing mind, and with an intent to remove all things that had shut our path so long, and to renew our former trade in friendship once more.



We have always received your talks friendly, and sent you our talks again; letting you know always our grievances, and the reasons why this long dispute; but we now hope all will be forgot, and we now come to make our talks firm again, as we did when we first took white people by the hand. As we were all made by one master of breath, although put in different parts of the earth, he did not make us to be at variance against each other; but it has happened, by the bad doings of our mad people, on both sides. When we first met the white people, at the sea side, we did not meet in arms, but with a desire of being further acquainted with each other; until the great encroachments of our lands raised us, which has occasioned the late troubles among us. You are sensible that, at our first meeting at the sea side, for the benefit of trade, we gave our land as far as the water ebbed and flowed, and, by frequent request, granted as far as possible, reserving our hunting grounds: for what will be the use of goods brought amongst us, if our young men have not hunting ground to kill game, to purchase the goods brought to us?

We never met together yet to explain our grievances, but we told them to the beloved man, Col. White, who came here to us, and he promised to lay all our talks, that we gave him, before the Congress, and that we should have redress and justice done us. Now we rest with hopes that you will do the same by us, as we expect you have the same talks.

We received your invitation, and do expect that, when we meet, all past grievances will be forgot, and laid a-one side, and then renew our friendship once more, to the satisfaction of all our people. Mr. George Galphin will acquaint you of every particular. This is all we have to say, until we shall take you by the hand, as our fathers, friends, and brothers.

JAMES DEREZEAX, *Interpreter.*

## No. 3.

LITTLE TALLASSEE, 18th May, 1789.

DEAR SIR:

I have this moment received your letter, enclosing a talk of invitation to the chiefs and warriors of the nation to meet the commissioners of Congress the 20th June next.

I wish that you could have been up, while I was in the Lower towns; the great fatigue which I have undergone this spring, prevents my seeing the Lower chiefs on the occasion.

I have received a letter from the commissioners and superintendent last winter, in which they declared, in the most pointed and unequivocal terms, that it was impossible to make the restitution of territory the basis of a peace between us and Georgia, which we demanded as a first measure to be complied with by them, to lead the way to a lasting peace.

At our late convention, I explained the letter to the chiefs, who were much dissatisfied at the declaration, and observed, that it was in vain to talk of peace while an obstacle of such magnitude was suffered to remain in the way of it, on the part of the Georgians; and the warlike preparations, which you notice in your letter, are carrying on to make another trial to accomplish by force, what can't be obtained by peaceable methods. Our excursions, hitherto, have been made with no other view than to warn the Georgians to desist from their injustice, and to induce them to listen to reason and humanity. It is well known, that, if any other was our motive, that our force and resources are equal to effect their destruction.

On the present occasion, the chiefs, having sent for my opinion and advice, I have wrote to them, to be explained by Mr. Derezeaux. I have left the matter to their own choice; if they agree to meet, I will likewise go, though I have the best reasons against it. Yet apprehensions for personal security shall not deter me from fulfilling the duty which I owe my country.

I am, sir, your humble servant,

ALEX. MCGILLIVRAY.

MR. GEO. GALPHIN, at *Cussetahs.*

## No. 4.

LOWER CREEKS, May 27, 1789.

GENTLEMEN:

I have to acquaint your honors, that, on my arrival in the Creek nation, I found it in a very bad situation to bring about a treaty. I at first began to despair of having it in my power to effect any of the business I came on, as the whole Upper and Lower Creeks, down as far as the Seminoles, were ready fitted off to go out to war; and would have been started, if I had been but four days later, on the frontiers of Georgia. Upwards of three thousand would have been out, and intended to have drove Ogechee from the mouth to the head, which I fear they would have effected, after viewing the frontiers in such an unprepared state, and the Indians going on at such a surprise.

I was told, by many of the Indians, that, if any one else had come at such a time but myself, they never should have returned back. The cause of their setting out on such a general excursion, was by consent of Mr. McGillivray, after a general meeting of the chiefs and head men of the whole Upper and Lower Creeks; and, being informed by him that they were not to have their lands on the Oconees restored to them again, he acquainted them that the Spaniards had provided for them, for the purpose of defending their rights to their lands, fifteen hundred stand of arms, and forty thousand weight of ammunition. This, he told me, was what the Governor or commandant at Pensacola told him, was what they had orders to do by orders from their king. On hearing of this great supply, the Indians were much exalted, and, I believe, would have turned out to a man, except the Cussetahs, who seemed much against it, which was happy for me on my business, or I could have done nothing.

On my arrival at the Cussetahs, I met with Mr. Barnard, who had been at Mr. McGillivray's talk, and had been trying all he could to put a stop to their rash proceedings, till an express was sent down, with an offer of peace on any conditions, as any thing that could be done to prolong the time, until news could have been got down, to have warned the frontiers from such a destruction as must have ensued, would have been better than to have it gone on. Mr. Barnard's offers could not avail, as the Indians seemed determined to prosecute what they begun. Mr. Barnard's life and property were immediately threatened, and every exertion possible made use of, to prevent his going off, or sending down news to Georgia of what was going forward. At my meeting Mr. Barnard at the Cussetahs, I handed him his honor the Governor's letter, likewise General Twiggs', and communicated the whole of my business to him. He acquainted me with every matter respecting the present situation of affairs, and gave me every advice he thought necessary to effect my business, and then left me to my brother John to complete it, as he told me he dared not be seen to concern with me, at that time, at the risk of his life, which I found to be the truth.

My brother, having a good deal of influence in the Cowetas, through our connexion there, which was the most strenuous for mischief, I set him to work on them, and myself with the Cussetahs. We, in two days, got them to stop all that were on the move, till we could write Mr. McGillivray. They agreed to wait till they heard his answer. After finding out the true situation of affairs, and, according to my instructions from you, I wrote a letter acquainting him fully with my business with the chiefs of the nation, and from whom I was sent; and, as head of the nation, gave him every security, if he attended the treaty, that no molestation would by any means take place, but that every respect would be shown him, which I hope your honors will take every step to secure, that my promises to him and the rest of the heads may not be violated. After my letter, he left the determination of the business on hand to the heads of the Cussetahs and Cowetas, who, after seeing his answer, consented to treat. He, at the same time, gave them to understand, that, if they were inclined to a treaty, he would likewise attend, and, by what I can plainly see, there is no measure to be fallen upon, to settle the present cause of dispute, without his voice. Even if a treaty could be called without his consent, it could not be a general one; therefore it would only be leaving matters in the same disagreeable situation that they are now in, and leaving the frontiers still open to perpetual violation. His attendance will put the matter effectually out of every kind of jeopardy, one way or other.

I am now at Mr. Barnard's, on Flint river, forwarding to you this express. I likewise sent my brother off, before I left the town, to Mr. McGillivray, to know exactly when he and the rest of the heads would wish to meet. I set off again for the Cussetahs to-morrow, and, on the return of my brother, I shall, in a few days, set out for Augusta, where I hope, by the time I get there, you will nearly effect every preparation necessary for a treaty at the Rock Landing.

I shall be particular in ascertaining every necessary intelligence, which I hope in a short time to be able to communicate to your honors in Augusta. Till then I remain, with due respect,

Your honors' most obed't humble serv't,

GEO. GALPHIN.

P. S. I have enclosed Mr. McGillivray's answer to me for your perusal, and likewise a talk from the whole of the Lower Creeks.

G. G.

The Hon. AND'W PICKENS and H'Y OSBORN, Esq.  
*Commissioners for Indian Affairs in Southern Department, at Augusta.*

No. 5.

COWETAS, 23d May, 1789.

SIR:

I take the liberty of writing to your honor of the situation of this our country. When my brother arrived here, we had just had a full meeting of all the chiefs, and had long waited for talks, but never received any. A John Tarvin arrived from Augusta, who we expected we should have some talks by, but had none; there were a few private letters for Mr. McGillivray, but nothing of consequence. The chiefs then thought it was not the Georgians' intention to make a peace, on which many turned out; and the day my brother arrived, there were not less than two thousand under arms. I gave him my assistance, and stopped all; and immediately sent to Mr. McGillivray, who acted the same. There might be small parties out that were gone so far, that it was out of our power to stop them: they turned out before your talks came up to this country. I hope that the small damages, which may be done by them, will be overlooked; if not, perhaps we shall not agree, as it cannot be accounted for, when they were in the woods before your talks came to this country, and I hope all will be looked over. I am sorry it was not more in my power to assist my brother, owing to a bad state of health I have been in for some time past; but, finding that he must fall through with his business, if I did not assist him, though I rode about with him in great pain; and yesterday had a meeting of the Lower towns, from which you will see the talks. I found it necessary to go up to the Upper towns, and see Mr. McGillivray, as it was needless to have a treaty with part of the nation, and not the whole. It may, perhaps, detain the time longer; but the business will be well done. I had been told that his honor the Governor wrote to Mr. Barnard; am surprised that his honor is not more acquainted with business of this country, than to think that Mr. Barnard's influence could be of any service to that country. I believe him to be a friend of the State of Georgia, but I must take the liberty to acquaint you that Mr. Barnard cannot do any thing here more than a trader, nor is it in his power. You will get the fullest information of this country by my brother George, and a treaty, you may rely on, we will try, if possible, to be at the time appointed; but, if we should not, you must wait a few days longer, as this is an extensive country, and business cannot be done in a day or two. It will be necessary that every preparation be made, for we will try to make a lasting peace; and, for that intention, I will try to bring the chiefs of the whole nation. We may be in number, that will come down, about two or three thousand, and hope that you will be in readines for the reception of that number.

I must now give some small remarks of the usage I have had in the State of Georgia. When I was only seventeen, the Assembly, under some pretence, robbed me of better than forty thousand acres of land, a precedent not to be equalled in all the annals of history. I then settled store on the Oconee river, and, being alarmed that the Indians were likely to do mischief, Captain Kemp, with several of the neighbors, requested I would go to the nation to know the certainty, and, if possible, to prevent so shocking a scene. On my way up, I met and passed them; no sooner out of sight, I got round them, and gave the inhabitants timely notice, though my horse tired, and had to travel on foot forty miles, a fatigue I was but little accustomed to. They might, had they been possessed of one spark of gratitude, reckoned that information a temporal salvation. I leave the judicious part, for I think there must be some, to judge their gratitude, when, at that very juncture, they burned my house, robbed me of better than two hundred pounds sterling, to induce me to believe it was the Indians; and repeatedly threatened my life, from no motive, I know of, but of saving them. Had the men who made application the smallest idea of justice, they would not have suffered me to be treated as I was. Soon after, the commissioners made application to me to bring the Indians to a treaty; it was hardly possible for me to be zealous to serve a people who had so unjustly injured me, and were continually declaring they would take my life. However, to induce me to undertake it, and exhaust the remains of my shattered fortune, they seemed so point out steps that would retrieve my lands, and my own foolish credulity once more permitted me to comply with their request. The inhabitants were still swearing vengeance against me. I then did not think my life safe; I was then obliged to seek refuge in this, my own country, where I was in some safety; and I have laid out of my own pocket better than eighty pounds sterling in purchasing the prisoners that were brought here, and risque my life to save theirs. All this I have done to serve the Georgians. I will write you more satisfactory than at present, as I am now in a great hurry. You may be in preparation for a treaty; and have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obed't servant,

JOHN GALPHIN.

The Hon. HENRY OSBORNE, Esq.  
*Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Augusta.*

No. 6.

COWETAS, June 1st, 1789.

SIR:

In my last letter to you, I mentioned where I was going; to the Upper towns, in order to see Mr. McGillivray, and have just arrived, and completed the business that my brother came on, which he must have fallen through with, had I not assisted him. I have settled every matter for him, and will be ready to start from this place, with all the Lower towns, the 13th of this month. I expect to be joined with all the Upper Creeks, and our chief speaker, Mr. McGillivray, the tenth of this month. We shall have all the chiefs of the whole nation with us. I can just tell your honor, that there will be more chiefs at this treaty, than ever was at a treaty yet, in order to settle every dispute. Matters may be settled on good terms, but we cannot come upon any terms unless every dispute is settled on a good footing; particularly that of mine, concerning my lands, which were taken from me when I was under age. I should once have thought myself happy of being a citizen in the State of Georgia, but it was withheld, and I must now look upon myself a chief in the whole of the lower towns, as they have now given me the honor of settling their business for them. In my last, I gave you my reason for leaving the State of Georgia, but I would still wish every matter could be settled on good terms for a peace: for no man has taken more pains than I have.

I make no doubt there have been some people on the frontiers killed lately, but we have lost twelve in number; I think that may be upon a balance for what are lost on the frontiers.

I will try to be down by the time appointed; it will be very necessary that all white people, who have no business, should be ordered away, as they generally give more disturbance than any others; and for no person to come on this side of the river, as the Indians are a jealous people, and hope every method will be taken to keep people back that

have no business there, if not we shall return: for the people of Georgia always bully than treat with the Indians, but I hope such steps will not be taken now.

I remain sir, your obed't servant,

JOHN GALPHIN.

The Hon. HENRY OSBORNE, Esq.  
*Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Augusta.*

No. 7.

ROCK LANDING, 24th June, 1789.

GENTLEMEN:

I arrived here yesterday, and meeting Mr. Brian, the interpreter, this morning, he informed me of seeing a Mr. Whitehead on his way from the nation, who did not altogether give him a true account of us, but I can assure you that I have it in my power to settle every matter amicably and satisfactorily to both parties.

I shall wait at this place until I get an answer to return with, as your honors will find, by my instructions, that I can settle every thing agreeably.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

JOHN GALPHIN.

*The honorable Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs.*

No. 8.

COWETAS, 16th June, 1789.

SIR:

Upon receipt of this letter, you are requested by the chiefs to proceed to the proposed place of meeting at the Rock-landing, on the Oconee river, where, if you meet with the commissioners, you are to inform them, that the chiefs have resolved to put off the meeting for the present, for the following reasons:

That when the talk of invitation arrived here, the whole body of warriors were in arms, owing to the commissioners' letter of last winter, ready to turn out, but the chiefs being ever ready to listen to just terms of peace, they agreed to meet the commissioners to treat as they requested; but some parties having early gone out, could not be stopped, and they having returned within a few days of the appointed time for the chiefs setting out for the Rock Landing, and having done mischief in killing several people, the body of the people stopped the chiefs from proceeding to the Oconee, apprehensive that they might sustain injury and insult from the people of that country.

The chiefs are willing to treat at a time when, a few months having passed over, each other's minds will be more cool, and can talk over matters with calmness and temper; mean time they wish to have an answer from the commissioners, upon what grounds they intend to conduct the treaty on. They apprehend that some demands will be made, to which they cannot agree, and they don't wish to meet them to quarrel, but rather desire, when they do meet, to treat of peace, to do it in a peaceable manner, and to conclude a peace on terms that may make it a lasting one.

Wishing you a good journey, remain with esteem and regard,

Your most obedient servant,

ALEX. M'GILLIVRAY.

P. S. Assure the commissioners that every exertion will be made by the chiefs to keep things quiet, which may be depended on.

Mr. JOHN GALPHIN, in the Cowetas.

No. 9.

*To the Head-men, Chiefs, and Warriors, of the Creek nation.*

ROCK LANDING, on the Oconee, June 29th, 1789.

BROTHERS:

We came to this place expecting to meet you agreeably to our invitation, which we sent to you by Mr. George Galphin. We are sorry any thing should have happened to prevent your coming. We have heard your reasons from your chief speaker, Mr. McGillivray, with which we are satisfied. We have consulted your beloved man, Mr. John Galphin, and have fixed the time for meeting you all at this place, to be the 15th of September next. We hope you will be punctual in coming, that all disputes may be settled, and we may again take you by the hand as friends and brothers.

As a mark of your good intentions, we shall expect all the prisoners in the nation, both whites and blacks, will be sent to this place as soon as possible, where one of us will remain to receive them.

We have strictly charged our people not to cross over to your side of the Oconee, and we expect your people will not come on this side, except at this place, before the time for holding the treaty.

We shall expect that all your people will be prohibited from committing any kind of depredations against ours, so that peace may be preserved, and all of us meet at the appointed time, as friends and brothers.

ANDREW PICKENS,  
H. OSBORNE.

No. 10.

ROCK LANDING, June 30th, 1789.

SIR:

We have received your letter to Mr. John Galphin, and are very sorry we could not have the pleasure of seeing you at the time appointed; but as we have fixed a time agreeable to your wish, we hope nothing will prevent your being present on the 15th of September next. It is our wish and desire to make a firm and lasting peace, on liberal terms, with all the chiefs of the nation. One of us will remain at this place to have every thing prepared for the treaty, and to receive as many of the prisoners as can be sent down before that period. You will oblige us much by using your influence on this subject, as it will have a very happy effect in this country, and tend to promote a good understanding between the Indians and our people; we expect all the prisoners that cannot be sent immediately, will be brought to the treaty.

There are few things vex the people of this country so much, as having their horses stolen; we wish, and have no doubt, but you will put a stop to that practice in future, and that you will order as many of the stolen horses as can be found in the nation, to be sent to us.

Mrs. Girardeau, a widow lady of Liberty county, was plundered by a party of your nation in August last, and eight negroes taken off. She has five young children, and the negroes were the bulk of her and their property; feeling for the widow and orphans, we have granted her eldest son permission to accompany Mr. Galphin to the nation. We recommend him to your humanity in the strongest terms, and request you to afford him every necessary assistance in regaining the property; he will return by this route, and we shall be happy to have an opportunity of rendering you a similar service, either in a public or private capacity.

We have spoken very freely to Mr. Galphin, he will give you every necessary information, and do away any doubts that may have remained on your mind. It would give us great satisfaction to have some private conversation with you and him, prior to the public talks; we doubt not but all matters may be so settled between us, as will make the treaty both easy and agreeable to all parties.

For your satisfaction, we enclose you a resolve of the Executive of this State, and an order of the Governor thereon. It is our wish that no people whatever, belonging to the United States, should be disturbed or injured either in their persons or property, till all matters are finally settled between us.

We are, sir, your obedient and very humble servants,

ANDREW PICKENS,  
H. OSBORNE,  
*Commissioners.*

To ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRAY, Esq.,  
*Chief Speaker in the Creek Nation.*

IN COUNCIL, AUGUSTA, June 19th, 1789.

To the end that no interruption or personal interference may take place, between the honorable the commissioners and the Indians, in the progress of the treaty at the Rock Landing, it is unanimously ordered, in the most express terms, that no person or persons whatsoever, do approach the treaty ground, or cross over the Oconee to the south side, during the time of holding the same, or within ten days thereafter, without special permission from the commissioners, for that purpose; and any breach of this order will be punished with the utmost severity.

Extract from the minutes.

J. MERIWETHER, S. E. C.

COUNCIL CHAMBER, June 19th, 1789.

In pursuance of the above order of Council, the Governor and Commander-in-chief orders and directs, that the officers of the militia, guard to the commissioners, and of the State troops, do see, at their respective stations, that the same be not violated: and any neglect herein, will be deemed a breach of duty, and punished accordingly.

GEORGE WALTON.

No. 3.

*General Knox, Secretary of War, to the President of the United States.*

#### THE CHEROKEES.

This nation of Indians, consisting of separate towns or villages, are seated principally on the head waters of the Tennessee, which runs into the Ohio. Their hunting grounds extend from Cumberland river along the frontiers of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and part of Georgia.

The frequent wars they have had with the frontier people of the said States, have greatly diminished their numbers. The commissioners estimated them, in November, 1785, at 2,000 warriors; but they were estimated, in 1787, by Colonel Joseph Martin, who was well acquainted with them, at 2,650; but it is probable they may be lessened since, by the depredations committed on them.

The United States concluded a treaty with the Cherokees, at Hopewell, on the Keowee, the 28th of November, 1785, which is entered on the printed journals of Congress, April 17th, 1786. The negotiations of the commissioners on the part of the United States, are hereunto annexed, marked A.

It will appear, by the papers marked B, that the State of North Carolina, by their agent, protested against the said treaty as infringing and violating the legislative rights of that State.

By a variety of evidence which has been submitted to the late Congress, it has been proved that the said treaty has been entirely disregarded by the white people inhabiting the frontiers, styling themselves the State of Franklin.

The proceedings of Congress on the first of September, 1788, and the proclamation they then issued on this subject, will show their sense of the many unprovoked outrages committed against the Cherokees.

The information contained in the papers marked C, from Colonel Joseph Martin, the late agent to the Cherokees, and Richard Winn, Esq. will further evince the deplorable situation of the Cherokees, and the indispensable obligation of the United States to vindicate their faith, justice, and national dignity.

The letter of Mr. Winn, the late superintendent, of the first of March, informs, that a treaty will be held with the Cherokees on the third Monday of May, at the Upper War-ford, on French Broad river.

But it is to be observed, that the time for which both he, and Colonel Joseph Martin, the agent to the Cherokees and Chickasaws, were elected, has expired; and, therefore, they are not authorized to act on the part of the Union. If the commissioners appointed by North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, by virtue of the resolve of Congress of the 26th of October, 1787, should attend the said treaty, their proceedings thereon may soon be expected.

But as part of the Cherokees have taken refuge within the limits of the Creeks, it is highly probable they will be under the same direction, and, therefore, as the fact of the violation of the treaty cannot be disputed, and as the commissioners have not power to replace the Cherokees within the limits established in 1785, it is not probable, even if a treaty should be held, as stated by Mr. Winn, that the result would be satisfactory.

All which is humbly submitted to the President of the United States.

H. KNOX.

WAR OFFICE, July 7th, 1789.

A. No. 1.

HOPWELL, ON THE KEOWEE, 2d December, 1785.

SIR:

We enclose to your Excellency a treaty which we entered into on the 28th ultimo, with all the Cherokees at this place. We had invited the Chiefs only of the respective towns, but they having some reason to expect ill treatment from some disorderly people in that part of the westward of North Carolina, where the exercise of an independent government has lately been assumed, were under the necessity of bringing their young warriors, their wives and children, who were most exposed, to be protected, so that from this nation we have had nine hundred and eighteen.

Previous to entering into the treaty, we, with interpreters who understood the Cherokee language well, explained the occurrences of the late war, with the extent of territory ceded to us by the King of Great Britain. We also explained every article of the treaty, so that they could comprehend it perfectly. After it was signed, they expressed their obligations to the United States of America for taking them under protection, and treating them with such unexpected justice.

The agents of Georgia and North Carolina attended the treaty, as will appear by their protest, herewith enclosed. The commissioners, in establishing the boundary which is the chief cause of all the complaints of the Indians, were desirous of accommodating the southern States, and their western citizens, in any thing consistent with the duty we owed to the United States.

We established the line from forty miles above Nashville on the Cumberland, agreeable to the deed of sale to Richard Henderson & Co. as far as the Kentucky ford; thence to the mountain six miles south of Nolichucky, agreeable to the treaty in 1777, with Colonel William Christie, William Preston, and Evan Shelby, on the part of Virginia; and Waitstill Avery, attorney general, Colonel Robert Lanier, William Sharp, and Joseph Winston, on

the part of North Carolina; thence by agreement, south, to the North Carolina line, and to the South Carolina Indian boundary; thence to the Tugelo river, the treaty at Dewit's corner in 1777, with States of South Carolina and Georgia; thence, over the Currahee mountain, to the south fork of Oconee, the treaty at Augusta, of 1783. The line from Duck river is now given by the Cherokees to accommodate the people of Nashville, and others, south of the Cumberland, (which river is the southern boundary of the lands sold to Richard Henderson & Co.) as it would be difficult to remove them, as well as very distressing to the citizens.

There are some few people settled on the Indian lands, whom we are to remove, and those in the fork of French Broad and Holston, being numerous, the Indians agreed to refer their particular situation to Congress, and abide their decision. We told them there were too many for us to engage positively to order off, although they had settled expressly against the treaty entered into by Virginia and North Carolina with the Cherokees in 1777.

The commissioners know not what is best to be done in this case. They see that justice, humanity, and good policy, require that some compensation should be made to the Indians for these lands; but the manner of doing it probably would be difficult. However, a small sum we think could be raised on the unlocated lands, as well as from those already settled; and which, if appropriated to the purpose of teaching them some useful branches of mechanics, would be of lasting advantage. Some of the women have lately learnt to spin, and many of them are very desirous that some method should be fallen on to teach them to raise flax, cotton, and wool, as well as to spin and weave it.

We have required the aid of the agent of North Carolina, and the commissioners of Georgia, in the execution of the treaty, and we foresee that difficulties will frequently arise, and, indeed, render it ineffectual, if these two States should refuse their co-operation. We have given the Indians some presents, but our stock was so small, compared with the number of Indians, and their naked distressed condition, that the dividend was trifling indeed. We told them that we invited and expected the head-men and warriors only; that the object of our commission was altogether for their benefit, and we had made provision accordingly.

The Spaniards and the French from New Orleans are making great efforts to engross the trade of the Indians; several of them are on the north side of the Tennessee, and well supplied with proper goods for the trade. The Governor of New Orleans, or West Florida, has sent orders to the Chickasaws to remove all traders from that country, except those who had or should take the oath of allegiance to the Catholic King; and also, had appointed ten traders, who were down after goods, when our informant, a man of respectability, left that country.

We sent a very intelligent, honest man, with our invitation to the Choctaws and Chickasaws, to treat with us, and he brought us assurances from them, that they would attend the treaty; and some of the former set out before he left the Chickasaw nation, but none of them have as yet arrived, and we cannot account for it, unless we give credit to reports, which contradict, expressly, all assurances of their attachment to the United States, and joy on the first notification of the resolution of Congress, appointing commissioners to treat with them, and receive them into the favor and protection of the United States. The Cherokees say that the Northern Indians have their emissaries among the Southern tribes, endeavoring to prevail on them to form an alliance offensive against the United States, and to commence hostilities against us in the spring, or next fall, at the farthest; they also say, that, not only the British emissaries are for this measure, but that the Spaniards have extensive claims to the southward, and have been endeavoring to poison the minds of the Indians against us, and to win their affections, by large supplies of arms, military stores, and clothing.

We are at a loss what to do, to complete the object of our commission; the sum to which we are limited, is already, by our disappointments and expenses attendant thereon, so diminished, that we are unable to fix on any place, and therefore must await the further order of Congress.

We have, for the information of Congress, collected, as near as may be, the number of Indians in the four Southern States, and we find the gun-men of the Cherokees,

The Upper and Lower Creek nation, from an agent who resided seven years in their towns, and employed	2,000
by John Stewart, for the purpose,	5,400
The Chickasaws,	800
The Choctaws,	6,000
	14,000

There are, also, some remains of tribes settled among these, as Shawanees, Eutchees, &c. &c.

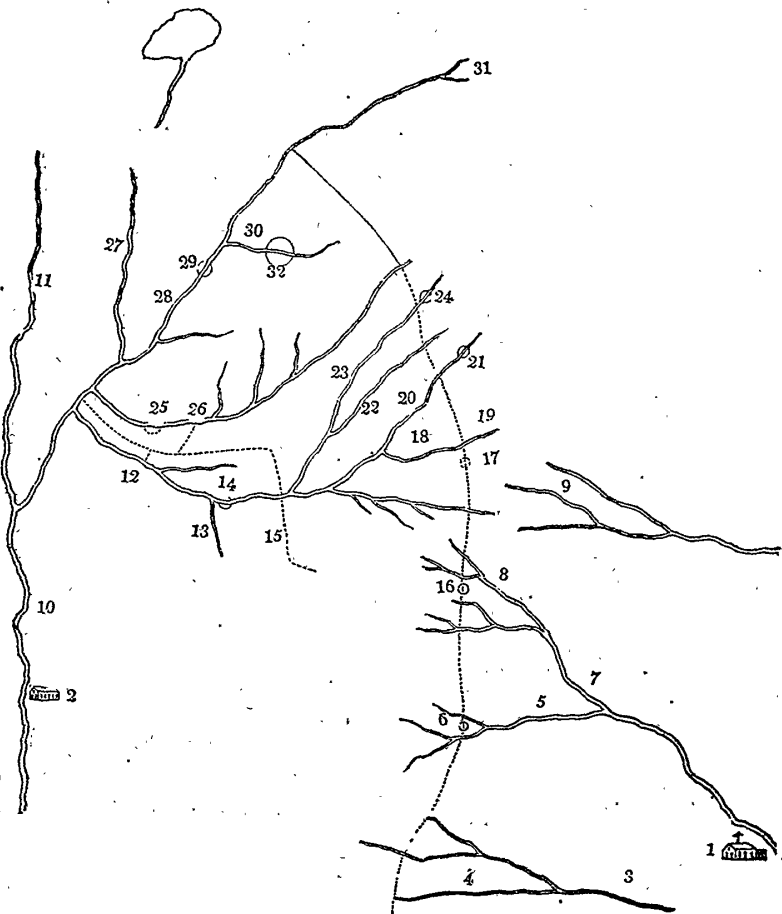
At a moderate calculation, we may reckon the women, the children, and the old men, unfit for hunting, to four times the number of gun-men.

We have the honor to be, with due respect, &c.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS,  
ANDREW PICKENS,  
JOSEPH MARTIN,  
LACH'N MCINTOSH.

His Excellency RICHARD HENRY LEE, Esq.  
*President of Congress.*

## A. No. 2.



- |                          |  |  |                             |   |
|--------------------------|--|--|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. Augusta.              | 9. Saluda-river.   | 15. Chickasaw Claim.                     | 21. Long island of Holston. | 28. Ohio river.   |
| 2. Natchez.              | 10. Mississippi river.   | 16. Ocmee Mountain.                      | 22. Clinch river.           | 29. Falls.  |
| 3. Oconee river.         | 11. The river above the fort, called Kaskaskia by the Indians. | 17. Mountain six miles S. of Nolichucky. | 23. Powell river.           | 30. Kentucky river.   |
| 4. South fork of Oconee. |  | 18. French Broad river.                  | 24. Martin's Station.       | 31. Fort Pitt.  |
| 5. Broad river.          |  | 19. Nolichucky river.                    | 25. Nashville.              | 32. Henderson's Range for his horses and cattle, within the circle. |
| 6. Carabee mountain.     | 12. Tennessee river.   | 20. Holston river.                       | 26. Cumberland.             |   |
| 7. Savannah river.       | 13. Ocochappo river.   |  | 27. Wabash, or Enemy river. |   |
| 8. Keowee river.         | 14. Musclee Shoals.  |  |                             |   |

This map is copied from one drawn by the Tassel, and some other of the head-men of the Cherokees, to describe their territorial claims. It is not known whether the line from the mountain, six miles south of Nolichucky, will touch the North Carolina line to the east or west of the South Carolina Indian boundary; but it is supposed to be to the west.

KEOWEE, 28th of November, 1785.

## A. No. 3.

HOPEWELL ON KEOWEE, the 18th November, 1785.

The commissioners of the United States, in Congress assembled, to treat with the Cherokees, and all other Indians southward of them, within the limits of the United States, assembled.

Present: Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, Joseph Martin, and Laughlin McIntosh; from the State of North Carolina; the honorable William Blount, Esq. who produced his commission, as agent for that State.

The commissioners ordered a return to be made of the Indians, and there were five hundred. The head-men and warriors having informed, that the present representation of their tribes was not complete, but would be so in a few days, it was agreed to postpone treating with them until the whole representation should arrive.

November 21.

The head-men and warriors of all the Cherokees assembled. Ordered, that the interpreters inform the Indians that commissioners will meet them to-morrow at 10 o'clock, under the bower erected for that purpose.

November 22.

The commissioners assembled. Present: Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, Joseph Martin, and Laughlin McIntosh. From the State of North Carolina, William Blount, agent. From the State of Georgia, John King and Thomas Glasscock, commissioners. From all the tribes or towns of the Cherokees, the head-men and warriors. James Madison, Arthur Coody, interpreters.

The commissioners delivered the following address to the Indians:

HEAD-MEN AND WARRIORS OF ALL THE CHEROKEES: We are the men whom you were informed came from Congress to meet you, the head-men and warriors of all the Cherokees, to give you peace, and to receive you into the favor and protection of the United States; and to remove, as far as may be, all causes of future contention or quarrels. That you, your people, your wives and children, may be happy, and feel and know the blessings of the new change of sovereignty over this land, which you and we inhabit.

We sincerely wish you to live as happily as we do ourselves, and to promote that happiness as far as is in our power, regardless of any distinction of color, or of any difference in our customs, our manners, or particular situation.

This humane and generous act of the United States, will no doubt be received by you with gladness, and held in grateful remembrance, and the more so, as many of your young men, and the greatest number of your warriors, during the late war, were our enemies, and assisted the King of Great Britain in his endeavors to conquer our country. You, yourselves, know, that you refused to listen to the good talks Congress sent you; that the cause you espoused was a bad one; that all the adherents of the King of Great Britain are compelled to leave this country, never more to return.

Congress is now the sovereign of all our country, which we now point out to you on the map.\* They want none of your lands, or any thing else which belongs to you; and as an earnest of their regard for you, we propose to enter into articles of a treaty perfectly equal, and conformable to what we now tell you.

If you have any grievances to complain of, we will hear them, and take such measures, in consequence thereof, as may be proper. We expect you will speak your minds freely, and look upon us as the representatives of your father and friend, the Congress, who will see justice done you. You may now retire, and reflect on what we have told you, and let us hear from you to-morrow, or as soon as possible.

November 23.

Present as yesterday. After sitting some time in silence, the Tassel of Chota arose, and addressed the commissioners as follows:

I am going to let the commissioners hear what I have to say to them. I told you yesterday I would do this to-day. I was very much pleased at the talk you gave us yesterday; it is very different from what I expected when I left home; the head-men and warriors are also equally pleased with it.

Now, I shall give you my own talk. I am made of this earth, on which the great man above placed me, to possess it; and what I am about to tell you, I have had in my mind for many years.

This land we are now on, is the land we were fighting for, during the late contest,† and the great man made it for us to subsist upon. You must know the red people are the aborigines of this land, and that it is but a few years since the white people found it out. I am of the first stock, as the commissioners know, and a native of this land; and the white people are now living on it as our friends. From the beginning of the first friendship between the white and red people, beads were given as an emblem thereof: and these are the beads I give to the commissioners of the United States, as a confirmation of our friendship, and as a proof of my opinion of what you yesterday told us.—[A string of white beads.]

The commissioners have heard how the white people have encroached on our lands, on every side of us that they could approach.

I remember the talks I delivered at the Long Island of Holston, and I remember giving our lands to Colonel Christie and others, who treated with us, and in a manner compelled me thereto, in 1777. I remember the talks to Colonel Christie, when I gave the lands at the mouth of Cloud's creek, eighteen springs past. At that treaty, we agreed upon the line near the mouth of Lime Stone. The Virginia line, and part from the mouth of Cloud's creek to Cumberland mountain, near the gap, was paid for by Virginia.

From Cloud's creek, a direct line to the Chimney-top mountain, thence, to the mouth of Big Lime Stone, on Noli-chuky, thence, to the first mountain about six miles from the river, on a line across the sun, was never paid for by the Carolina which joins the Virginia line. I wish the commissioners to know every thing that concerns us, as I tell nothing but the truth. They, the people of North Carolina, have taken our lands for no consideration, and are now making their fortunes out of them. I have informed the commissioners of the line I gave up, and the people of North Carolina and Virginia have gone over it, and encroached on our lands expressly against our inclination. They have gone over the line near Little River, and they have gone over Nine-mile Creek, which is but nine miles from our towns. I am glad of this opportunity of getting redress from the commissioners. If Congress had not interposed, I and my people must have moved. They have even marked the lands on the bank of the river near the town where I live; and from thence, down in the fork of the Tennessee and Holston.

I have given in to you a detail of the abuse and encroachments of these two States. We shall be satisfied if we are paid for the lands we have given up, but we will not, nor cannot, give up any more—I mean the line I gave to Colonel Christie.

I have no more to say, but one of our beloved women has, who has born and raised up warriors.—[A string of beads.]

The War-woman of Chota then addressed the commissioners:

I am fond of hearing that there is a peace, and I hope you have now taken us by the hand in real friendship. I have a pipe and a little tobacco to give the commissioners to smoke in friendship. I look on you and the red people as my children. Your having determined on peace is most pleasing to me, for I have seen much trouble during the late war. I am old, but I hope yet to bear children, who will grow up and people our nation, as we are now to be under the protection of Congress, and shall have no more disturbance.—[A string, little old pipe, and some tobacco.]

The talk I have given, is from the young warriors I have raised in my town, as well as myself. They rejoice that we have peace, and we hope the chain of friendship will never more be broke.—[A string of beads.]

THE COMMISSIONERS TO THE TASSEL.—We want the boundary of your country; you must recollect yourself and give it to us, particularly the line between you and the citizens, with any information you have on that subject. If necessary, you may consult your friends, and inform us to-morrow, or as soon as possible with conveniency.

TASSEL.—I will let you know the line to-morrow. I have done speaking for this day.

UNSUCKANAIL, of New-Cusse, in the middle settlement.—I speak in behalf of Kowé, New-Cusse, and Watoge. I am much pleased with the talks between the commissioners and the Tassel, who is the beloved man of Chota. I remember the talks given out by you yesterday. I shall always, I hope, remember, that if we were distressed in any manner, we should make our complaints to the commissioners, that justice may be done. There are around us young men and warriors, who hear our talks, and who are interested in the success of this treaty, particularly as their lands are taken from them, on which they lived entirely by hunting. And I hope, and they all anxiously hope, it is in the power of the commissioners to do them justice. The line mentioned by the beloved man of Chota, is in truth, as he expressed it; I remember it, and it was formerly our hunting grounds.

The encroachments on this side of the line have entirely deprived us of our hunting grounds; and I hope the commissioners will remove the white people to their own side. This is the desire of the three towns I speak for; the settlements I mean are those on Pigeon river and Swananno. It was the desire of the commissioners that the Indians should tell all their grievances, and I hope they will do justly therein. When any of my young men are hunting on their own grounds, and meet the white people, they, the white people, order them off and claim our deer.—[A string of white beads.]

CHESCOENWHEE.—I am well satisfied with the talks of this day; I intended to speak, but as the day is far spent, I will decline it till to-morrow. I will go home and consider on it.

\* We used McMurray's map, and explained, with great pains, the limits of the United States, as well as the occurrences of the late war; and we believe they comprehend us. Some of the Indians had visited the Six Nations; some had been up the Wabash and down the Miami, to lake Erie; and others had been at fort Pitt, the Natchez, Pensacola, St. Augustine, Savannah, Charleston, and Williamsburg.

B. H.

† Hopewell is fifteen miles above the junction of the Keowee and Tugalo; it is a seat of General Pickens, in sight of Seneca, an Indian town at the commencement of the late war, inhabited by one hundred gun-men, but at present a waste. Dewit's corner is forty miles east of this, and that was the eastern Indian boundary, till the treaty of 1777.

B. H.



November 24th, 1785.

Present as yesterday:

**TUCKASEE.**—I remember the talks when I made peace. I have appointed Chescoenwhee to speak for me to-day.

**CHESCOENWHEE.**—I rejoice that the commissioners have delivered their talks to the head-men of the different towns. I am in hopes that these our talks will always remain unbroken. What you hear from the representatives of the towns, the young warriors will invariably adhere to. I am in hopes it is now in the power of the commissioners, from their talks of yesterday and the day before, to see justice done to us; to see that we may yet have a little land to hunt upon; I was sent here to settle all matters respecting my country, and being under the protection of the United States, I shall return satisfied: we have been formerly under the protection of Great Britain, and then, when I saw a white man, I esteemed him a friend, and I hope that the commissioners of Congress will see that times may be as formerly. I wish what I say may be deemed strictly true, for so it is, and that I may be always looked on as a friend to the thirteen United States, and that they will see justice done me.

The talks of the commissioners are the most pleasing to us, as they do not want any lands. Formerly, when I had peace talks, the first thing the white people expressed, was a desire for our lands. I am in hopes you will adjust and settle our limits, so that we may be secured in the possession of our own I will abide by what hitherto has been said on this subject, but cannot cede any more lands.—[A string of beads.]

I am in hopes the commissioners will deliver to us our prisoners who are in their lands. Neither the commissioners, nor any of the citizens of the United States, can suppose that we can be at peace on their account; they are our own flesh and blood, and we desire them out of your country. I am in hopes of seeing them with the assistance of the commissioners, they have been long detained, and we often were promised by colonel Martin that we should see them. One of them was taken from Talksoa, three girls and one boy from Erejoy, and one boy from Tuckareechée; we do not know how old they are; we are a people who do not know how to count by years; they are in North Carolina, and were taken by an army from thence.

**OONANOOTEE.**—I am to deliver the talks in answer to what I heard at Oostanawie. I was sent down from different towns to receive the talks of the commissioners, and to be governed by them. I do expect, by the time I return home from the commissioners, the young men of the towns of our nation will be there to hear me repeat what you have or shall say to me. I was told by all of them, when I set out, that they expected I would return with good talks. It was the desire of the commissioners, that we should tell all our grievances; the encroachment on our hunting grounds is the source of all ours, and I hope they can and will take measures to see justice done in our land. I have attended to the talks of the commissioners, and our beloved men, and I sincerely wish they may always abide by them. I am in hopes it is in your power to see our distresses redressed, and that you will order off the people who are settled on our lands, and protect for us our hunting grounds.—[A string of beads.]

I wish the commissioners to take in hand the case of the traders in our country, and settle what respects them during the late war, so that they may not be seized on and plundered by bodies of armed men as they pass to and from the nation. I am come down as one to make peace with the commissioners of the United States of America, and I hope the traders may pass through the country. I wish the commissioners would prevent such acts of injustice as robbing the traders; several of them have been plundered in Georgia and South Carolina, and their lives endangered if they should attempt to recover their property. As for my part; I mean to keep the path clear for the traders, as far as our line, and I hope the commissioners will do the same on their part. Here are the chiefs of all our nation, who hear me; the traders have been out for goods, and returned without any, having been robbed, and I hope it will not be the case again. I sincerely desire that our talks and complaints may go up to Congress, that they may know how we are distressed about our country. I have delivered the talks to the commissioners, and laid the beads on the beloved table, and as to my part of the country, I will keep the path clear.

**TASSEL.**—We have said all we intend to day if the commissioners; have any thing to say, we will hear it, and answer them.

**COMMISSIONERS.**—We want the boundary of your country, particularly to the northward and eastward; this we told you yesterday; when we can agree upon the bounds of the lands, we mean to allot to you, we will prepare the draught of a treaty on the plan we mentioned to you in our address.

**TASSEL.**—I expected to give the bounds of our country, but it is too late in the day, and I will do it to-morrow.

November 25.

Present as yesterday.

The head-men, after some conversation together, requested the commissioners to give them some paper and a pencil, and leave them to themselves, and they would draw the map of their country.

November, 26.

Present as yesterday.

The head-men produced their map, and the **TASSEL** addressed the commissioners as follows:

I will give the bounds of the land as far as I claim. Colonel Martin is present, and heard our talks at the long island of Holston, and he knows every thing I shall say to be true. The line which I have marked, beginning on the Ohio, above Kentucky, and running thence to where the Kentucky road crosses Cumberland River, thence to the Chimney-top mountain, and by the mouth of Big Limestone to the mountain, six miles south of Nolichucky, is justly our boundary with the white people. The Indians from the middle settlements will extend the line, and shew their claim.

I know that Richard Henderson says he purchased the lands at Kentucky and as far south as Cumberland, but he is a rogue and a liar, and if he was here I would tell him so. He requested us to let him have a little lands on Kentucky river, for his cattle and horses to feed on, and we consented, but told him at the same time, he would be much exposed to the depredations of the Northern Indians, which he appeared not to regard; provided we gave our consent. If Attacullaculla signed his deed we were not informed of it; but we know that Oconestoto did not, and yet his name we hear is to it; Henderson put it there, and he is a rogue.

**COMMISSIONERS.**—You know Colonel Henderson, Attacullaculla, Oconestoto, are all dead; what you say may be true; but here is one of Henderson's deeds, which points out the line, as you have done, nearly till it strikes Cumberland, thence it runs down the waters of the same to the Ohio, thence up the said river as it meanders to the beginning. Your memory may fail you; this is on record, and will remain forever. The parties being dead, and so much time elapsed since the date of the deed, and the country being settled, on the faith of the deed, puts it out of our power to do any thing respecting it; you must therefore be content with it, as if you had actually sold it, and proceed to point out your claim exclusive of this land.

**TASSEL.**—I know they are dead, and I am sorry for it, and I suppose it is now too late to recover it. If Henderson were living, I should have the pleasure of telling him he was a liar; but you told us to give you our bounds, and therefore we marked the line; but we will begin at Cumberland, and say nothing more about Kentucky, although it is justly ours.

**COMMISSIONERS.**—You must also make provision, if practicable, for the people settled at Nashville, and for such other bodies of people, if numerous, as may be within what you have pointed out as your claim. Our object in treating with you is to fix a permanent boundary, and to keep our faith in whatever we promise you; and you must not expect from us any promise, which we know cannot be done but with great inconvenience to our citizens. The Chickasaws, we are informed by Colonel Martin and the agent of North Carolina, claim the lands at Nashville, and they are content that the people should live there, and you must mark a line for them.

**TASSEL AND TUSKEGATAHEE.**—We understand you perfectly; we wish to postpone this matter if the Chickasaws would come; it is a kind of common right in all the Indians, and they had no right of themselves to give it.

**COMMISSIONERS.**—We have now no expectations that the Chickasaws will meet us, and you know the necessity of having the treaty completed, that we may, as early as possible, put a stop to the encroachments you complain of, if they do exist.

**TASSEL AND TUSKEGATAHEE.**—We know the necessity of completing the treaty, and we will mark a line for the white people; we will begin at the ridge between the Tennessee and Cumberland, on the Ohio, and run along the same till we get around the white people, as you think proper. We will also mark a line from the mouth of Duck river to the said line, and leave the remainder of the lands to the south and west of the lines, to the Chickasaws; we will, from the ridge, go to Cumberland, and up the same to where the Kentucky road crosses the same. Colonel Christie run the remainder of the line with us, as we have marked it, and he said we were at liberty to punish, or not, as we pleased, any person who should come on our side to violate the treaty; but this we have not done, and the white people have come over it a great way, as we have told you. In the fork of French Broad river and Holston, there are three thousand souls. This is a favorite spot of land, and we cannot consent to their having of it; and they must be removed. There are some few settled on other parts, whom the commissioners, we hope, will remove. We cannot mark a line round the people on French Broad; those lands are within twenty-five miles of our towns, and we prize them highly. The people have settled there several springs past, and they ought to be removed.

**COMMISSIONERS.**—We expect some sort of provision will be made for these people, and you had better think seriously of it; they are too numerous for us to engage to remove. You say they have been there for a long time, and ought to have been removed: while you were under the protection of the King of Great Britain, he ought to have removed them for you, but he neglected it, and we cannot stipulate positively to do any thing respecting them, unless you choose to mark around them; for the present they must remain as they are; all the others you mention shall be removed.

**TASSEL.**—I have shown you the bounds of my country on my map which I drew in your presence, and on the map of the United States. If the commissioners cannot do me justice in removing the people from the fork of French Broad and Holston, I am unable to get it of myself. Are Congress, who conquered the King of Great Britain, unable to remove those people? I am satisfied with the promises of the commissioners to remove all the people from within our lines, except those within the fork of Holston and French Broad; and I will agree to be content, that the particular situation of the people settled there, and our claims to the lands, should be referred to Congress, as the commissioners may think just, and I will abide by their decision.

**UNSUOKANAIL.**—I and my people are to extend their line, and, although our claims are well founded to a large portion of the mountains, which are of little advantage to any but hunters, and of great value to them, yet I am willing to extend the line to the southward until we come to the South Carolina Indian boundary; and we have a right, formed on the treaties at Dewit's corner, and at Augusta, to make that line, as far as the south fork of Oconee, our boundary against the white people.

*November 28th, 1785.*

The commissioners assembled.

Present: Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, Joseph Martin, and Laughlin McIntosh.

From the State of North Carolina, William Blount, agent.

From the State of Georgia, John King and Thomas Glasscock, commissioners.

The head-men and warriors of all the Cherokees.

James Madison and Arthur Coody, sworn interpreters.

Major Samuel Taylor, Major William Hazzard, Captain-commandant John Cowen, John Owen, and George Ogg, merchants, with several other reputable characters.

The commissioners produced a draught of a treaty, on the plan they originally proposed to the Indians, which was read, and interpreted to them with great attention, so that they agreed that they perfectly understood every article, and would with pleasure unanimously sign the same; accordingly, two copies were signed by the commissioners and all the head-men, the one for the United States, and the other for the Cherokees.

Previous to signing, the agent from North Carolina, and the commissioners of Georgia, delivered their protests against the same.

After the treaty was signed, sealed, and witnessed, the commissioners told the head-men that Congress, from motives of humanity, had directed some presents to be made to them for their use and comfort; and that, on the next day, they would direct the presents to be distributed accordingly.

*November 29.*

Present as yesterday.

The commissioners ordered a return of the Indians, and there were nine hundred and eighteen, and goods to the amount of \$1,311 10-90 were distributed among the head-men of every town.

The Indians having expressed a desire to say something farther to the commissioners, they attended accordingly.

**TASSEL.**—I will now inform you of some farther complaints against your people. I remember the treaty with Colonel Christie, and in all our treaties, that we reserved the Long-island of Holston for ourselves, as beloved ground, to hold our treaties on. I remember the commissioners yesterday, in an article of the treaty, demanded all their property and prisoners. I am now going to make my demand: I desire that Colonel Martin may be empowered to find and get our prisoners; he is our friend, and he will get them for us. I am now done my talks, and I hope the commissioners will be as good as their promise yesterday in the treaty. The white people have taken so much of our lands, we cannot kill as many deer as formerly. The traders impose on us greatly, and we wish our trade could be regulated, and fixed rates on our goods. Our traders are frequently robbed when coming to, and going from, our nation. John Benge was, among others, robbed of about £150 sterling's worth of leather, in the State of Georgia.

**TUSKEGATAHEE.**—I am not a chief, but will speak for my country; I shall always pay great regard to what I have heard respecting the treaty, as well as what may be sent us from Congress hereafter; and as I am within the limits of the United States, I shall always expect their protection and assistance. Our young men and warriors have heard what is passed. I expect, as our boundaries are ascertained, Congress may be informed of them; and that, as peace is now firmly established, and we are all friends, we may be allowed to hunt on each other's lands without molestation. On my part, being in peace and friendship with you, I shall feel myself safe wherever I go. Many of your people on Cumberland and Kentucky lose their horses in our lands, and, should we find them, I wish Colonel Martin to receive them.

**NOWOTA.**—I am fond to hear the talks of the beloved men of Congress, and of ours. You commissioners remember the talks, and I shall always endeavor to support the peace and friendship now established. I remember your talks by Colonel Martin, and I promised to be attached to America; but, until the present, I was afraid to be in your country. I am now perfectly happy, as you are to protect us. Your prisoner at Chickamoga, I will deliver you. Formerly, Captain Cammeron saw justice done to us in our land; he is gone, and I now depend on the commissioners. If any thing depends on me to strengthen our friendship, I will faithfully execute it. You are now our protectors. When I go and tell to those of our people who could not come to hear your talks, what I have seen and heard, they will rejoice. I have heard your declarations of a desire to do us any service in your power; I believe you, and in confidence shall rest happy.

**COMMISSIONERS.**—We will give you provisions for the road, and wish you may be happy. We will send up to Congress all our talks.

## B. No. 1.

HOPEWELL ON KEOWEE, November 22, 1785.

GENTLEMEN:

Having yesterday had the honor to lay before you my commission, as agent on the part of North Carolina, I now consider it my duty to call your attention to the following extract from the constitution of that State, which was agreed to and published to the world on the eighteenth day of December, in the year 1776.

"The property of the soil in a free government, being one of the essential rights of the collective body of the people, it is necessary, in order to avoid future disputes, that the limits of the State should be ascertained with precision; and as the former temporary line between North and South Carolina was confirmed and extended by commissioners appointed by the Legislatures of the two States, agreeable to the order of the late King George the second, in council, that line, and that only, should be esteemed the southern boundary of this State, that is to say; beginning on the sea-side, at a cedar stake at or near the mouth of Little River (being the southern boundary of Brunswick county) and running from thence a northwest course, through the boundary house which stands in thirty-three degrees fifty-six minutes, to thirty-five degrees north latitude, and from thence a west course so far as is mentioned in the charter of King Charles the second, to the late proprietors of Carolina. Therefore, all the territory, seas, waters, and harbors, with their appurtenances, lying between the line above described, and the south line of the State of Virginia, which begins on the sea-shore in thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, and from thence runs west, agreeable to the said charter of King Charles, are the right and property of the people of this State to be held in sovereignty."

And to remark to you, that, years after, the State of North Carolina was received into, and signed the articles of confederation.

I have the honor to be, your most obedient humble servant,

WM. BLOUNT,  
*Agent for North Carolina.*

BENJAMIN HAWKINS, ANDREW PICKENS, JOSEPH MARTIN, and LAUGHLIN McINTOSH, Esquires,  
*Commissioners for negotiating with the Southern Indians.*

## B. No. 2.

HOPEWELL ON THE KEOWEE, November 28, 1785.

GENTLEMEN:

The State of North Carolina have at this time a law in force and use, allotting the lands contained in the following bounds to the Cherokee Indians: "Beginning on the Tennessee river, where the southern boundary of the State of North Carolina intersects the same nearest the Chickamoga towns; thence, up the middle of the Tennessee and Holston rivers, to the middle of French Broad river; thence, up the middle of the said French Broad river; (which lines are not to include any island to the mouth of Big Pigeon river) thence, up the same, to the head thereof; thence, along the dividing ridge between the waters of Pigeon river and Tuckasegee river, to the said southern boundary; thence, west with the said boundary, to the beginning."

Should you, by treaty, fix any other boundaries than the before mentioned, within the limits of the said State of North Carolina, between the said Cherokee Indians and her citizens, that State will consider such a treaty a violation and infringement upon her legislative rights. The lands contained within the limits of Davidson county, which begins on Cumberland river, where the northern boundary of the said State of North Carolina first intersects the same; thence, south forty-five miles; thence, west to the Tennessee river; thence, down the Tennessee, to the said northern boundary; thence, east with the said boundary to the beginning, have been appropriated by the State of North Carolina, to the payment of the bounties of land promised to the officers and soldiers of the continental line of that State; and it is said that the militia in that county are in number about seven hundred; and the State of North Carolina have sold to her citizens, for a valuable consideration, several millions of acres of the land, situate, lying, and being between the Mississippi, and the line as fixed by Colonel Christie, and others, in the year 1777, and without the limits of Davidson county, on which land several thousands of people are settled.

I have the honor to be, your most obedient humble servant,

WM. BLOUNT,  
*Agent for North Carolina.*

BENJAMIN HAWKINS, ANDREW PICKENS, JOSEPH MARTIN, and LAUGHLIN McINTOSH, Esquires,  
*Commissioners for treating with the Southern Indians.*

COPY OF COLONEL BLOUNT'S PROTEST.

HOPEWELL ON KEOWEE, November 28, 1785.

The underwritten agent, on the part of the State of North Carolina, protests against the treaty, at this instant, about to be signed and entered into, between Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, Joseph Martin, and Laughlin McIntosh, commissioners on the part of the United States, and the Cherokee Indians on the other part, as containing several stipulations which infringe and violate the legislative rights of the State.

WM. BLOUNT.

A COPY OF THE COMMISSIONERS' ANSWER TO COLONEL BLOUNT'S LETTERS AND PROTEST.

HOPEWELL ON KEOWEE, 28th November, 1785.

SIR:

We received your letters, of the 22d of November, with an extract from the constitution of your State, declarative of the limits thereof; of the 28th, enclosing an abstract of an act allotting certain lands to the Indians of the Cherokee nation, and your protest of the same date, against the treaty entered into between the commissioners of the United States of America and all the Cherokees; which we shall transmit to Congress.

We enclose two articles of the treaty to you, which, we hope, as agent of the State of North Carolina, you will take measures to see executed, so far as the same respect the citizens of that State, or the faith of the commissioners pledged for the restoration of the prisoners now held there. We are informed that the late Governor Martin made an unsuccessful effort to restore them, and that there are five, three girls and two boys, in the possession of General McDowel and Colonel Miller. We are certain that a steady adherence to the treaty alone, can ensure confidence in the justice of Congress, and remove all causes of future contention or quarrels. The local policy of some States is certainly much opposed to federal measures, which can only, in our opinion, make us respectable abroad and happy at home.

We are, with due respect, sir, your most obedient and most humble servants,

B. HAWKINS,  
A. PICKENS,  
J. MARTIN,  
L. McINTOSH.

The Honorable WILLIAM BLOUNT, Esquire,  
*Agent for North Carolina.*

N. B. The two articles enclosed are the second and fourth.

## C. No. 1.

WINNSBOROUGH, October 13, 1788.

Sir:

I do myself the honor of writing you the different occurrences respecting the people on the frontiers of North Carolina, and the Cherokee Indians, transpired since my last.

In consequence of hearing that several outrages had been committed by the people of Franklin, (formerly called the new State) upon the Cherokees, I despatched a letter to the Governor of North Carolina, to put a stop to any further hostilities, as it was the wish of Congress to carry into effect a treaty with that nation. Not receiving an immediate answer from him, and having reason to believe these depredations continued, I sent a copy of the enclosed, addressed to the officers commanding on the frontiers of that State, which I hope will be attended with every good consequence. You will also find enclosed a copy of a letter I have lately received from the Governor; on comparing these, it will point out to you the similarity of our ideas relative to the establishment of peace in that quarter, previous to the late resolution of Congress coming to hand.

I shall avail myself of the earliest opportunity of making known to the Executive of North Carolina, the further supplies granted by Congress for carrying the treaty into effect, which I hope may take place without the trouble and expense of marching troops from the northward, urging the Governor to send on their commissioner with the needful, and to name the time and place. The answer, with their determination, you may rely on having transmitted you as soon as possible. I beg leave further to observe, I have enclosed to the Cherokees the proclamation of Congress, and at the same time, requested a suspension of hostilities should take place.

I have the honor to be, with esteem, sir, your most humble servant,

RICHARD WINN.

The Honorable General Knox,  
*Secretary of War.*

P. S. Your favor of the 4th September, enclosing the proclamation of Congress, with the duplicate, I have to acknowledge, since writing the above.

## C. No. 2.

WINNSBOROUGH, 29th August, 1788.

FRIENDS AND BROTHER SOLDIERS:

I write this to you in behalf of the United States, to intreat you to desist from any further hostilities against the Cherokees, as it is the wish of Congress to be at peace with every tribe of Indians whatever; and as they have directed me to secure that peace by a permanent treaty, your own good sense must convince you how impossible it will be for me to effect it while these outrages on both sides exist. Besides, what have we not to apprehend, if it is not put a stop to? A junction may take place with the Southern Indians, and, both united, may involve the innocent lives of thousands; perhaps when, by a well-timed peace, nothing of the kind could ever happen.

I have daily expected an interference between you and the Indians would have taken place, from the Governor of North Carolina; but as I have received no accounts from him of that nature, I cannot, consistent with my duty to the Union, hear of these unhappy dissensions continuing, without emotion; therefore, let me again, in the most friendly manner, exhort you to a suspension of arms till such times as I hear from Congress, to whom I have wrote for further supplies to facilitate a treaty as soon as possible, at which time, I am convinced, all grievances will be adjusted. The Indians I shall write to, to the same purport, and as I have been at a deal of pains to get proper persons to bear to both parties my ideas on the matter, I hope it will be attended with every good consequence, by your religiously observing, on both sides, a strict neutrality till the treaty is brought about. Any further information you can receive from Captain Baker, who is the bearer of this, and who is a gentleman I particularly recommend to your notice. Wishing to hear from you as soon as possible,

I am, friends and brother soldiers, your obedient servant,

RICHARD WINN.

To General MARTIN and others,

*The commanding officers and inhabitants beyond the mountains.*

## C. No. 3.

EDENTON, 31st August, 1788.

Sir:

The information which you did me the honor to favor me with in your letter of the ninth, had reached me some time past. I had given orders for a process to issue to apprehend Sevier, and had directed the commanding officer on the frontier to pursue a line of conduct similar to that pointed out in your letter. It gives me pleasure to find that your ideas in this particular so intimately correspond with the measures I have adopted to restore and preserve the peace of the frontier.

I am, with great respect, sir, your most obedient servant,

SAMUEL JOHNSTON.

To RICHARD WINN, Esquire,

*Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern department.*

## C. No. 4

WINNSBOROUGH, December 13th, 1788.

Sir:

Notwithstanding I have received no late accounts from Congress, I judge it necessary to continue giving every information that occurs, relative to the Indians of this department.

Since I wrote you last, the enclosed talk from the head-men and warriors of the Cherokee nation, came to hand, which fully points out their disposition to come to a friendly treaty. I have urged the same to the State of North Carolina, trusting they will send forward their commissioner and supplies. Should this step not be taken, and that State still continue to do them injury, I fear the disappointment of the Indians will be attended with bad consequences, as, in all probability, the Union may be involved in a bloody and unnecessary war, whereas a well timed peace would prevent it.

Sir, I have the honor to be, with respect, your obedient servant,

RICHARD WINN.

The Honorable Major General H. Knox, *Secretary of War.*

## C. No. 5.

*A talk from the head-men and warriors of the Cherokee nation, at a meeting held at Ustinair, the beloved town, 20th November, 1788, addressed to the honorable Richard Winn, Esquire, superintendent of the southern department, in answer to a talk sent by him, dated the 12th October, 1788.*

FRIEND AND BROTHER: We received your talk, likewise the resolves of Congress, dated 1st September, 1788, likewise a copy of a letter from the Governor of North Carolina to you, and the proclamation from Congress, all which

affords us much satisfaction that we have in you a real friend, who tells us the truth, and endeavors to do us justice. It likewise gives us much satisfaction to hear from Congress and Virginia.

**BROTHER:** You have opened our eyes and likewise our hearts. The talks we received from you, pleases us much; that Congress is determined to have our hunting grounds open, so that our young men may hunt and kill deer to purchase goods of our traders, to clothe ourselves and families. Our hunting grounds were very small, now it gives us the greatest satisfaction that they will be soon enlarged, as appears by the proclamation from Congress. It likewise gives us much satisfaction, that we have a view of returning from the woods where we have been driven, and once more settling again in our old towns, which we propose to do, when we are certain that the white people have quitted our hunting grounds.

**BROTHER:** It affords us much satisfaction that a friendly talk will soon take place. You inform us you have wrote to the Governor of North Carolina, to fix a time and place for that purpose; at that time we will talk over all matters and smoke the pipe of friendship.

The head-men and warriors from the middle settlement, were on their way to *Ustinaire*, but being informed that it was good talks, and that white beads and tobacco were sent from *Ustinaire* to all the towns in the nation, they went back, fearing that some of their young men might go out again and do mischief: the headmen are determined to put a stop to all hostilities, and for the time to come, to live like brothers and friends as long as the sun shines and water runs.

The following talk comes from the Little Turkey;

**FRIEND AND BROTHER:** Your talk I have heard, which gives me the greatest satisfaction, likewise all our beloved men in my part of the nation. It is a talk from you, our great beloved brother, who, I am informed, is appointed by Congress to see justice done us: we have now heard from our beloved brother from New York, likewise from Virginia, which now opens our eyes and our hearts, for they are the men we must abide by. Your talks are good, and your friendships we look on sincere, for the good of our land. I have seen the resolves of Congress, likewise the proclamation, for all the white people settled on our hunting grounds to go off without loss of time.

**FRIEND AND BROTHER:** I have the satisfaction to inform you, that Alexander McGillivray, chief of the Creek nation, has taken your talks, likewise the talks from Congress and Virginia, and means to hold them first, and when they meet, will take his white brothers by the hand as we do, and hopes to live in peace and friendship as long as the grass grows and the water runs.

A copy of this talk you will please to send to Congress and Virginia; it will be two moons before every thing can be settled to your entire satisfaction, because some of our beloved men are out a hunting. As for the prisoners, it is impossible to send them to Seneca at this time, because they are scattered through the nation, but they shall be restored to their friends as soon as possible; we shall have all of them collected together; orders are given out that they may be used well, that my people should not be reflected upon hereafter for using their prisoners ill: this you will please to acquaint their friends, and hope they will make themselves easy for a short time.

**FRIEND AND BROTHER:** We must inform you that we look upon the white people that live in the new State, very deceitful; we have experienced them, and are much afraid of them; we are now obliged to keep spies out continually on the frontiers, fearing they will return and do us an injury as they did before.

**FRIEND AND BROTHER:** We must inform you, that there are some Creeks out and some of our people, that are not yet come in; if any mischief should be done, that is contrary to our desire; but on their return will all be stopt, and all hostilities cease against the white people, and the path made white. We must inform you that several talks that have been directed to the head-men and warriors at *Ustinaire*, have been opened before we received them. Your last talk came under cover to Mr. Gegg, and by him delivered in the square at *Ustinaire*, to our beloved men. We do not approve of any person opening any talks that come from our white brothers, except Mr. Gegg, who explains them to us, or our linguister, James Carry. The boy we had prisoner at *Coosawatchee*, we are informed, is delivered to Jesse Spears, in order that he may be conveyed down to Seneca; the girl is not yet come to her friends, but we presume she is in the land. We now have finished our talk; in token of friendship and peace, we have enclosed a string of white wampum.

*Yellow Bird,  
Chickhesatee,  
Dick,  
Glass,  
The Jobber's Son,  
Killy Geshee,  
All Chestnut,  
The Warrior Nephew,  
Second Man,  
Norrawahee,*

*The Little Turkey,  
Thigh,  
Cowethee,  
Dragon Canoe,  
Bear coming out of a hole,  
Humming Bird,  
Hanging Maw,  
Fool Warrior Nottley,  
Badger,  
Prince,  
Watts.*

C. No. 6.

LONG ISLAND, HOSLTON RIVER, 15th January, 1789.

SIR:

I had the honor to receive two letters from your office, bearing date the 22d of August last past, one by way of Virginia, the other North Carolina, enclosing sundry resolves of Congress, also proclamations: they came to hand the 9th day of October last—that day being appointed by the field officers of Washington district, to meet and concert some plan for carrying an expedition against the Cherokee Indians, which was agreed on in the following manner: *Resolved*, That fifteen hundred men be immediately draughted out of Washington district; that each captain of a company see their men well armed, and ten days' provision for each man. Before the council rose, your despatches came to hand, which I immediately laid before them, which put a final stop to any further proceeding on that head.

The next morning I sat out for my plantation in South Carolina, where some of the Indians had retreated to, in order to escape Mr. Sevier, with a view to send some runners of them through their nation and collect their chiefs together; that I would meet them at any place they might desire, and lay before them several resolves of Congress, which would be very satisfactory to them, also a letter from the Governor of North Carolina. But on my way thither, at Major Taylor's, at Seneca, was informed, a few hours before my arrival there, two gentlemen from Virginia, by order of Government, had called two of the Indian chiefs there, and had done some business with them, and the Indians set out for their nation. On which, I despatched a runner after them, and brought them back, and read to them the resolves of Congress, and the proclamation. On which, the Hanging Maw rose up and took me by the arm, and said, by this hold, I will settle all further quarrels; you and myself are always the men that make peace. When our young men differ, we are the men that make every thing straight; I will instantly go to my nation, and put a stop to war; you shall shortly hear from me. The talks we then had together, I sent them with a copy, which I expect has come to your hand long before now. The next talk I had, I enclosed you, No. 1. I then despatched a messenger to Eastwley, requesting some of the chiefs, of my acquaintance, to come to my plantation, where we might talk face to face. They attended accordingly. I then and there read to them the several resolves of Congress, to me directed, also the proclamation, and impressed on their minds the justness of Congress for their safety, also the consequence that might attend to those regardless of that power. After which, William Elders, one of their chief warriors, rose up and spoke, which you will see in No. 2. After he had finished his talk,

he tells me his nation was for peace, and was desirous of returning to their old towns; but that they had no way of sustenance; that while they lived out in the hunting ground, they could get meat, and those that went to the Creeks could yet corn; that he feared they must all join the Creek Indians or perish. I then asked him if they could get corn if they all would return to their old towns? His answer was, they most certainly would, if the white people were moved off their lands. I then told him I would, at my own expense, furnish Citico, a town I formerly lived in, and would lay a statement of their distressed situation before Congress: perhaps they might take pity on them, which seemed to have a wonderful effect on this warrior. In a short time after, several old women from that town, applied to me for salt to purchase corn with from other towns. All of whom I furnished, and sent them back well pleased. In the intermediate time, I went over to a plantation I had in Georgia; the evening of my arrival at that place, I was attacked by a party of Creek Indians. In the skirmish, my overseer was badly wounded; I was obliged to take to the house, leaving them masters of the field; they took off my horses, with several others, leaving one of their warriors dead on the ground.

I am well assured that, with prudent means, we may have the Cherokee Indians our friends; but it is to be feared there is a party that has such a thirst for the Cherokee lands, they will take every measure in their power to prevent a treaty. You will observe, in the talks sent on in October last, that the Hanging Maw said, all hostilities should cease. Before he reached the nation, 400 Creek Indians were come out, were joined by 1200 Cherokees, had marched against the frontiers, and had stormed a fort and took 23 prisoners before the runners overtook them. The whole frontier country seemed then to be in their power. The then hostile Indians had several companies of horse, equip from the Creek nation, commanded by white men from that quarter. As soon as runners overtook them, and informed that Congress had sent to them, they returned, leaving a letter addressed to Mr. Sevier and myself, saying they were then on their own ground, and did not intend to go any farther; that the prisoners they should take care of; that they did not wish to spill any more blood; that they would allow the people thirty days to move off their lands. After which the superintendent sent to them to meet him at Hopewell or Keowee, which they did; two of the commissioners met also, who gave the Indians the greatest reasons to believe all hostilities between them and the white people would cease; the Indians went off well pleased; but, a few days after, when all the Indians were ordered out by their warriors to make their winter's hunts, that war was no longer to be dreaded by them, being well assured by the commissioners of the same, Mr. Sevier went to one of their towns, took off 29 prisoners, and plundered the town; which actings of Mr. Sevier made great confusion again, but by the early interposition of General Pickens and some others, that affront was allayed, alleging those Indian prisoners taken by Mr. Sevier were to exchange for those taken by them. Another misfortune happened shortly after that: a party of men went to where some Indians were hunting, under a color to trade with them for furs, which they had at their camp, took an advantage, and shot two of the Indians dead, and plundered their camp.

I fear no regulations to confirm a peace, so much the desire of the well-disposed citizen, will take place with the arrival of the troops ordered by Congress.

I have promised to see the Indians again some time in April next; if Congress thinks proper to send on any talks to them, I think it will be of essential service towards forwarding the treaty.

Any commands you will honor me with, will meet me at my seat at fort Patrick Henry, Long Island, Holston river, Sullivan county, North Carolina.

I have the honor to be, your most obedient and most humble servant,

JOS. MARTIN.

The Hon. H. Knox, *Secretary of War*,  
or, in his absence, the next in command.

C. No. 7.

*A Talk from the Head-men and Warriors of the Cherokees, now met at their beloved town of Ustinaire, 1st November, 1783, addressed to Brigadier General Martin.*

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

We hear that you are at Tascola, and that you are the great warrior of North Carolina and the new State. Your people provoked us first to war, by settling on our lands and killing our beloved men; however, we have laid by the hatchet, and are strongly for peace. Now we have heard from our brother, also from Congress, likewise the Governor of Virginia, who tells us that the people settled on our hunting grounds shall be removed without loss of time, which gives us great satisfaction. As we told you before, we are strongly for peace; we do not want any more war; we hope you will keep your people now at peace, and not to disturb us as they have done. When these people move, we shall all be friends and brothers. There are a great many Creeks out; if they should do your people any injury we hope you will not lay the blame on us, for all our head-men and warriors will prevent our young people for the future to do the white people any injury, but they expect they will move off their land.

The talk from Congress, and the talk likewise from the Governor of Virginia, we have taken fast hold of, and will remember, because they are good, and strongly desirous to live in the greatest friendship with their red brothers. We should be glad to receive a talk from you, if it is a good one, and for hereafter to live in peace and friendship. We desire you will let our friends and brothers in North Carolina hear this talk, which we hope will be the means to procure that peace and friendship we so strongly desire. We are your friends and brothers.

*The Badger,  
The Crane,  
Bloody Fellow,  
Jobber's Son,  
Killygiskee,  
Yellow Bird,  
Bear coming out of the tree,*

*Thigh,  
Pumpkin Vine,  
Chesnut,  
Hanging Maw,  
The Lyn Fawghn,  
The Englishman, &c.*

PINE LOG, 3d November 1783.

DEAR SIR: I send you a talk from the head-men and warriors met at Ustinaire, on the 1st instant, which I hope will give you satisfaction, and prevent a war. I should always be glad to receive a line from you.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

THO. GEGG.

C. No. 8.

BROTHER:

We have been long acquainted with you, and know you to be our friend; but what is the reason Congress has not moved those people from off our lands before now? You were one of the beloved men that spoke for Congress at Keowee three years ago; you then said the people should move off in six moons from that time; but near forty moons are past and they are not gone yet. We well remember, whenever we are invited into a treaty, as observed by us at that time, and bounds are fixed, that the white people settle much faster on our lands than they did before. It must certainly be the case, they think we will not break the peace directly, and they will strengthen themselves and keep the lands. You know this to be the case. You told us at the treaty, if any white people settled on our lands we might do as we pleased with them. They come and settle close by our towns, and some of the Chicamoga people came, contrary to our desire, and killed a family; and the white people came and drove us out of our towns, and

killed some of our beloved men, and several women and little children, although we could not help what the Chicamoga people does. You know that well. We are now like wolves, ranging about the woods to get something to eat. Nothing to be seen in our towns but bones, weeds, and grass. But, for all this, we will lie still; we will not do any more mischief if the white people will stop. I am but a boy, but my eyes are open, and wherever I turn them, many young men turn with them. I here give you this string of white beads, as a token of my friendship to you; also I present you with a string in the name of your brother John Watts; he says he holds you fast by the hand, but he cannot see you yet, as he is in great trouble about his uncle. But the Corn-tassel will come to your house towards the spring, and stay a great while with you, as it will be very hungry times with him then.

WILLIAM ELDERS.

C. No. 9.

FORT PATRICK HENRY, *Sullivan Co. N. Carolina, February 2, 1789.*

SIR:

I have certain accounts that some designing men on the Indian lands have assembled themselves to the number of fifteen, and call themselves a convention of the people, and have entered into several resolves, which they say they will lay before Congress; one of which resolves is, to raise men by subscription to defend themselves, as the Legislature of North Carolina refuses to protect them on the Indian lands, but, on the contrary, have directed and ordered those people off the Indian lands. A certain Alexander Outlaw by name, I am informed, is to wait upon Congress on behalf of this new plan. I think it my duty to say the truth of him: Shortly after the murder of the Corn-tassel and two other chiefs, this said Outlaw collected a party of men and went into an Indian town called Citico, where he found a few helpless women and children, which he inhumanly murdered, exposing their private parts in the most shameful manner, leaving a young child, with both its arms broke, alive, at the breast of its dead mother. These are facts well known and cannot be denied in this country. Mr. Outlaw has done every thing in his power to drive the Indians to desperation, although I find some complaint by the said Outlaw against me, for carrying on an expedition against the Cherokee Indians without orders from Government. I have once stated that matter to you, but, least that may not have come to hand, I beg leave to state the facts to you. In the month of May last, a boat, richly laden, was going down Tennessee to Cumberland, the crew were decoyed by the Chicamoga Indians and Creeks together, all of which crew were killed and taken prisoners; after which doings, the Corn-tassel informed me of the cruel murder they had committed, also the repeated murders and robberies they were constantly committing on the frontiers of Cumberland and Kentucky, also on the Kentucky road, in company with the Creeks. There was not the least hopes of reclaiming them as long as they lived so far detached from their nations. That the Corn-tassel had talked to them until he found it was of no use; that he, with the other chiefs, advised and thought it best to go against them and burn their towns, by which means they would return to their allegiance; that then they would have it in their power to govern them. This the Indian chiefs urged in the strongest terms, which account I laid before the Executive of North Carolina, who advised that peace should be offered them, and, if refused by the Indians, that then the principal officers of Washington district should pursue such measures as to them should appear most likely to put a stop to those merciless Indians on the frontiers and roads. It was unanimously agreed to march against Chicamoga, but by no means to give offence to the Cherokees, which has been a means of uniting the Chicamoga Indians to the other Indians. It will now be our own faults if we do not make all that race of Indians our friends.

So great the thirst for Indian lands prevails, that every method will be taken by a party of people to prevent a treaty with the Indians. They are now laboring to draw some of the Indians to a treaty, as they may purchase their country: this party say, if they can purchase of the Indians, they will have it without the consent of any other power; that the Indians have an undoubted right to it, and not Congress; that if they could only prevail on a few of the lower class to come into their scheme, they would get conveyances made and contend for the right. This I have heard from them.

I this moment have received a talk from the Chickasaw Indians, which I enclose you.

I have the honor, with much respect, to be, your most humble and most obedient servant,

JOS. MARTIN.

The Honorable H. KNOX, *Secretary of War,*  
or, in his absence, the next in command.

C. No. 10.

WINNSBOROUGH, *March 1, 1789.*

SIR:

I think it necessary to inform you, that a treaty will take place with the Cherokee Indians, the third Monday in May next; at the Upper War-ford, on French Broad river, in the neighborhood of Swananno, State of North Carolina.

The Creek Indians, 'tis supposed, will also treat; they are now holding a great talk in their nation, the result of which is not yet come to hand.

I have the honor to subscribe myself, your most obedient servant,

RICHARD WINN.

The Honorable Major General KNOX.

No. 4.

*Gen. Knox, Secretary of War, to the President of the United States.*

#### THE CHICKASAWS.

This nation of Indians were estimated by the commissioners, in 1785, at 800 warriors; other opinions make them amount to 1200.

The lines of their territory between the Cherokees and Choctaws, do not appear precisely fixed. Their limits, established by the treaty hereafter mentioned, are bounded on the north by the ridge which divides the waters running into the Cumberland, from those running into the Tennessee. The Mississippi on the west, the Choctaws and the Creeks on the south, and the Cherokees on the east.

The United States formed a treaty with the Chickasaw nation, at Hopewell, the 10th of January, 1786, which was entered on the journals of Congress, April 17th, 1786.

By this treaty, they acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and of no other sovereign whatsoever. A tract of land is reserved for a trading post, to the use and under the Government of the United States, of a circle of five miles diameter, at the lower post of the Muscle Shoals, at the mouth or junction of the Ocochappo with the Tennessee. The land transportation from the head of the Ocochappo, to the head of the most northerly part of the Mobile river, is said not to exceed thirty-five miles.

The distance of this nation from the frontier settlements being so great, is the principal reason that no complaints have been made of the encroachments of the whites.

In the year 1787, they sent one of the warriors of their nation to Congress, to represent the distressed situation of the Cherokees; and that, unless the encroachments of the whites were restrained, they should be obliged to join the Cherokees; and, also, to enforce the establishment of trade agreeably to the treaty.



## THE CHOCTAWS.

This nation of Indians were estimated by the commissioners of the United States, at 6,000 warriors; other opinions state them at 4,500 or 5,000.

Their principal towns or villages are on the head waters of the Pascagoula and Pearl rivers. They are mostly to the northward of the 31st degree of latitude; but some of them are to the southward of it, within the territory of Spain.

Both the Chickasaws and Choctaws are represented as candid, generous, brave, and honest, and understanding each other's language.

The commissioners of the United States concluded a treaty with the Choctaws at Hopewell, on the 3d of January, 1786, and the same is entered on the journals of Congress, the 16th of April, 1786.

By this treaty, the Choctaws acknowledged themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and of no other sovereign whatsoever. And three tracts, or parcels of land, each of six miles square, for the establishment of trading posts, are reserved to the use of the Government of the United States, at such places as they shall think proper.

The distance of the Choctaws has also prevented, hitherto, those encroachments which have been complained of by the Cherokees.

In the year 1787, they sent Tobocah, one of their great medal chiefs, to Congress, principally in order to solicit the establishment of trade.

All which is humbly submitted to the President of the United States.

H. KNOX.

WAR OFFICE, 7th day of July, 1789.

## No. 1.

SENEGA ON KEOWEE, December 30, 1785.

SIR:

The commissioners have been much longer executing the duties of the commission, than they at first had any idea of. As I informed you from Charleston, of the last of September, we were under the necessity of postponing the time of meeting, both at Galphinton and this place, one month later than the original appointment, that the Indians might have full time, and that all delays be avoided. Accordingly, the commissioners, Mr. Perry excepted, met at Galphinton, the 24th and 28th of October; and although we had had assurances that the chiefs of the Creek nation would meet us there, yet, from some cause, not clearly known, we were met only by the representatives of two towns who had been friendly to us. This disappointment was the more unexpected, as we knew a majority of the nation to be pleased with our invitation, and very anxious of establishing with us a permanent peace; perhaps I might attribute it to the intrigues of the neighboring Spanish officers, and to Alexander McGillivray, a half breed, of great abilities and consequential rank in his nation, and who has lately had permission to form connexions with, and establish British commercial houses for the supply of the Indians. He is also an agent of Spain, with a salary of six hundred dollars per annum, paid monthly.

We did not think proper to enter into a treaty with the heads of these towns only, and after explaining to them the object of the United States, we dismissed them, with a few presents, as they had been friendly to us most of the late war.

The commissioners of Georgia attended, and protested against every thing we had done, or should do, founded on our commission, "except in such cases only, as may, or shall lead to continue principles of friendship, and to explain the great occurrences of the late war." And after we left Galphinton, the agents of that State entered into a treaty with the Indians then present, and obtained from them a cession of all the lands south of the Altamaha, and eastward of a line to be run southwest from the junction of the Oconee and Oakmulgee, until it shall strike St. Mary's, with a confirmation of the cession northeast of the Oconee in 1783.

The 17th November we arrived here, and were met in a few days by nine hundred and eighteen Cherokees, with whom, on the 28th, we entered into a treaty. They were anxiously desirous of being under the protection of the United States, thereby to be secured in the possession of their hunting grounds from the avidity of land speculation. They had for some time past lost all confidence in promises made them by the neighboring States, as well as the citizens thereof. They saw their situation with despondency, until they were informed of the humane and liberal views of Congress; and then, with joy and gladness, they embraced the protection we offered them, and I believe would have submitted their fate to the decision of the United States without a negative. Colonel William Blount, as agent for North Carolina, is with us, and he has entered a protest against the treaty, and the commissioners of Georgia were present, and gave us a second protest, which, with the treaty, and all our proceedings thereon, I shall send forward as early as practicable.

The 4th instant, the commissioners agreed to adjourn, and report their proceedings; and Joseph Martin and Laughlin McIntosh set out for their respective homes, leaving Mr. Pickens and myself to discharge the Indians, to wind up every thing, and close the report. The ninth, we received advice from Captain Woods, that the chiefs of the Choctaws were on the way, and would be here in this month. Mr. Martin hearing of it, returned on the 27th; but Mr. McIntosh was so far on his way home, as to prevent his having advice in time, although I wrote for him immediately on the receipt of the information. The Choctaws arrived on the 26th, after a fatiguing journey of seventy-seven days, the whole of them almost naked. The Creeks endeavored all they could to prevent their coming, by false information, stealing of horses, &c.; but they have apparently a rooted aversion to the Spaniards and Creeks, and are determined to put themselves under the protection of the United States. This day, we shall commence our negotiations with them; we should have done it sooner, but the Chiefs told us they were so naked, they must first receive some clothing; and we yesterday gave to eighteen, coats in the uniform of the late army, with other necessaries to dress them, and we foresee that there are no difficulties to oppose; but that in a few days we shall finish our treaty with them. Some of the Chickasaws are here, and the representation from the nation expected to arrive every day; and the same spirit actuates them as the Choctaws, so that, in a few days, our negotiations will be complete, except with the Creeks, and all difficulties respecting them removed.

On the article of expense, we have had our fears, and knowing the sum to which we were limited would be exhausted too soon, unless we contracted our original plan, we were under the necessity of dismissing our guard three weeks past, and do our business without one. This opportunity does not admit our writing farther.

We are, with due respect, sir, your most obedient servants,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS,  
ANDREW PICKENS,

The Honorable CHARLES THOMSON, Esq.

## No. 2

HOPWELL, 4th of January, 1786.

SIR:

The 28th of November, we had the honor to enclose your Excellency the treaty we entered into with the Cherokees, and all the papers respecting the same. At that period, we did not suppose we should be able to meet any other of the tribes this winter. A few days after, we received an express from Colonel John Woods, informing us of the approach of the Choctaws, and they arrived here on the 26th. They had been on the path from the 16th

of October, and had experienced great difficulties from the badness of the way, the scarcity of clothing and provisions, and the frequent interruptions of the Creeks by stealing their horses, and we were, from motives of humanity, at their arrival, under the necessity of clothing the whole of them, as the weather was very cold, and they were nearly naked, before we commenced our negotiations with the chiefs. The third instant, we concluded a treaty with them, which we enclose to your Excellency, with our journal and other papers respecting the same.

The Indians seem to comprehend very well every article, and we have taken great pains to explain it to them, as well as the humane views of Congress towards all the tribes of Indians within the United States of America.

We had some difficulty in finding out how we should ascertain the bounds of the lands allotted to the Choctaws, and could not fix them other than as in the third article; and knowing the avidity of land speculation would take any possible advantage, we fixed on the 29th of November, 1782, the day before the signing of our preliminary articles with Great Britain, that being, as we conceived, the earliest period in our power.

The Indians were well satisfied with the treaty, and with the treatment they met with, and expressed their gratitude for it. But we could perceive their strong hankering after presents could not be abated, by the prudent method we adopted of clothing them comfortably, or by our liberality in the treaty. They are the greatest beggars, and the most indolent creatures we ever saw, and yet honest, simple, and regardless of any situation of distress. Their passion for gambling and drinking is very great; we have had instances of their selling blankets at a pint of rum each, and gambling them away, when they had no prospect of replacing them, and knew they must return this winter five hundred miles to their nation with a shirt only. They were very little accustomed to travelling, and we should not have had them here, had we not supplied them with provisions on the road. And that they may return without starving, through indolence, we were necessitated to pack up some proper goods, and put them under the care of the interpreter and the four chiefs, for the purpose of procuring provisions.

The Spaniards were desirous of preventing them from meeting us; and Mr. McGillivray, by their order, took pains to stop them as they passed through the Creeks. But they were determined to go to Congress, rather than not form some connexion with us. They have strong regard for the British, and an exalted idea of the military prowess of the United States; and they urge, that as the latter conquered the former, they are the fittest persons on earth for them to apply to for protection.

The chiefs produced their medals and commissions, and were very desirous of exchanging for those under the United States. They were also desirous of having three stand of colors, for their upper and lower towns, and six villages, and an agent to superintend their business. Captain John Woods is recommended by two of their chiefs, and he is a man of some enterprise and ability, but much addicted to strong drink. He came in with the Indians, and has been at much trouble with them.

We have appointed John Pitchlynn our interpreter of the Choctaw tongue. We have told him that we did not know whether Congress would annex any salary to such an appointment; he is a very honest, sober young man, and has lived twelve years in the nation, and is much respected by the chiefs as an interpreter.

The presents we have given the Indians, and the goods for the purchase of provisions, amount to 1,181 dollars.

We have the honor to be, with sincere esteem, sir, your Excellency's most obedient humble servants,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS,  
ANDREW PICKENS,  
JOS. MARTIN.

His Excellency JOHN HANCOCK, Esq. *President of Congress.*

No. 3.

HOPEWELL, 14th January, 1786.

SIR:

We have the honor to enclose to your Excellency, a treaty we entered into with the Chickasaws on the 10th instant. They had been as long on the path as the Choctaws; but coming through the Cherokees, were better supplied with provisions, and experienced less difficulties, except from the villanous practice of horse stealing, which has taken deep root among them as well as the Creeks.

We found no difficulty in our treaty with these Indians, who are the most honest and well informed, as well as the most orderly and best governed of any we have seen. The trading posts reserved to the use of the United States, are situated in the most convenient place within the whole of their lands. It is within sixty miles of their towns, and one hundred of the Choctaws' upper towns. The lands on the north side of the river are very fit for cultivation and for grazing.

Through the whole of our negotiations, we have paid particular attention to the rights and interests of the United States, as far as our abilities could comprehend them, regardless of the protests of the adjoining States against us. Finding, from the delays of the Indians, and the particular circumstances attending the negotiations, that our expenses would exceed the sums we had provided for, and even the sum to which we were restricted by Congress, and without completing the object of our commission, we were necessitated to discharge our guard early in December, and meet the Indians without them, and curtail every expense that could possibly be avoided; and yet, after all, they have exceeded our wishes.

By this treaty, the boundary of the lands allotted to the respective tribes is closed on every side, from the south fork of Oconee, around northerly and westwardly; and we verily believe, that, if the adjoining States were disposed to carry the treaties into effect, the Indians would be happy in the new change of sovereignty, and in constant amity with us.

The Chickasaws will leave us to-morrow. We have given them presents amounting to six hundred and thirty-nine and three-fifths dollars, including some goods for the purchase of provisions. The Choctaws left us on the 12th.

The commissioners of Georgia returned home after the treaty with the Cherokees. The agent of North Carolina continued with us, and we enclose his letter and protest.

We have the honor to be, with sincere esteem, sir, your Excellency's most obedient humble servants,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS,  
ANDREW PICKENS,  
JOS. MARTIN.

No. 4.

HOPEWELL, the 7th January, 1786.

The Commissioners Plenipotentiary of the United States in Congress assembled, appointed to treat with the Cherokees, and all other Indians southward of them, within the limits of the United States, assembled. Present: Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, and Joseph Martin. From the State of North Carolina, William Blount, Esq. Agent, and James Cole, Interpreter.

The commissioners were informed that the leading chiefs of the Chickasaws, with their followers, had arrived, and were desirous of seeing the commissioners and entering upon their business as early as practicable. That they had been long on the path, and detained by the villany of the Cherokees, some of whom had stolen several of their horses. They were introduced, and expressed a most friendly disposition towards the United States, and an earnest desire of entering into a treaty of peace and protection with them. The commissioners, after explaining the object of their commission, informed the chiefs that they would, on Monday, or as early as would be convenient for them, enter upon the business.

9th of January.

Present as on the 7th.

The leading chiefs attended at 10 o'clock, and, after some friendly conversation, the commissioners addressed the leading chiefs as follow, viz:

**LEADING CHIEFS WHO REPRESENT THE CHICKASAWS:** We are the commissioners plenipotentiary from the United States, in Congress assembled, who sent an invitation to you, the leading chiefs, who represent the Chickasaws, to meet us at this place, to give you peace, and to receive you into the favor and protection of the United States, and to remove, as far as may be, all causes of future contention or quarrels. That you, your wives, and your children, may be happy, and feel and know the blessings of the new change of sovereignty over this land which you and we inhabit.

This humane and generous act of the United States will, no doubt, be received by all the Chickasaws with joy and gladness, and held in grateful remembrance, particularly as it flows unsolicited from their justice, their humanity, and their attention to the rights of human nature.

On our own parts, we sincerely wish you to live as happily as we do ourselves, and to promote that happiness as far as in our power, regardless of any distinction of color, or of any differences in our customs or manners, or particular situation; and as a proof of the sincerity of our declarations, we propose to enter into articles of a treaty, as equal as may be, conformable to what we now tell you.

After this address, the chiefs were told, that, at some future period, the occurrences of the late war, and the extent of territory within the United States, would be fully explained to them. To which Piomingo replied, he wished to hear every thing intended to be communicated to him, prior to his talks. The whole was accordingly explained, and, apparently, to their satisfaction and comprehension. The draught of the treaty was also explained, with which they seemed to acquiesce most heartily.

The leading chiefs then, in turn, addressed the commissioners.

**PIOMINGO.**—The period has arrived that I have visited you to see you, and to regulate every thing that respects us. These beads are our credentials of peace and friendship, and two of us have come to bring the talks of the nation. These white beads are of little value but in our nation, where they are kept even by our children, with veneration, as tokens of peace and friendship. When I take you by the hands, the day will never come, that discord will break my hold. Although I may not be eloquent, yet I wish my talks to be as much esteemed as if I was, it being my sincere desire that what I say should be construed most friendly. My talks are not long, and I hope, when you see these beads, you will remember my friendship.—[Eight strands of beads.]

**MINGATUSHKA.**—The day is come when I have met you to talk with you, and I am well pleased; and now you shall hear what I have to say.

I have come to see you, and you are not strangers to us; you are a white people I claim as our eldest and first brothers. These beads in my hand are a token of friendship, and I hope friendly ideas will arise in your minds whenever you see them. My predecessor loved you white people in his time, and I mean to do the same. Our two old leading men are dead, and we two come as their successors in business, with the same friendly talks as they had, which were always friendly. Although our old king and leading man is dead, we wish their friendly talks may live, and be remembered with you as with us, and for that purpose we come to renew them. I hope, when your children and our children grow up, they will remember the old peace and friendship of this day, and strictly adhere to it. This is the day I have come to see you, and I have been informed of the peace of the United States of America with all nations, and I am glad of it, and wish sincerely it may long continue. The substance of my talks is done, and when we red people talk, we give beads as a proof of friendship, and I give these. My talks are short and true; when people are prolix, they sometimes are false.—[A string of beads.]

**PIOMINGO.**—I now represent Satopoa. He is a particular man; when he gives his word or acquiescence, he never lets go, and this is his belt: he and I are related; our sentiments are the same; our talks are short, but his token of friendship is great.—[A broad belt of wampum.] Our talks are done, our predecessors are dead, and we come and give in our talks; and now we will hear further from you.

**MINGATUSHEA.**—The great man of our nation who wore this medal I show you, is dead, and I am his nephew and a leader. On the death of this great man, he left a daughter, who took care of this medal, and she judged it was proper, when I came, that I should bring it, that you might see it, and know such a thing belonged to our family; and accordingly, she and her mother sent it.

**PIOMINGO.**—You see this now, (pointing to the medal) it was worn by our great man; he is dead; his daughter sent it for you to see it. I take place, as head leading warrior of the nation, to treat with all nations.

**COMMISSIONERS.**—We are glad you remember with pleasure the virtues of your old and worthy predecessors; and we are pleased that the daughter of one of them has sent us this medal, with the reasons for so doing; in return, we will give you some present for her.

As you are well pleased with the draught of our treaty, we shall prepare two copies thereof, to be signed to-morrow, the one for you, and the other for the Congress.

When the first article was read, the chief Piomingo said he had no prisoners of ours in his nation, or property of any kind. To the reservation in the third article, he at first seemed much opposed, but, on being assured by the commissioners, that they were not desirous of getting his land, and that all that would be necessary for the United States, as a trading post, would be five or six miles square, he readily acquiesced, and marked the article in the map, describing its diameter to be five miles, and remarked, at the same time, that the lands on the north of the river were fine for cultivation and grazing, and he would have no objection to our using what we might think proper for the convenience of traders.

Present as yesterday.

The commissioners produced two copies of the draught agreed on, and a map of the lands in question, partly drawn by themselves, and partly by the Indians, and, instead of agreeing to the line between the respective tribes, they dotted only with black ink, which the chief observed, and said he wished Congress would point out his lands to him; he wanted to know his own. The line was then extended, as in the third article, and the commissioners told the chiefs that they must agree with the neighboring tribes respecting their boundary, and that then Congress would send a white man to be present with the Indians, and see them mark it.

The treaty was then read over again, and every article explained with great attention, and the Indians acquiesced with them; and, at the close, the commissioners asked if they comprehended the whole, and were willing to sign; they answered yes, and that it was all straight, meaning it was proper and satisfactory to them. It was then signed; but, previous thereto, the agent of North Carolina delivered a letter to the commissioners, referring them to his former letters to them, respecting the constitutional claims of North Carolina, to all the lands within the bounds described in their bill of rights. He also gave in his protest against the treaty.

The commissioners informed the chiefs, that, on to-morrow, in pursuance of the humane and liberal views of Congress, they would make them some presents for their use and comfort.

10th of January.

Present as yesterday.

11th of January.

It being very wet and rainy, the chiefs postponed receiving the presents till to-morrow. In the evening, the principal warrior, Piomingo, visited the commissioners, and addressed them as follows, viz: "I am now going to inform you of the situation of the white people in our land. There are a great many of them who have numerous stocks of cattle and horses, and they are not traders, or of any advantage to us; and, when a white man comes, they, without our permission, or even asking of it, build a house for him, and settle him among us. I do not wish

to be cross to them, or do them any injury; and I desire they may go in peace with their stocks to their own lands. Such people as they, are of no use to us; on the contrary, very injurious. If they were traders, I should be pleased at their being with us. They are not those in our towns only, who have stocks, but some are settled out thirty or forty miles, who keep cattle and horses; and, if an Indian horse or colt should get among their stocks, they brand him, and claim him, to the injury of the owner. Some pedlars come, also, to us, who are a pest, as they steal more than they purchase of our horses. If we had merchant traders, who would set down with us and trade properly, I should be pleased with it; such men would be a valuable acquisition to us, as they would supply us our necessary wants, in exchange for our property. You, the commissioners, have told me that we shall be properly supplied with goods, and I depend on their promise; such men as come properly to trade with us, will be very welcome, and any thing we have is at their service. But the class of settlers we now have are a pest, and I wish they would go with their property to their own lands, and enjoy it."

COMMISSIONERS.—Your remarks are very proper, and we have, in an article of the treaty, provided against a repetition of the abuse, and you will have the right to punish these, if you think proper. We shall send the treaty, and all our talks with you, to Congress, and they will issue a proclamation, warning the white people of their danger, and this will be, by some person, communicated to the chiefs of all the Southern tribes. When you return, you may, by our interpreter, communicate the article of the treaty respecting these people, that they may see their situation.

12th of January.

Present as yesterday.—Piomingo addressed the commissioners as follows:

The people I complained of last night, I imagine will not pay attention to what I say respecting their removal; and I wish that Colonel Martin would come and see them removed. My talk is a short one. I am only desirous that Colonel Martin may come and adjust every thing between the red people and white people.

The Chickasaw chiefs had also informed the commissioners that, on the way hither, they saw two companies of Creeks going to Cumberland to plunder the citizens, and, very probably, to get some scalps. That Piomingo represented to them the injustice of the act, as well as their folly, and expressly told them that the white people on Cumberland and their property were equally dear to him with his own; and that, although the Creeks were numerous, compared with the Chickasaws, yet, if they continued to rob and plunder on his lands, his own, or the hunters and traders of the white people, he would take such steps as would be proper.

The commissioners then distributed presents among the chiefs and Indians, amounting, including the goods to purchase provisions, to \_\_\_\_\_ dollars. They were perfectly satisfied with the presents, and the treatment they met, and expressed their gratitude for it, and prepared to set out to their own nation. In the evening the Cherokees gave the chief a proof of their ingenuity in robbing of packs as well as stealing horses. Two of them robbed the chief of all his presents, and the goods given to purchase provisions, and within sight of the Chickasaws. The commissioners issued a proclamation, offering a reward for the goods and the robbers, and sent runners to the neighboring towns to proclaim the same, as well as to call on the chiefs to interpose immediately, and apprehend the robbers, and send them to Hopewell to be punished.

15th January.

The chief of Chetugoh, with three young men, brought the goods, and informed the commissioners that they had pursued the robbers, and endeavored to apprehend them, but could not. They came up with them, and fired at them, and wounded one.

The commissioners paid the reward, and told the chief that they had done very properly, and that, in future, he should be noticed for his attention to this order, and prompt execution of it.

*Gen. Knox, Secretary of War, to the President of the United States, in continuation.*

The report of the 23d of May, 1789, on the treaties at fort Harmar, by the Governor of the Western Territory, and the paper Number 1, of the Indian Department, contain such a general statement of the circumstances relative to the Indian tribes, within the limits of the United States, northwest of the Ohio, as will probably render their situation sufficiently understood.

The numbers two, three, and four, comprehend a general view of the nations south of the Ohio.

But the critical situation of affairs between the State of Georgia and the Creek nation, requires a more particular consideration. In discussing this subject, it will appear that the interest of all the Indian nations south of the Ohio, as far as the same may relate to the whites, is so blended together as to render the circumstance highly probable, that, in case of a war, they may make it one common cause.

Although each nation or tribe may have latent causes of hatred to each other, on account of disputes of boundaries and game, yet when they shall be impressed with the idea that their lives and lands are at hazard, all inferior disputes will be accommodated, and an union as firm as the six Northern nations may be formed by the Southern tribes.

Their situation, entirely surrounded on all sides, leads naturally to such an union, and the present difficulties of the Creeks and Cherokees may accelerate and complete it. Already the Cherokees have taken refuge from the violence of the frontier people of North Carolina within the limits of the Creeks, and it may not be difficult for a man of Mr. McGillivray's abilities to convince the Choctaws and Chickasaws that their remote situation is their only present protection; that the time must shortly arrive when their troubles will commence.

In addition to these causes, impelling to a general confederacy, there is another, of considerable importance—the policy of the Spaniards. The jealousy that Power entertains of the extension of the United States, would lead them into considerable expense to build up, if possible, an impassable barrier. They will, therefore, endeavor to form and cement such an union of the Southern Indians.

Mr. McGillivray has stated that Spain is bound by treaty to protect the Creeks in their hunting grounds. Although it may be prudent to doubt this assertion for the present, yet it is certain that Spain actually claims a considerable part of the territory ceded by Great Britain to the United States.

These circumstances require due weight in deliberating on the measures to be adopted respecting the Creeks.

Although the case of the Creeks will be a subject of legislative discussion and decision, it may be supposed that, after due consideration, they will, in substance, adopt one or the other of the following alternatives, to wit:

1. That the national dignity and justice require that the arms of the Union should be called forth in order to chastise the Creek nation of Indians, for refusing to treat with the United States on reasonable terms, and for their hostile invasion of the State of Georgia; or,

2. That it appears to the Congress of the United States that it would be highly expedient to attempt to quiet the hostilities between the State of Georgia and the Creek nation of Indians, by an amicable negotiation, and for that purpose there be a bill brought in to authorize the President of the United States to appoint three commissioners to repair to the State of Georgia, in order to conclude a peace with the said Creek nation and other nations of Indians to the southward of the Ohio, within the limits of the United States.

Supposing that any measure similar to either of the said alternatives should be adopted, it may be proper to examine into the manner which they are to be executed.

The most effectual mode of reducing the Creeks to submit to the will of the United States, and to acknowledge the validity of the treaties stated to have been made by that nation with Georgia, would be by an adequate army, to be raised and continued until the objects of the war should be accomplished.

When the force of the Creeks is estimated, and the probable combinations they might make with the other Indian nations, the army ought not to be calculated at less than 5,000 men. This number, on paper, would not, probably,

afford, at the best, more than 3,500 effectives. The delays and contingencies inseparable from the preparations and operations of an army, would probably render its duration necessary for the term of two years. An operating army of the above description, including all expenses, could not be calculated at less than one million five hundred thousand dollars annually.

A less army than the one herein proposed, would probably be utterly inadequate to the object, an useless expense, and disgraceful to the nation.

In case the second alternative should be agreed upon, the negotiation should be conducted by three commissioners, with an adequate compensation for the trouble of the business, as an inducement for proper persons to accept the trust.

The commissioners should be invested with full powers to decide all differences respecting boundaries, between the State of Georgia and the Creek Indians, unconstrained by treaties said to exist between the said parties, otherwise than the same may be reciprocally acknowledged.

The commissioners also should be invested with powers to examine into the case of the Cherokees, and to renew with them the treaty made at Hopewell in November 1785, and report to the President such measures as shall be necessary to protect the said Cherokees in their former boundaries.

But all treaties with the Indian nations, however equal and just they may be in their principles, will not only be nugatory but humiliating to the sovereign; unless they shall be guaranteed by a body of troops.

The angry passions of the frontier Indians and whites, are too easily inflamed by reciprocal injuries, and are too violent to be controlled by the feeble authority of the civil power.

There can be neither justice or observance of treaties, where every man claims to be the sole judge in his own cause, and the avenger of his own supposed wrongs.

In such a case, the sword of the republic only, is adequate to guard a due administration of justice, and the preservation of the peace.

In case, therefore, of the commissioners concluding a treaty, the boundaries between the whites and Indians must be protected by a body of at least five hundred troops.

The post which they should occupy should be without the limits or jurisdiction of any individual State, and within the territory assigned to the Indians, for which particular provision should be made in the treaties.

All offences committed by individuals, contrary to the treaties, should be tried by a court martial, agreeably to a law to be made for that purpose.

By this arrangement, the operation of which will soon be understood, the Indians would be convinced of the justice and good intentions of the United States, and they would soon learn to venerate and obey that power from whom they derived security against the avarice and injustice of lawless frontier people.

Hence it will appear, that troops will be necessary in either alternative—an army in case of an adoption of the first; and, after all the success that could reasonably be expected, by means thereof, a corps to be continued and stationed on the frontiers, of five hundred men. In case of the adoption of the second, the corps of five hundred only will be wanted, provided proper treaties can be effected.

But, in any event of troops, the subject must necessarily be considered and determined by Congress.

The disgraceful violation of the treaty of Hopewell, with the Cherokees, requires the serious consideration of Congress. If so direct and manifest contempt of the authority of the United States be suffered with impunity, it will be in vain to attempt to extend the arm of Government to the frontiers. The Indian tribes can have no faith in such imbecile promises, and the lawless whites will ridicule a government which shall, on paper only, make Indian treaties, and regulate Indian boundaries.

The policy of extending trade, under certain regulations, to the Choctaws and Chickasaws, under the protection of military posts, will also be a subject of Legislative deliberation.

The following observations, resulting from a general view of the Indian department, are suggested with the hope, that some of them might be considered as proper principles to be interwoven in a general system, for the government of Indian affairs.

It would reflect honor on the new Government, and be attended with happy effects, were a declarative law to be passed, that the Indian tribes possess the right of the soil of all lands within their limits, respectively, and that they are not to be divested thereof, but in consequence of fair and bona fide purchases, made under the authority, or with the express approbation, of the United States.

As the great source of all Indian wars are disputes about their boundaries, and as the United States are, from the nature of the government, liable to be involved in every war that shall happen on this or any other account, it is highly proper that their authority and consent should be considered as essentially necessary to all measures for the consequences of which they are responsible.

No individual State could, with propriety, complain of invasion of its territorial rights. The independent nations and tribes of Indians ought to be considered as foreign nations, not as the subjects of any particular State. Each individual State, indeed, will retain the right of pre-emption of all lands within its limits, which will not be abridged; but the general sovereignty must possess the right of making all treaties, on the execution or violation of which depend peace or war.

Whatever may have been the conduct of some of the late British colonies, in their separate capacities toward the Indians, yet the same cannot be charged against the national character of the United States.

It is only since they possess the powers of sovereignty, that they are responsible for their conduct.

But, in future, the obligations of policy, humanity, and justice, together with that respect which every nation sacredly owes to its own reputation, unite in requiring a noble, liberal, and disinterested administration of Indian affairs.

Although the disposition of the people of the States, to emigrate into the Indian country, cannot be effectually prevented, it may be restrained and regulated.

It may be restrained, by postponing new purchases of Indian territory, and by prohibiting the citizens from intruding on the Indian lands.

It may be regulated, by forming colonies, under the direction of Government, and by posting a body of troops to execute their orders.

As population shall increase, and approach the Indian boundaries, game will be diminished, and new purchases may be made for small considerations. This has been, and probably will be, the inevitable consequence of cultivation.

It is, however, painful to consider, that all the Indian tribes, once existing in those States now the best cultivated and most populous, have become extinct. If the same causes continue, the same effects will happen; and, in a short period, the idea of an Indian on this side the Mississippi will only be found in the page of the historian.

How different would be the sensation of a philosophic mind to reflect, that, instead of exterminating a part of the human race by our modes of population, we had persevered, through all difficulties, and at last had imparted our knowledge of cultivation and the arts to the aboriginals of the country, by which the source of future life and happiness had been preserved and extended. But it has been conceived to be impracticable to civilize the Indians of North America. This opinion is probably more convenient than just.

That the civilization of the Indians would be an operation of complicated difficulty; that it would require the highest knowledge of the human character, and a steady perseverance in a wise system for a series of years, cannot be doubted. But to deny that, under a course of favorable circumstances, it could not be accomplished, is to suppose the human character under the influence of such stubborn habits as to be incapable of melioration or change—a supposition entirely contradicted by the progress of society, from the barbarous ages to its present degree of perfection.

While it is contended that the object is practicable, under a proper system, it is admitted, in the fullest force, to be impracticable, according to the ordinary course of things, and that it could not be effected in a short period.

Were it possible to introduce among the Indian tribes a love for exclusive property, it would be a happy commencement of the business.

This might be brought about by making presents, from time to time, to the chiefs or their wives, of sheep and other domestic animals; and if, in the first instance, persons were appointed to take charge, and teach the use of them, a considerable part of the difficulty would be surmounted.

In the administration of the Indians, every proper expedient that can be devised to gain their affections, and attach them to the interest of the Union, should be adopted. The British Government had the practice of making the Indians presents of silver medals and gorgets, uniform clothing, and a sort of military commission. The possessors retained an exclusive property to these articles; and the Southern Indians are exceedingly desirous of receiving similar gifts from the United States, for which they would willingly resign those received from the British officers. The policy of gratifying them cannot be doubted.

Missionaries, of excellent moral character, should be appointed to reside in their nation, who should be well supplied with all the implements of husbandry, and the necessary stock for a farm.

These men should be made the instruments to work on the Indians; presents should commonly pass through their hands, or by their recommendations. They should, in no degree, be concerned in trade, or the purchase of lands, to rouse the jealousy of the Indians. They should be their friends and fathers.

Such a plan, although it might not fully effect the civilization of the Indians, would most probably be attended with the salutary effect of attaching them to the interest of the United States.

It is particularly important that something of this nature should be attempted with the Southern nations of Indians, whose confined situation might render them proper subjects for the experiment.

The expense of such a conciliatory system may be considered as a sufficient reason for rejecting it;

But, when this shall be compared with a system of coercion, it would be found the highest economy to adopt it.

The commanding officers of the troops on the frontiers of the Southern and Northern districts, as they possess the sword, should be the Indian agents, and for which they should have a consideration.

Every article given to the Indians should be accounted for, and witnessed by two commissioned officers.

The commanding officer should not receive any presents from the Indians, but, in every respect, conduct towards them in the most friendly and just manner.

All which is humbly submitted to the President of the United States.

H. KNOX.

WAR OFFICE, *July 7, 1789.*

1st CONGRESS.]

No. 3.

[1st SESSION.

### THE SIX NATIONS, THE WYANDOTS, AND OTHERS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE AUGUST 12, 1789.

The committee to whom was referred the message of the President of the United States, of the 25th of May, 1789, with the Indian treaties, and papers accompanying the same, report:

That the Governor of the Western territory, on the 9th day of January, 1789, at fort Harmar, entered into two treaties; one with the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations, the Mohawks excepted, the other with the sachems and warriors of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, Chippewa, Pattawatima, and Sac Nations; that those treaties were made in pursuance of the powers and instructions heretofore given to the said Governor by the late Congress, and are a confirmation of the treaties of fort Stanwix, in October, 1784, and of fort McIntosh, in January, 1785, and contain a more formal and regular conveyance to the United States, of the Indian claims to the lands yielded to these States by the said treaties of 1784 and 1785.

Your committee, therefore, submit the following resolution, to wit:

That the treaties concluded at fort Harmar, on the 9th day of January, 1789, between Arthur St. Clair, Esq. Governor of the Western territory, on the part of the United States, and the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations, (the Mohawks excepted) and the sachems and warriors of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, Chippewa, Pattawatima, and Sac Nations, be accepted, and that the President of the United States be advised to execute and enjoin an observance of the same.

1st CONGRESS.]

No. 4.

[1st SESSION.

### THE SOUTHERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE AUGUST 22, 1789.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES came into the Senate Chamber, attended by General Knox, and laid before the Senate the following statement of facts, with the questions thereto annexed, for their advice and consent:

To conciliate the powerful tribes of Indians in the Southern district, amounting probably to fourteen thousand fighting men, and to attach them firmly to the United States, may be regarded as highly worthy of the serious attention of Government.

The measure includes, not only peace and security to the whole southern frontier, but is calculated to form a barrier against the colonies of an European Power, which, in the mutations of policy, may one day become the enemy of the United States. The fate of the Southern States, therefore, or the neighboring colonies, may principally depend on the present measures of the Union towards the Southern Indians.

By the papers which have been laid before the Senate, it will appear, that, in the latter end of the year 1785, and the beginning of 1786, treaties were formed by the United States with the Cherokees, the Chickasaws, and Choctaws. The report of the commissioners will show the reasons why a treaty was not formed at the same time with the Creeks.

It will also appear by the papers, that the States of North Carolina and Georgia protested against said treaties, as infringing their legislative rights, and being contrary to the confederation. It will further appear by the said papers, that the treaty with the Cherokees has been entirely violated by the disorderly white people on the frontiers of North Carolina.



The opinion of the late Congress respecting the said violation, will sufficiently appear by the proclamation which they caused to be issued on the first of September, 1788.

By the public newspapers it appears, that, on the 16th of June last, a truce was concluded with the Cherokees, by Mr. John Steele, on behalf of the State of North Carolina, in which it was stipulated that a treaty should be held as soon as possible, and that, in the mean time, all hostilities should cease on either side.

As the Cherokees reside principally within the territory claimed by North Carolina, and as that State is not a member of the present Union, it may be doubted whether any efficient measures in favor of the Cherokees could be immediately adopted by the General Government.

The commissioners for negotiating with the Southern Indians may be instructed to transmit a message to the Cherokees, stating to them, as far as may be proper, the difficulties arising from the local claims of North Carolina, and to assure them that the United States are not unmindful of the treaty at Hopewell; and as soon as the difficulties which are at present opposed to the measure, shall be removed, the Government will do full justice to the Cherokees.

The distance of the Choctaws and Chickasaws from the frontier settlements, seem to have prevented these tribes from being involved in similar difficulties with the Cherokees.

The commissioners may be instructed to transmit messages to the said tribes, containing assurances of the continuance of the friendship of the United States, and that measures will soon be taken for extending a trade to them agreeably to the treaties of Hopewell.

The commissioners may also be directed to report a plan for the execution of the said treaties respecting trade.

But the case of the Creek nation is of the highest importance, and requires an immediate decision. The cause of the hostilities between Georgia and the Creeks, is stated to be a difference in judgment concerning three treaties made between the said parties, to wit: at Augusta, in 1783; at Galphinton, in 1785; and at Shoulderbone, in 1786. The State of Georgia assert, and the Creeks deny, the validity of the said treaties.

Hence arises the indispensable necessity of having all the circumstances respecting the said treaties critically investigated by commissioners of the United States, so that the further measures of Government may be formed on a full knowledge of the case.

In order that the investigation be conducted with the highest impartiality, it will be proper, in addition to the evidence of the documents in the public possession, that Georgia should be represented at this part of the proposed treaty with the Creek nation.

It is, however, to be observed, in any issue of the inquiry, that it would be highly embarrassing to Georgia to relinquish that part of the lands, stated to have been ceded by the Creeks, lying between the Ogeechee and Oconee rivers, that State having surveyed and divided the same among certain descriptions of its citizens, who settled and planted thereon until dispossessed by the Indians.

In case, therefore, the issue of the investigation should be unfavorable to the claims of Georgia, the commissioners should be instructed to use their best endeavors to negotiate with the Creeks a solemn conveyance of the said lands to Georgia.

By the report of the commissioners, who were appointed, under certain acts of the late Congress, by South Carolina and Georgia, it appears that they have agreed to meet the Creeks on the 15th of September ensuing. As it is with great difficulty the Indians are collected together at certain seasons of the year, it is important that the above occasion should be embraced, if possible, on the part of the present Government, to form a treaty with the Creeks. As the proposed treaty is of great importance to the future tranquillity of the State of Georgia, as well as of the United States, it has been thought proper that it should be conducted, on the part of the General Government, by commissioners whose local situations may free them from the imputation of prejudice on this subject.

As it is necessary that certain principles should be fixed previously to forming instructions for the commissioners, the following questions, arising out of the foregoing communications, are stated by the President of the United States, and the advice of the Senate requested thereon:

1st. In the present state of affairs between North Carolina and the United States, will it be proper to take any other measures for redressing the injuries of the Cherokees, than the one herein suggested?

2d. Shall the commissioners be instructed to pursue any other measures respecting the Chickasaws and Choctaws than those herein suggested?

3d. If the commissioners shall adjudge that the Creek nation was fully represented at the three treaties with Georgia, and that the cessions of land were obtained with the full understanding and free consent of the acknowledged proprietors, and that the said treaties ought to be considered as just and equitable: in this case shall the Commissioners be instructed to insist on a formal renewal and confirmation thereof? And, in case of a refusal, shall they be instructed to inform the Creeks that the arms of the Union shall be employed to compel them to acknowledge the justice of the said cessions?

4th. But, if the commissioners shall adjudge that the said treaties were formed with an inadequate, or unauthorized representation of the Creek nation; or that the treaties were held under circumstances of constraint or unfairness of any sort, so that the United States could not, with justice and dignity, request, or urge, a confirmation thereof: in this case, shall the Commissioners, considering the importance of the Oconee lands to Georgia, be instructed to use their highest exertions to obtain a cession of said lands? If so, shall the Commissioners be instructed, if they cannot obtain the said cessions on better terms, to offer for the same, and for the further great object of attaching the Creeks to the Government of the United States, the following conditions:

1st. A compensation in money or goods to the amount of — dollars, the said amount to be stipulated to be paid by Georgia, at the period which shall be fixed, or in failure thereof, by the United States.

2d. A secure port on the Altamaha, or St. Mary's rivers, or at any other place between the same, as may be mutually agreed to by the commissioners and the Creeks.

3d. Certain pecuniary considerations to some, and honorary military distinctions to other influential chiefs, on their taking oaths of allegiance to the United States.

4th. A solemn guarantee, by the United States, to the Creeks, of their remaining territory, and to maintain the same, if necessary, by a line of military posts.

5th. But, if all offers should fail to induce the Creeks to make the desired cessions to Georgia, shall the commissioners make it an ultimatum?

6th. If the said cessions shall not be made an ultimatum, shall the commissioners proceed and make a treaty, and include the disputed lands within the limits which shall be assigned to the Creeks? If not, shall a temporary boundary be marked, making the Oconee the line, and the other parts of the treaty be concluded?

In this case, shall a secure port be stipulated, and the pecuniary and honorary considerations granted?

In other general objects, shall the treaties formed at Hopewell, with the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, be the basis of a treaty with the Creeks?

7th. Shall the sum of twenty thousand dollars, appropriated to Indian expenses and treaties, be wholly applied, if necessary, to a treaty with the Creeks? If not, what proportion?

RICHMOND, August 5th, 1789.

Sir:

Two chiefs of the Cherokee nation of Indians arrived here a few days ago, accompanied by Mr. Bennet Ballew, who has full powers from a number of towns, to lay before you their grievances, and to make some proposals, which may eventually preserve harmony between the citizens of the United States and the Indians, and perhaps be productive of considerable advantages to both parties. It is at the particular request of these unfortunate people, that I introduce them to you. They appear to me to have been much oppressed; should you view them in this light, your well known regard to public, as well as private justice, will ensure to them every exertion of your



power in their behalf. I am unacquainted with Mr. Ballew, but I think I owe it to him to inform you, that he is strongly recommended to me by the honorable William Fleming, as an honest, upright, intelligent man.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your obedient servant,

BEVERLY RANDOLPH.

To the PRESIDENT of the United States.

To the President of the United States of America.

The memorial of Bennet Ballew, agent plenipotentiary from the chiefs and head warriors of the Cherokee nation, resident and living in the towns of Chota, Toquoh, Cotties, Little Telliquo, Timotly, Nioh or the Tassel's town, Coettee, Chilhowah, Tallassee, Big Telliquo, Big Highwassa, Cheestowa, Eastanolee, Chatanuga, Chickamaugh, Stuckoee, Ottilletaraconah, Catatogah, Nicogachee, Tuskeegah, and Cheesoehcha, lying on and being on the great rivers Tenasee, Telliquo, Highwassa, Ammoah, &c. respectfully sheweth:

That your memorialist, sensible of your past exertions, and pleased with the thoughts of your continued efforts, for the welfare and happiness of the United States in particular, and of mankind in general, and that nothing which concerns them will be thought beneath your attention; your memorialist is encouraged to lay before you a brief account of the present unhappy and distressed situation of the Cherokee Indians, notwithstanding his want of abilities to do justice to a cause of such difficulty and importance. From his long residence among them, and other Indian nations, on the southwestern frontiers of the United States, he hath in some measure become acquainted with their language, manners, and politics; and more particularly, with their hardships and sufferings, from the unrighteous and cruel war lately waged against them. Your memorialist, being importuned by the distressed chiefs of the nation, to lay their grievances before the beloved President of the United States, and solicit redress, being deeply impressed with compassion for their sufferings, and impelled by the apparent advantages that must accrue to the United States, should a firm and lasting peace and union be effected, he was, from these considerations, induced to undertake the arduous though pleasing task, relying chiefly on the providential influence of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe; on the justice and energy of the Federal Government; and on the magnanimity and benevolence of its first magistrate, for success in his feeble, though earnest endeavors, to rescue a nation from the deepest imaginable distress, and to make them a prosperous and a happy people.

They thought that they had a well grounded hope, that they might quietly and peaceably have enjoyed all their lands within the boundary lines established by the treaty of Hopewell, in the year 1785; but, to their great mortification and distress, the white people, chiefly from North Carolina, have made daily encroachments upon them; and there are now upwards of three thousand families settled within those boundary lines. After receiving reiterated insults and injuries from some of those settlers, a few of the young warriors killed a family of white people within those boundaries, and soon after, the nation in general experienced the most dreadful calamities that refined cruelty could devise, or the vindictive arm of vengeance inflict. Their flourishing fields of corn and pulse were destroyed and laid waste; some of their wives and children were burnt alive in their town houses, with the most unrelenting barbarity; and to fill up the measure of deception and cruelty, some of their chiefs, who were ever disposed to peace with the white people, were decoyed, unarmed, into their camp, by the hoisting a white flag, and by repeated declarations of friendship and kindness, and there massacred in cold blood. Among these, were the old Tassel and his son, who were characterised by their kind offices to the white people, and veneration for the American flag, inasmuch that, for many years, it was constantly flying at their door.

When your memorialist came to French Broad river, in January last, he found that part of the country in great confusion, and the war carried on with all its horrors, between a party of the North Carolinians and the Cherokees; the former, as it would appear, were determined to extirpate the Indians, and to claim the sole property in their lands. Many prisoners being taken on both sides, and an exchange being earnestly wished for by the Carolinians concerned, they chose your memorialist, as a neutral person, and one who was formerly acquainted with that nation, (having lived long among them as a prisoner, during part of our war with the British) to bring about the exchange. Your memorialist cheerfully undertook, and happily effected it, although strongly opposed by Messrs. Dromgoole and Martin, of North Carolina, whose scheme was apparently to draw the Indians into a treaty, with a view to extort their lands from them, though expressly contrary to a proclamation of Congress.

The Carolinians, to give a color to the war, allege that the Cherokees broke the treaty of Hopewell, in 1785; but this the Cherokees positively deny, and declare that their intention, even since that time, has uniformly been to preserve peace and a good understanding with the white people; and which they earnestly wish to have once more restored: and after engaging your memorialist to assist them with his best endeavors, as far as is consistent with his duty as a citizen of the United States, they in a grand council of the nation, after long and mature deliberation, came to the following resolutions:

"1st. That we will immediately treat with all nations with whom we are at war, and procure peace and reconciliation, if possible." Which has been happily effected.

"2d. That we will petition Congress to obtain a mutual, perfect, and strict alliance with the United States, and abide by their instructions in all matters of peace and war, provided they secure to us the lands of our forefathers, as bounded by the treaty of Hopewell, in the year 1785.

"3d. That the part of the nation lying adjacent to the French Broad and Holston rivers, be incorporated with the white people, and become subjects of the United States, living under the same laws with them."

These resolves, the Cherokee nation most ardently wish may be, by your memorialist, (accompanied by two of their chiefs, Nontowakee and Kasohanse) laid before you sir, as chief Magistrate of the United States, and through you, communicated to the Congress; as some acts of the Legislature may perhaps be necessary to carry their system into full effect, and complete their wishes.

If your memorialist can be, but in a small degree, instrumental in obtaining for those unfortunate people, and their posterity, the inestimable blessings of peace, liberty, and safety, he will feel himself one of the happiest of mankind.

BENNET BALLEW.

NEW YORK, 22d August, 1789.

We, the warriors, chiefs, and representatives, of the Cherokee nation, resident and living in the following towns of Chota, Toquoh, Cottico, Little Telliquo, Timotly, Nioh or the Tassel's town, Coettee, Chilhowah, Tallassee, Great Telliquo, Big Highwassa, Cheestowa, Eastanora, Chatanugh, Chickamaugh, Stuckhoe, Ottilletaraconah, Catatogah, Nicogachee, Tuskeegah, and Cheesoehcha, our said towns, lying and being on the great rivers of Tenasee, Telliquo, Highwassa, Ammoah, &c.

We, the said warriors, representatives, and chiefs, being met at our ancient and beloved town of Chota on Tena-see, at our council fire, having considered the nature and circumstance of our country and nation, are sorry to inform our elder brother, General Washington, and the great council of the United States, that, from the bad conduct of some of our young and inconsiderate men, too much encouraged by bad white men, who too often frequent our nation under pretensions of doing us good service, and keeping peace between us and our elder brothers, the Americans, have darkened our land with war, and stained our white chain of friendship with blood; but to our great joy the Great Spirit above has removed the cloud, and permits the sun to shine again in friendship upon each party, though the darkness has lasted so long that our country and towns have been spoiled, ourselves become naked, and suffer much with hunger.

We now make known to the great Congress of America, that our desire and intention is to live in the most perfect and strict friendship and alliance with our elder brothers, the Americans; that we shall forever listen to, and abide by, their instructions, advice, and determination, placing the strongest confidence that the great council is composed of such who have eyes of pity and hearts of humanity and compassion; that they will not divest us of our rights and possessions, which our ancient fathers and predecessors have enjoyed time out of mind.

We still remember and abide by the treaty held with your commissioners in South Carolina in the year 1785; and though our hunting grounds and towns north of Tennessee and Holston rivers is sold unto white people for to settle upon without our consent, we still hope Congress will have mercy upon us: for if our country is all taken from us, we shall not be able to raise our children, neither is there any place left for us to remove to.

We rejoice much to hear that the great Congress have got new powers, and have become strong. We now hope that whatever is done hereafter by the great council will no more be destroyed and made small by any State.

We shall always be ready to listen, with open ears and willing hearts, to you or any one joined with you, and to no other, for protection, and regulating all matters.

We beg leave to make it known to your great and beloved council, that we have appointed and constituted our beloved brother, Bennet Ballew, to be our chief and representative in and over all that part of the Cherokee nation comprehending the towns lying on the aforesaid rivers Tenasee, Highwassa, Telliquo, and Ammoah, and all lying north and northwest of said rivers and towns; that we have given and granted unto the said Bennet Ballew full powers and authorities to transact and negotiate all manner of things in any wise touching, appertaining, or relating to the aforesaid towns and that part of our nation, in our behalf, and in our name and stead, in the same manner and form as though we were personally present ourselves, in as full and ample manner, to all intents and purposes; and in testimony of which we have sent our great and beloved warrior and chief, the Rising Fawn Keenuhteetah of Great Highwassa, to accompany our beloved chief and representative, Bennet Ballew, to Congress, then and there to make known to your great beloved council the truth and sincerity of this our instrument and writing, touching the premises, and to do whatever the said Bennet Ballew may think for the good, tranquillity, and safety of our nation, trusting that the great council and elder brothers will do us justice, quiet us in our possessions, particularly our lands lying north of the river Tennessee and Holston; it is our hunting grounds, and we have no other to get our living on.

Done in Council, at Chota, the 19th day of May, 1789.

Signed and acknowledged before us.

[Here are added the signatures of twenty-four Indians.]

At a great talk held by the warriors and chiefs of the Cherokee nation, assembled in council at the great and beloved town of Chota, the 19th day of May, 1789, addressed to his Excellency the President of the United States:

**GREAT BROTHER:** The great Being above has directed our hearts to listen to the talks of peace, and sorry that ever any misunderstanding arose between us and our white brothers. Our last troubles have been occasioned by our rash inconsiderate young men, who, we doubt, have been too much encouraged by white men in our towns, that pretend you have sent them among us to do us justice and to direct our nation how to manage.

There are a great many towns of us that live on Tennessee, Highwassee, Telliquo, and Ammoah, who are near neighbours to the white people, and we wish to live in peace with them.

We hope that Congress has not forgot the treaty last held at Hopewell, South Carolina. We intend to abide by it, and hope Congress will do us justice, as we look up to them for it, and intend to hear their good talks, and also the talks of all them that are joined with them, but will not listen to any others.

**BROTHER:** At our last treaty, held in South Carolina, we gave up to our white brothers all the land we could any how spare, and have but little left to raise our women and children upon, and we hope you wont let any people take any more from us without our consent. We are neither birds nor fish; we can neither fly in the air, nor live under water; therefore we hope pity will be extended towards us. We are made by the same hand, and in same shape with yourselves.

We send some of our head-men and warriors to you with talk, and to represent the case and circumstance of our nation; and we hope you will settle matters with them to all our satisfaction, and that they may return home to our country with good tidings of peace and friendship; and any thing done by Congress and our representatives will be held safe by us, and fast by us.

We hear that Congress have got strong powers now, and nothing can be spoiled that you undertake to do; this we hear from our elder brother, John Sevier, which makes us glad and rejoice at the news.

We wish you to appoint some good man to do the business between us and our elder brothers. Let us have a man that don't speak with two tongues, nor one that will encourage mischief or blood to be spilt. Let there be a good man appointed, and war will never happen between us. Such a one we will listen to; but such as have been sent among us, we shall not hear, as they have already caused our nation to be ruined, and come almost to nothing.

TICKAGISKA KING.

1st CONGRESS.]

No. 5.

1st SESSION.

### WABASH.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE SEPTEMBER 16, 1789.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

'The Governor of the Western territory has made a statement to me of the reciprocal hostilities of the Wabash Indians, and the people inhabiting the frontiers bordering on the river Ohio, which I herewith lay before Congress.

The United States, in Congress assembled, by their acts of the 21st day of July, 1787, and of the 12th of August, 1788, made a provisional arrangement for calling forth the militia of Virginia and Pennsylvania, in the proportions therein specified.

As the circumstances which occasioned the said arrangement continue nearly the same, I think proper to suggest to your consideration, the expediency of making some temporary provision for calling forth the militia of the United States, for the purposes stated in the constitution, which would embrace the cases apprehended by the Governor of the Western territory.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

September 16th, 1789.

NEW YORK, September 14, 1789.

SIR:

The constant hostilities between the Indians who live upon the river Wabash, and the people of Kentucky, must necessarily be attended with such embarrassing circumstances to the Government of the Western territory, that I am induced to request you will be pleased to take the matter into consideration, and give me the orders you may think proper.

It is not to be expected, sir, that the Kentucky people will, or can, submit patiently to the cruelties and deprivations of those savages; they are in the habits of retaliation, perhaps without attending precisely to the nations from which the injuries are received. They will continue to retaliate, or they will apply to the Governor of the Western country (through which the Indians must pass to attack them) for redress; if he cannot redress them, (and in present circumstances he cannot) they also will march through that country, to redress themselves, and the Government will be laid prostrate. The United States, on the other hand, are at peace with several of the nations; and, should the resentment of those people fall upon any of them, which it is likely enough may happen, very bad consequences will follow: for it must appear to them that the United States either pay no regard to their treaties, or that they are unable or unwilling to carry their engagements into effect. Remonstrances will probably be made by them also to the Governor, and he will be found in a situation, from which he can neither redress the one, nor protect the other. They will unite with the hostile nations, prudently preferring open war to a delusive and uncertain peace.

By a resolution of the late Congress, the Governor of the Western territory had power, in case of hostilities, to call upon Virginia and Pennsylvania for a number of men to act in conjunction with the continental troops, and carry war into the Indian settlements. That resolution, it is now supposed, is no longer in force; the revival of it might be of use, as it would tend to conciliate the Western People, by shewing them that they were not unattended to; and would, in some measure, justify me in holding a language to the Indians which might obviate the necessity of employing force against them. The handful of troops, sir, that are scattered in that country, though they may afford protection to some settlements, cannot possibly act offensively by themselves.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your obedient and most humble servant,

AR. ST. CLAIR.

The PRESIDENT of the United States.

[1st CONGRESS.]

No. 6.

[1st SESSION.]

## THE SIX NATIONS, THE WYANDOTS, AND OTHERS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE SEPTEMBER 17, 1789.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

It doubtless is important that all treaties and compacts, formed by the United States with other nations, whether civilized or not, should be made with caution, and executed with fidelity.

It is said to be the general understanding and practice of nations, as a check on the mistakes and indiscretions of ministers or commissioners, not to consider any treaty, negotiated and signed by such officers, as final and conclusive, until ratified by the Sovereign or Government from whom they derive their powers. This practice has been adopted by the United States, respecting their treaties with European nations, and I am inclined to think it would be advisable to observe it in the conduct of our treaties with the Indians: for though such treaties, being on their part made by their chiefs or rulers, need not be ratified by them, yet, being formed on our part, by the agency of subordinate officers, it seems to be both prudent and reasonable, that their acts should not be binding on the nation, until approved and ratified by the Government.

It strikes me that this point should be well considered and settled, so that our national proceedings in this respect may become uniform, and be directed by fixed and stable principles.

The treaties with certain Indian nations, which were laid before you with my message of the 25th May last, suggested two questions to my mind, viz: 1st. Whether those treaties were to be considered as perfected, and consequently as obligatory, without being ratified; if not, then 2dly. Whether both, or either, and which of them ought to be ratified; on these questions, I request your opinion and advice.

You have indeed advised me "to execute and enjoin an observance of;" the treaty with the Wyandots, &c. You, gentlemen, doubtless, intended to be clear and explicit, and yet, without further explanation, I fear I may misunderstand your meaning; for if, by my *executing* that treaty, you mean that I should make it (in a more particular and immediate manner than it now is) the act of Government, then it follows, that I am to ratify it. If you mean by my *executing it*, that I am to see that it be carried into effect and operation, then I am led to conclude, either that you consider it as being perfect and obligatory in its present state, and, therefore, to be executed and observed; or, that you consider it as to derive its completion and obligation from the silent approbation and ratification which my proclamation may be construed to imply. Although I am inclined to think that the latter is your intention, yet it certainly is best that all doubts respecting it be removed.

Permit me to observe, that it will be proper for me to be informed of your sentiments relative to the treaty with the Six Nations, previous to the departure of the Governor of the Western territory; and, therefore, I recommend it to your early consideration.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

September 17th, 1789.

1st CONGRESS.]

No. 7.

1st SESSION.

## INDIAN TREATIES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE SEPTEMBER 18, 1789.

Mr. CARROLL, to whom was referred a message from the President of the United States of the 17th of September, 1789, made the following report:

That the signature of treaties with the Indian nations has ever been considered as a full completion thereof; and that such treaties have never been solemnly ratified by either of the contracting parties, as hath been commonly practised among the civilized nations of Europe: wherefore, the committee are of opinion, that the formal ratification of the treaty concluded at fort Harmar, on the 9th day of January, 1789, between Arthur St. Clair, Governor of the Western territory, on the part of the United States, and the sachems and warriors of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, Chippewa, Pattiwatima, and Sac Nations, is not expedient or necessary; and that the resolve of the Senate, of the 8th September, 1789, respecting the said treaty, authorizes the President to enjoin a due observance thereof.

That, as to the treaty made at fort Harmar, on the 9th of January, 1789, between the said Arthur St. Clair, and the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations, (except the Mohawks) from particular circumstances affecting a part of the ceded lands, the Senate did not judge it expedient to pass any act concerning the same.

1st CONGRESS.]

No. 8.

2d SESSION.

## THE CREEKS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE JANUARY 11, 1790.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

Having advised with you upon the terms of a treaty to be offered to the Creek nation of Indians, I think it proper you should be informed of the result of that business, previous to its coming before you in your legislative capacity.

I have therefore directed the Secretary for the Department of War to lay before you my instructions\* to the commissioners, and their report in consequence thereof.

The apparently critical state of the southern frontier will render it expedient for me to communicate to both Houses of Congress, with other papers, the whole of the transactions relative to the Creeks, in order that they may be enabled to form a judgment of the measures which the case may require.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, January 11th, 1790.

1st CONGRESS.]

No. 9.

2d SESSION.

## SOUTHERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS JANUARY 12, 1790.

*Gentlemen of the Senate*

*and of the House of Representatives:*

I lay before you a statement of the Southwestern frontiers, and of the Indian Department, which have been submitted to me by the Secretary for the Department of War.

I conceive that an unreserved, but *confidential* communication of all the papers relative to the recent negotiations with some of the Southern tribes of Indians, is indispensably requisite, for the information of Congress. I am persuaded that they will effectually prevent either transcripts or publications of all such circumstances as might be injurious to the public interests.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, January 12, 1790.

*The Secretary of War to the President of the United States.*

WAR OFFICE, January 4th, 1790.

SIR:

I humbly beg leave to submit to your consideration, a general statement of the Indian Department, and of the Southwestern frontiers, the same being intimately blended together.

The invitation of the United States to the Creek nation of Indians, to treat of peace on terms of mutual advantages, has not been accepted.

The report of the commissioners, A, will fully shew the precarious state of this business.

The assurances, given by some of the chiefs, of the peaceable intentions of the Creek nation, are too uncertain in their nature, even if sincere, for the United States to rely upon.

The case seems to require an adequate provisional arrangement, which, on the commission of any further depredations by the Creeks, should be called into activity. After the solemn offer of peace which has been made, and refused, it is incumbent on the United States to be in a situation to punish all unprovoked aggressions.

\* For these instructions and the report of the Commissioners, see Document No. 9.

In case the conduct of the Creeks should render coercion indispensably necessary, policy requires that it should be undertaken with a force adequate to the speedy accomplishment of the object.

An army of sufficient strength should be raised to march into their country, and destroy their towns, unless they should submit to an equitable peace.

The warriors of the Creeks have been stated at various numbers, from four to six thousand, and are said to be generally well armed, and furnished with ammunition.

To march into the country of the Upper and Lower Creeks, so as to be superior to all opposition, would require an army to be raised of five thousand men. This number, after making the necessary deductions, for sickness, establishment of posts of communication, and convoys of provision, would probably be reduced to three thousand five hundred effectives.

The troops to be employed on this service ought to be enlisted for the occasion, subject, however, to be sooner discharged, if necessary.

I have formed an estimate of the expense of such an army, which is hereunto annexed, marked No. 1, on the supposition that the pay of the non-commissioned officers and privates may be reduced to the sums therein specified.

But, in either event of peace or war, with the Creeks, the establishment of a line of military posts on the South-western frontier, appears to be highly requisite. No peace with the Indians can be preserved, unless by a military force.

The lawless whites, as well as Indians, will be deterred from the commission of murders when they shall be convinced that punishment will ultimately follow detection.

The situation of the Cherokee nation, looking up to the United States for protection, in consequence of the treaty of Hopewell, demands attention.

Although existing circumstances may require that the boundaries stated in the said treaty should be more accommodated to the inhabitants who cannot be removed, yet, the other general principles thereof ought to be preserved, and particularly the stipulated protection of the United States. This cannot be afforded but by troops. The friendship of the Chickasaws and Choctaws cannot be cultivated, and the trade stipulated by treaty cannot be extended to them but by means of the protection of troops.

The present military arrangement of the United States consists of one battalion of artillery, of two hundred and forty non-commissioned and privates; and one regiment of infantry, of five hundred and sixty non-commissioned and privates. This force, for the following objects, is utterly inadequate: to prevent the usurpation of the lands of the United States; to facilitate the surveying and selling the same, for the purpose of reducing the public debt; and for the protection of the frontiers, from Georgia to lake Erie. If it should be decided to erect a line of posts of that extent, and to leave small guards for the public arsenal, the following establishment would be required:

A battalion of artillery, of two hundred and forty non-commissioned officers and privates, and two regiments of infantry, of seven hundred non-commissioned officers and privates, each.

The total of the artillery and infantry amounting to sixteen hundred and forty non-commissioned officers and privates.

The estimate hereunto annexed, marked No. 2, will exhibit the annual expense of such an establishment. It is to be observed, that the estimate is formed on the principle, that the present pay of the non-commissioned officers and privates may be considerably reduced. But the pay of a lieutenant-colonel-commandant is enlarged from fifty to seventy-five dollars per month, and the pay of the major-commandant of artillery to fifty dollars per month. This occasions an increase for the lieutenant-colonels and major-commandant of sixty dollars per month.

When the duty and expense of a commanding officer of a regiment or battalion be considered, it is presumed that the proposed additional pay in these instances will promote the economy and good of the service. Although the proposed reduction of the pay cannot affect the existing stipulations to the troops now in service, yet, as they are liable to be discharged, at any period, it is highly probable that, in preference thereto, they would accept the reduced pay.

The several representations herewith submitted, marked B, of the depredations committed by the Indians, on the people along the south of the Ohio, and upon Cumberland river, show the exposed situation of those settlements. It seems the posts northwest of the Ohio do not afford the necessary protection, and the people claim the employment of their own militia, at the expense of the United States—a similar arrangement having been in operation until the organization of the General Government, at the expense of Virginia.

If it shall be decided to afford the protection requested, the propriety of employing the militia of the country for that purpose may be doubted.

The economy of disciplined troops is always superior to militia, while their efficacy is at least equal; hence, if troops are employed within the district of Kentucky, as patrols or otherwise, they ought to be detachments from the regular troops of the United States, under the orders of the commanding officer on the Ohio. About four companies, acting as patrols or scouts, would afford all the satisfaction to the settlements which could be derived from defensive measures; but it is only from offensive measures that full security could be obtained.

The various tribes seated on the Wabash river, extending up to the Miami village, and the several branches of that river, are the Indians from whom the settlements of Kentucky principally receive injury.

But these depredations, although perhaps effected with impunity as to the actual perpetrators, are not so to the Indians generally: for, the whites frequently make incursions into the Wabash country northwest of the Ohio, and it is probable that indiscriminate revenge is wreaked on all bearing the name of Indians.

Hence a difficulty arises on the part of the United States, which requires a serious consideration.

That the people of Kentucky are entitled to be defended, there can be no doubt. But, as there seems to have been such a prevalence of hostilities as to render it uncertain who are right or who are wrong, the principles of justice, which ought to dictate the conduct of every nation, seems to forbid the idea of attempting to extirpate the Wabash Indians, until it shall appear that they cannot be brought to treat on reasonable terms.

If, after a treaty should be effected with them, it should be violated, or, after an invitation to a treaty, it should be refused, and followed by hostilities, the United States will clearly have the right to inflict that degree of punishment which may be necessary to deter the Indians from any future unprovoked aggressions.

If this statement be just, it would follow that the Governor of the Western territory should be instructed to attempt to effect a general treaty with the said Wabash tribes, on terms of mutual advantage. If they should refuse, and continue, or suffer a continuance, from any of their neighboring tribes, of the depredations upon the district of Kentucky, the arms of the Union ought to be exerted to chastise them.

The statement hereunto annexed, No. 3, will shew the application of the sum appropriated during the last session of Congress to Indian treaties and Indian expenses; the sum remaining unexpended might be applied to a treaty with the Wabash Indians.

Provisions must be furnished the Indians during the treaty. Whether any presents shall be added thereto, will depend on the decision of Congress.

It seems to have been the custom of barbarous nations, in all ages, to expect and receive presents from those more civilized, and the custom seems confirmed by modern Europe, with respect to Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. The practice of the British government and its colonies, of giving presents to the Indians of North America, is well known.

They seem to have been convinced that it was the cheapest and most effectual mode of managing the Indians.

The idea of fear, or purchasing a peace, is not to be admitted, in the cases above stated, but the conduct appears to have been dictated by wise policy. A comparative view of the expenses of a hostile or conciliatory system towards the Indians, will evince the infinite economy of the latter over the former.

The question then, on the point of presents, must be simply this:

Is the situation of the United States such, with respect to the neighboring European colonies, as to render it good policy at this time to annihilate the Indian customs, and expectations of receiving presents, and thereby disgusting them in such a manner as to induce them to connect themselves more closely with the said colonies?

If it should be decided to the contrary, the estimate of the Governor of the Western territory for the object of the Wabash Indians, No. 4, would shew the sum required, from which, however, must be deducted the balance remaining from the appropriation of the last year.

Although the information is not sufficiently accurate whereon to form a decided opinion of the number of the Indian warriors within the limits of the United States, yet the evidence seems sufficient to warrant the supposition that they amount nearly to twenty thousand. If to this number we should add, for every warrior, three old men women and children, the total number would be eighty thousand.

Since the United States became a nation, their conduct, and some of the States, towards the Indians, seems to have resulted from the impulses of the moment. Until the treaty effected at fort Harmar in January, 1789, it seemed a prevailing opinion that the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, instead of the pre-emption only, actually invested the United States with the absolute right to the Indian territory, and in pursuance of this idea, treaties were made and boundaries allotted to the Indians. But, by the directions of Congress, of the 2nd of July, 1788, to the Governor of the Western territory, to extinguish the Indian claims to lands they had ceded to the United States, and to obtain regular conveyances of the same, it would appear, that they conceded the Indian right to the soil.

The various opinions which exist on the proper mode of treating the Indians, require that some system should be established on the subject.

That the Indians possess the natural rights of man, and that they ought not wantonly to be divested thereof, cannot be well denied.

Were these rights ascertained and declared by law; were it enacted that the Indians possess the right to all their territory which they have not fairly conveyed, and that they should not be divested thereof, but in consequence of open treaties, made under the authority of the United States, the foundation of peace and justice would be laid.

The individual States claiming or possessing the right of pre-emption to territory, inhabited by Indians, would not be materially injured by such a declarative law; the exercise of their right would be restrained only when it should interfere with the general interests.

Should any State, having the right of pre-emption, desire to purchase territory, which the Indians should be willing to relinquish, it would have to request the General Government to direct a treaty for that purpose, at the expense, however, of the individual State requesting the same.

But as Indian wars almost invariably arise in consequence of disputes relative to boundaries or trade, and as the rights of declaring war, making treaties, and regulating commerce, are vested in the United States, it is highly proper they should have the sole direction of all measures for the consequences of which they are responsible.

I have the honor to be, sir, with the highest respect, your most obedient humble servant.

H. KNOX,

Secretary for the Department of War.

The PRESIDENT of the United States.

No. 1.

An estimate of the expenses of an Army for one year, including the general staff, field and company officers, and five thousand and forty non-commissioned officers and privates.

GENERAL STAFF.

		Per month.	Per year.
1 Major General.	Pay,	\$200	
	Subsistence,	96	
	Forage,	36	
		—332	3,984
2 Aides-de-Camp.	Pay,	40 80	
	Subsistence,	20 40	
	Forage,	12 24	
		—144	1,728
2 Brigadier Generals.	Pay,	100 200	
	Subsistence,	48 96	
	Forage,	18 36	
		—332	3,984
2 Aides-de-Camp.	Pay,	40 80	
	Subsistence,	20 40	
	Forage,	12 24	
		—144	1,728
1 Adjutant General.	Pay,	75	
	Subsistence,	32	
	Forage,	18	
		—125	1,500
1 Deputy Adjutant General.	Pay,	40	
	Subsistence,	20	
	Forage,	12	
		—72	864
1 Inspector General.	Pay,	75	
	Subsistence,	32	
	Forage,	18	
		—125	1,500
1 Deputy Inspector.	Pay,	40	
	Subsistence,	20	
	Forage,	12	
		—72	864
1 Quartermaster General.	Pay,	75	
	Subsistence,	32	
	Forage,	18	
		—125	1,500
2 Deputy Quartermasters.	Pay,	40 80	
	Subsistence,	20 40	
	Forage,	12 24	
		—144	1,728
1 Chief Physician and Director.	Pay,	75	
	Subsistence,	32	
	Forage,	18	
		—125	1,500

		Per month.	Per year.
1 Chief Surgeon.	Pay, Subsistence, Forage,	75 32 18	
		<u>125</u>	1,500
1 Apothecary and Purveyor,	Pay, Subsistence, Forage,	40 20 12	
		<u>72</u>	864
1 Chaplain.	Pay, Subsistence, Forage,	40 20 12	
		<u>72</u>	864

## REGIMENTAL OFFICERS.

*For six regiments of Infantry, one regiment of Cavalry, and two companies of Artillery.*

## FIELD AND REGIMENTAL STAFF.

		Per month.	Per year.
7 Lieutenant Colonels Commandant.	Pay, Subsistence, Forage,	75 525 32 224 18 126	
		<u>875</u>	10,500
14 Majors.	Pay, Subsistence, Forage,	40 560 20 280 12 168	
		<u>1,008</u>	12,096
7 Paymasters.	Pay,	10 70	
7 Adjutants.	Pay,	10 70	
7 Quartermasters.	Pay,	10 70	
		<u>210</u>	2,520
For the above, twenty-one rations of forage per month,		06	126
7 Surgeons.	Pay, Subsistence, Forage	45 315 16 112 06 42	
		<u>469</u>	5,628
14 Surgeon's Mates.	Pay, Subsistence,	30 420 8 112	
		<u>532</u>	6,384

## COMPANY OFFICERS.

72 Captains.	Pay, Subsistence,	35 2,520 12 864	
		<u>3,384</u>	40,608
74 Lieutenants.	Pay, Subsistence,	26 1,924 8 592	
		<u>2,516</u>	30,192
70 Ensigns and Cornets.	Pay, Subsistence,	20 1,400 8 560	
		<u>1,960</u>	23,520

*Two companies of Artillery.*

8 Sergeants.	Pay,	5 40	
8 Corporals.	Pay,	4 32	
4 Musicians.	Pay,	3 12	
120 Privates.	Pay,	3 360	
		<u>444</u>	5,328

*One regiment of Cavalry.*

40 Sergeants.	Pay,	5 200	
40 Corporals.	Pay,	4 160	
20 Musicians.	Pay,	3 60	
600 Privates.	Pay,	3 1,800	
		<u>2,220</u>	26,640

*Six regiments of Infantry.*

240 Sergeants.	Pay,	5 1,200	
240 Corporals.	Pay,	4 960	
120 Musicians.	Pay,	3 360	
3600 Privates.	Pay,	3 10,800	
		<u>13,320</u>	159,840

From which deduct one dollar and twenty-five cents from each sergeant and corporal per month, for clothing, and ten cents from each, for hospital stores; also, 90 cents from each musician and private, for clothing, and ten cents from each for hospital stores, which will, for clothing, amount to 46,044

And for hospital stores, 6,048

		<u>52,092</u>	
<i>Rations</i> for 5,040 non-commissioned officers and privates, 365 days, one ration per day, is			220,752
1,839,600 rations, at twelve cents per ration,			220,752
<i>Clothing</i> —5,040 suits, at 20 dollars each,			100,800
Hospital Department,			6,000
<i>Horses</i> .—For the cavalry, 700, at 75 dollars each,			52,500
Forage for 700 horses, at 5 dollars each per month, for one year,			42,000
Horse-furniture and equipments, at 20 dollars,			14,000
		<u>108,500</u>	



## Quartermaster's Department.

Tents, axes, camp-kettles, wagons, horses, pack-horses, boats, and every means for the transportation of the army, may be rated at	300,000
The artillery, arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, are not particularly estimated, they being generally in the public possession, but may be rated at	120,000
Total,	<u>\$1,152,836</u>

WAR OFFICE, December 31st, 1789.

H. KNOX, Secretary for the Department of War.

## No. 2.

An estimate of the annual expense of a corps, to consist of two regiments of Infantry, of ten companies each, and one battalion of Artillery of four companies, each company to be composed of four sergeants, four corporals, two musicians, and sixty privates, amounting in the whole to one thousand six hundred and eighty non-commissioned officers and privates.

		Per month.	Per year.
1 Brigadier General.	Pay, 100 Subsistence, 48 Forage, 18	166	1,992
2 Lieutenant Colonels Commandant.	Pay, 75 Subsistence, 32 Forage, 18	250	3,000
4 Majors.	Pay, 40 Subsistence, 20 Forage, 12	288	3,456
1 Major Commandant of Artillery.	Pay, 50 Subsistence, 20 Forage, 12	82	984
2 Paymasters, 2 Adjutants, 2 Quartermasters.	Pay \$10, forage \$6 each, is 96	96	1,152
2 Surgeons.	Pay, 45 Subsistence, 16 Forage, 6	134	1,608
5 Mates.	Pay, 30 Subsistence, 8	190	2,280
20 Captains of Infantry.	Pay, 35 Subsistence, 12	940	11,280
20 Lieutenants.	Pay, 26 Subsistence, 8	680	8,160
20 Ensigns.	Pay, 20 Subsistence, 8	560	6,720
4 Captains of Artillery.	Pay, 35 Subsistence, 12	188	2,256
8 Lieutenants of ditto.	Pay, 26 Subsistence, 8	272	3,264
			<u>\$46,152</u>
<i>Two regiments of Infantry.</i>			
80 Sergeants.	Pay, 5	400	4,800
80 Corporals.	Pay, 4	320	3,840
40 Musicians.	Pay, 3	120	1,440
1200 Privates.	Pay, 3	3,600	43,200
<i>One battalion of Artillery.</i>			
16 Sergeants.	Pay, 5	80	960
16 Corporals.	Pay, 4	64	768
8 Musicians.	Pay, 3	24	288
240 Privates.	Pay, 3	720	8,640
			63,936

From which deduct one dollar and twenty-five cents from each sergeant and corporal's pay per month, for clothing, and ten cents per month from each, for hospital stores; and also, ninety cents per month, from the pay of each musician and private, for clothing, and ten cents from each, per month, for hospital stores, which will, for clothing, amount to 18,749  
And for hospital stores, to 2,016

20,765

Clothing.—1,680 suits, at 20 dollars,  
Rations.—1,680 rations per day, for 365 days, 613,200, at 12 cents,

43,171

33,600

73,584

Total,

\$196,507

The annual expense of the *present* establishment; pay, subsistence, and forage, to the officers, and pay to 840 non-commissioned officers and privates, viz: To sergeants six, corporals and musicians five, and to privates four dollars per month, and clothing annually, \$90,164  
 Rations annually, 86,792 \$126,956

The annual expense of the *proposed* establishment; the pay, subsistence, and forage to officers, and pay to 1,680 non-commissioned officers and privates, as reduced, viz: sergeants five, corporals four, musicians and privates three dollars per month, from which is to be deducted the sums already noted for clothing and hospital stores, and their clothing annually, \$112,923  
 Rations annually, 73,584 \$186,507

The difference is \$59,551 00

NOTE. The relative value of a Colonel, in a tariff for the exchange of prisoners during the late war, being much higher than a Lieutenant Colonel, and there being but few of the rank of Colonel in the British army employed in America, occasioned the present arrangement of field officers to a regiment, consisting of a Lieutenant Colonel Commandant and two Majors.

But, as the troops on the frontiers may act with militia commanded by Colonels, the Lieutenant Colonels may be superseded in their command by militia officers, to the extreme prejudice of the service.

The idea, therefore, is submitted, to recur to the former arrangement of field officers to a regiment, to wit: a Colonel, a Lieutenant Colonel, and a Major.

The only difference of expense will be fourteen dollars per month to the Lieutenant Colonel, in addition to the pay and emoluments of a major, as the Lieutenant Colonels Commandant were entitled to the pay and emoluments of a full Colonel.

WAR OFFICE, December 31st, 1789.

H. KNOX,  
 Secretary for the Department of War.

No. 3.

Statement of \$20,000 appropriated by Congress on the 20th August, 1789, for the expense of negotiations with the Indian tribes.

Expended by the commissioners, as per their statement rendered the Auditor,	\$5,842 95
*Provisions and Indian goods deposited by the commissioners in Georgia, and the expenses thereon,	8,280 14
Advanced the superintendent of the northern department, for the uses thereof,	500 00
Expenses incurred in equipping George M. White Eyes, an Indian youth of the Delaware tribe, in order to return to his own country, he having been educated by order, and at the expense of the United States,	425 51
	<u>\$15,048 60</u>
Balance unexpended,	4,951 40
	<u>\$20,000 00</u>

WAR OFFICE, 31st December, 1789.

H. KNOX,  
 Secretary for the Department of War.

No. 4.

Estimate of the expense with which a Treaty with the Indians of the Wabash and Miami rivers would probably be attended. Their numbers are supposed to be from twelve to fifteen hundred men.

Indian goods, assorted, to the value of	\$6,000 00
Stores and necessaries,	650 00
Transportation,	2,500 00
Messengers and interpreters,	1,000 00
Storekeepers,	300 00
Commissioner's wages,	500 00
Contingencies,	200 00
	<u>\$11,150 00</u>
The provisions cannot be estimated at less than thirty thousand rations, which, at contract price, will amount to	5,000 00
	<u>\$16,150 00</u>

Many circumstances may occur to occasion the expenditure of a larger quantity of provisions; a lesser quantity ought not to be reckoned upon.

AR. ST. CLAIR.

June 14, 1789.

Balance unexpended of the appropriation of the 20th August, 1789,	\$4,951 40
The sum, in case of a treaty, would be required,	<u>\$11,199 60</u>

H. KNOX, Secretary of War.

\* The commissioners stored the Indian goods in Georgia, in order that they might be ready if a treaty should be held in the spring. The provisions, and other articles liable to waste and damage, were directed to be sold, and the whole accounted for, and subject to the order of the Secretary of War.

*Instructions to the Commissioners for treating with the Southern Indians.*

TO BENJAMIN LINCOLN, CYRUS GRIFFIN, and DAVID HUMPHREYS, Esq's.  
Commissioners Plenipotentiary for negotiating and concluding treaties of peace with the independent tribes or nations of  
Indians within the limits of the United States, south of the river Ohio.

## GENTLEMEN:

The United States consider it as an object of high national importance, not only to be at peace with the powerful tribes or nations of Indians south of the Ohio, but, if possible, by a just and liberal system of policy, to conciliate and attach them to the interests of the Union.

In order, therefore, that you may be possessed of all the information relative to the Southern Indians contained in the public documents, you have herewith delivered to you, copies of the following papers, to wit:

The several statements which have been made on the subject from the war office, to which are added, copies of the treaties which have been made by the United States with the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, and the commissioners' reports thereon; the proceedings and reports of James White, Esq. superintendent for the Southern district; the reports of Messrs. Winn and Martin, temporary superintendents; the resolves of Congress, under which commissioners have been appointed by the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and the said commissioners' reports; and, also, certain papers transmitted by Georgia against Joseph Martin, one of the aforesaid temporary commissioners.

The first great object of your mission is to negotiate and establish peace between the State of Georgia and the Creek nation. The whole nation must be fully represented, and solemnly acknowledged to be so by the Creeks themselves.

You will find the ostensible, and probably the real cause of hostilities between Georgia and the Creeks, to consist in a difference of judgment of three treaties, stated to have been made between the said parties, to wit: At Augusta, in 1783; at Galphinton, in 1785; and at Shoulderbone, in 1786: copies of which you have herewith delivered to you.

It is a circumstance of the highest consequence, to investigate thoroughly all the facts under which the said treaties were made. The official papers will afford you great information on this subject.

On the one side, the objections against the justice of said treaties, are stated in the several communications of Mr. McGillivray, and the communications of the Lower Creeks to Mr. White, the superintendent.

On the other side, the statement made by the Legislature of Georgia, contains the reasons in support of the treaties.

The opinion of the commissioners of the United States of the treaty of Galphinton, is contained in their reports; and the communications of James White, Esq. the superintendent, will show his judgment on the case.

But, in addition to all these written evidences, it may be proper, in order that the investigation be conducted with the most perfect impartiality, to have such viva voce testimony as can be obtained.

For this purpose, you will request the Governor and Legislature of Georgia, if in session, to authorize such person or persons to attend the treaty as he or they may think proper, in order to give you such information as you may request, from time to time, of the transactions relative to said treaties.

You will also endeavor to ascertain the facts relative to the said treaties, from the Creeks.

And you will further endeavor to obtain information, on oath, of the manner in which the said treaties were held, from such unprejudiced respectable private characters, who were present at the said treaties, as you shall be able to find.

The main points to be ascertained, are—

1st. Whether all the lands belonging to the Upper and Lower Creeks are the common property of the whole nation? Or,

2d. Were the lands stated to have been ceded to Georgia by the three treaties, or either of them, acknowledged by the Upper Creeks to be the sole property of the Lower Creeks?

3d. Were the acknowledged proprietors of the lands, stated to have been ceded to Georgia, present, or fully represented, at the said three treaties?

4th. Did the Creeks, present at the said treaties, act with a full understanding of the cessions they are stated to have made?

5th. Were the said treaties and cessions freely made on the part of the Creeks, uninfluenced by any threats or implication of force?

These circumstances, and all others connected therein, must be critically examined into, in order that you may form your judgment on the said treaties with the greatest accuracy.

If the result of your investigation should be, that the said three treaties, and the cessions of land therein contained, were made by a full and authorized representation of the Creek nation, or that the cessions of land was obtained with the full understanding and free consent of the acknowledged proprietors, and that there were no circumstances of unfairness or constraint of any sort, used to induce the Creeks to make the cessions to Georgia, in this case precisely, you are to insist on a formal renewal and confirmation of the said cessions to Georgia, or such parts thereof as you shall find just. If the Creeks, after hearing all your arguments for the renewal of the said treaties, so far as the same may respect the confirmation of such parts of the cessions of land contained therein, as you shall have adjudged just and equitable, should obstinately refuse to confirm the same to Georgia, then you are to inform them that the arms of the Union will be called forth for the protection of Georgia, in the peaceable and just possession of said lands; and in case the Creeks attempt any molestation or injury to Georgia, that they will be deemed the enemies of the United States, and punished accordingly.

But if it should result from your inquiries, that the said treaties and cessions were obtained, on the part of Georgia, under such circumstances as to preclude the interference of the United States, consistently with their justice and dignity, you are not to urge or persuade the Creeks to a renewal or confirmation thereof.

It is, however, to be observed, that Georgia has proceeded on the principle that the cession stated to have been made at Augusta, in 1783, was fairly obtained; and that the said State has surveyed and divided the lands between the Ogechee and Oconee among certain descriptions of its citizens; that the said citizens have settled and planted on said lands in great numbers. Should, therefore, the result of your investigation be unfavorable to the claims of Georgia, it would be highly embarrassing to that State to relinquish the said lands to the Creeks.

Hence it will be an important accommodation to Georgia to obtain from the Creeks a regular conveyance of the said lands lying between the Ogechee and Oconee.

To accomplish this object, therefore, you are specially required to use your highest exertions with the Creeks. On your success materially depends the internal peace of Georgia, and probably its attachment to the General Government of the United States.

If the prejudices of the Creeks against the United States are not too deeply rooted, it is presumed that such advantages to that nation can be stipulated as to induce them not only to relinquish to Georgia the lands in question, but to attach them sincerely and permanently to the United States.

The disputed lands being entirely despoiled of their game by the settlements, are therefore no longer valuable to the Creeks as hunting grounds. If they have not been fairly purchased of the real proprietors by Georgia, it ought to be done. In case the Creeks, therefore, would be willing to make a proper conveyance for a given sum, you will stipulate that the same shall be paid by Georgia at a certain period, or, in case of failure, by the United States.

While negotiating the price to be given for the said land, you will have due regard to the sums which Georgia actually paid at the treaty of Augusta, to the present value of the lands as hunting grounds, and to the other considerations hereafter specified.

In this part of the negotiation, it would be desirable that the persons who may be appointed by the Governor or Legislature of Georgia to attend the treaty, should concur with you as to the sum which, in case of purchase, shall be stipulated to be given.

In addition to the purchase money for the lands, and for the further great purpose of attaching the Creeks to the United States, provided the same, in your mature judgments, should be necessary, you are hereby empowered to make the following stipulations:

1st. A secure port to the Creeks, or their head men, [on the Altamaha, St. Mary's, or any place between the said rivers, into which, or from which, the Creeks may import or export the articles of merchandise necessary to the Indian commerce, on the same terms as the citizens of the United States. The number of arms and quantity of ammunition, however, to be regulated by the quantity that shall be regarded as necessary for the hunters.

If any apprehension should be entertained on the part of the Creeks on account of the safety of the goods which they might so import or export, it may be stipulated that the same should be protected by a company of the regular troops of the United States.

The trade of the Creeks is said at present to be engrossed by a company of British merchants, stationed at one of the Bahama islands, who have connected Mr. McGillivray with them as a partner. The Spaniards have permitted some of the rivers which empty into the Gulf of Mexico to be the channel of this trade for a certain number of years. Some impediments or impositions of duties appear to have disgusted Mr. McGillivray with the Spaniards, or with the communication, and renders him desirous of a port in the United States. If these circumstances could be the means of breaking his connexion with the Spanish colonies, it would be wise policy to afford the Creeks a port, and to protect them in every thing relative thereto.

2ndly. Gifts in goods, or money to some, and, if necessary, honorary military distinctions to others, of the influential chiefs.

The presents will be regulated by your judgment. The idea of military distinction arises from the information that Mr. McGillivray possesses a commission of Colonel, or Lieutenant Colonel from the King of Spain.

If he could be induced to resign that commission by the offer of one a grade higher, the offer ought to be made and substantiated, on his taking a solemn oath of allegiance to the United States.

Mr. McGillivray is stated to possess great abilities, an unlimited influence over the Creek nation, and part of the Cherokees. It is an object worthy of considerable exertion to attach him warmly to the United States.

The measure could be attempted and urged with great propriety, as it respects his fidelity to the Creeks, and the continuance of his own importance in that nation.

The United States do not want the Creek lands; they desire only to be friends and protectors of the Creeks, and to treat them with humanity and justice.

In case you should be satisfied of his compliance with your desires, you will deliver him the presents which are particularly designated for him, and also give him assurances of such pecuniary rewards from the United States as you may think reasonable, consequent on the evidence of his future favorable conduct.

3rdly. If you should find the measure necessary, in order to accomplish the before recited objects, you will further stipulate a solemn guarantee of the United States to the Creeks of their remaining territory, to be supported, if necessary, by a line of military posts.

This measure will, most probably, be highly satisfactory to the Creeks, as it will entirely prevent any attempts to purchase any part of their lands, and it will, at the same time, impress them with the moderation and justice of the General Government.

If these offers, with all the benefits resulting therefrom, should be insufficient to induce the Creeks to agree, voluntarily, to relinquish the disputed lands between the Ogeechee and Oconee rivers, you cannot, with propriety, make a tender of more favorable conditions.

In this event, however, you may endeavor to conclude a treaty, and establish therein a temporary boundary, making the Oconee the line—to stipulate the secure port, and the pecuniary and honorary considerations before recited.

You will establish the principle, in case of concluding a treaty, that the Creeks, who are within the limits of the United States, acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States of America, and of no other sovereign whosoever; and, also, that they are not to hold any treaty with an individual State, nor with individuals of any State.

You will also endeavor, without making it an ultimatum, to establish such direct trade as the Government of the Union shall authorize. This point, however, is to be managed with the greatest delicacy, for the before recited reasons.

In the general objects of the restoration of prisoners, negroes, &c. you will conform to the treaties of Hopewell with the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws.

You will, also, endeavor to obtain a stipulation for certain missionaries, to reside in the nation, provided the General Government should think proper to adopt the measure. These men to be precluded from trade, or attempting to purchase any lands; but to have a certain reasonable quantity, per head, allowed for the purpose of cultivation. The object of this establishment would be the happiness of the Indians, teaching them the great duties of religion and morality, and to inculcate a friendship and attachment to the United States.

If, after you have made your communications to the Creeks, and you are persuaded that you are fully understood by them, they should refuse to treat and conclude a peace, on the terms you propose, it may be concluded that they are decided on a continuance of acts of hostility, and that they ought to be guarded against as the determined enemies of the United States.

In this case, you will report such plans, both for defensive and offensive measures, so as best to protect the citizens of the United States on the frontiers, from any acts of injury or hostility of the Creeks. Although the policy of attaching influential chiefs by pecuniary or honorary considerations, may not be doubted, yet it has been otherwise, with respect to making presents to the commonalty among the Indians. In case, therefore, you find that the Creeks are willing to relinquish the land between the Ogeechee and Oconee, on further payments for the same, you will endeavor to stipulate, that the mass of the goods you have in charge for the treaty, should be received by the Indians as part, or the whole of the consideration for the conveyance of the said lands, as you shall judge proper.

Messrs. Osborne and Pickens have, in their report of the 30th June last, stated, that they have agreed to hold a general treaty with the Creeks at the Rock Landing, on the Oconee river, in the State of Georgia, on the 15th of September next ensuing; you will make every exertion to be there at that time. Immediately on your arrival at Savannah you will arrange the transportation by land or water, of the goods and provisions under your direction, to the place of treaty, or towards the same, so as to arrive with all possible expedition. At the same time, you will despatch expresses to the Governor, notifying him of your commission and arrival, and also to Messrs. Osborne and Pickens; and as soon after as possible, you will repair to the place affixed for treating. The troops and the goods may follow agreeably to your directions. Perhaps you may change the place of treaty, to some place to which your goods might be transported with greater facility than the Rock Landing on the Oconee river.

But, notwithstanding your greatest exertions, it may happen that your arrival may be so retarded, that Messrs. Pickens and Osborne may have held a treaty, and the Indians may have departed to their own country.

In this case you will carefully enquire, whether there were present at the treaty, a full representation of the whole Creek nation, and particularly Mr. McGillivray, and whether the treaty was made under such circumstances as to be consistent with the justice of the United States, and conformable to the spirit of their instructions. If so, you will confirm and ratify the same, in as full a manner as if you had been actually present. But, if an inadequate representation only should have been present, or any circumstances should have been adopted, of which the United States could not with justice and dignity approve, in this case you will use your best endeavors to persuade the Creeks to attend a new treaty, at such place and at such time as you may judge proper. You will observe the same conduct to collect the Creeks, in case it should appear that they, from any circumstances, are disinclined to attend generally the treaty on the 15th of September, or provided your arrival should be posterior to that period, and you shall learn they did not attend, agreeably to the invitation of Messrs. Pickens and Osborne.

During your negotiations with the Creeks, you will endeavor to ascertain the following points:

- 1st. The number of warriors in the whole nation, including Upper and Lower Creeks and Seminoles.
- 2d. Whether they are armed with common and rifle muskets, or in any other manner, and how furnished with ammunition.
- 3d. The number of each division of Upper Creeks, Lower Creeks, and Seminoles.
- 4th. The number of women and children and old men in each district.
- 5th. The number of towns in each district.
- 6th. The names, characters, and residence, of the most influential chiefs; and, as far as the same may be, their grades of influence.
- 7th. The kinds of government, if any, of the towns, districts, and nations.
- 8th. Whether they are hunters only, or whether they cultivate and possess cattle, if so, the degree of cultivation and number of cattle.
- 9th. The usual hunting grounds of the whole nation and their districts.
- 10th. The kinds and value of furs taken annually, and how disposed of.
- 11th. The amount of the European goods annually consumed.
- 12th. Whether ginseng abounds in that country; if so, whether it is gathered in any considerable quantities.
- 13th. To ascertain the nature of the country west from Georgia to the Mississippi; whether mountainous, hilly, level, or abounding with low grounds and morasses—the nature of the soil and growth.
- 14th. To ascertain particularly, how far northward the waters of the Mobile, Apalachicola, and Altamaha rivers, are navigable for boats, and the nearest land portages from the northern navigable streams of said rivers, to the southern navigable waters or streams of the Tennessee river.

The accurate knowledge of this subject is of considerable importance, but the inquiries thereto should be circuitously conducted.

15th. To ascertain with great precision the nature of the connexion of the Creeks with the Spaniards, and, if practicable, to obtain copies of any treaties between them; whether the predominating prejudices of the Creeks are in favor, or against the Spaniards, and particularly the state of Mr. McGillivray's mind on this subject.

16th. You will endeavor, as far as your opportunities will admit, to ascertain similar facts relative to the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, as are contained in the before recited requests relative to the Creeks.

In case of your concluding a treaty with the Creeks, and it should be your judgment that a line of military posts would be necessary to the due observance thereof, and also as a security of the peace of the Cherokees, you will report a plan for the stations which should be taken, and the number of troops which should occupy each.

The people who are settled on Cumberland river have just cause of complaints against the Creeks, who have, during the present year, murdered several families within that district. The Creeks can have no cause of complaint against that settlement.

This circumstance is to be strongly stated to the Creeks, and in case of a continuance of their murders, the vengeance of the Union is to be denounced against them.

The peculiar case of the Cherokees seems to require the immediate interposition of the justice of the United States. But as that nation of Indians are principally resident within the territory claimed by North Carolina, which is not a member of the present Union, it may be doubted whether any efficient measures in favor of the Cherokees could be adopted immediately.

By the public newspapers it appears, that, on the 16th June last, a truce was concluded with the Cherokees by Mr. John Steele, on behalf of the State of North Carolina. In this truce a treaty was stipulated to be held as soon as possible; and in the mean time, all hostilities should cease on both sides.

In the event of North Carolina adopting the constitution of the United States, it will be incumbent on the General Government to take every wise measure to carry into effect the substance of the treaty of Hopewell; in the mean time, you will send a message to the Cherokees, stating to them the difficulties arising from the local claims of North Carolina, as far as the same may be proper. That, when these shall be removed, the United States will convince the Cherokees of their justice and friendship.

You will also transmit a message to the whites in the neighborhood of the Cherokees, enjoining an observance of the truce made by Mr. Steele, until a general treaty shall take place, when justice shall be administered to all parties.

The two Cherokees who have lately come to this city, with their conductor, Mr. Bennet Ballew, are to go under your direction to the place of treaty. Good policy requires that they should be kindly treated, although there are suspicions that the conduct of Bennet Ballew has not been very proper with respect to the lands of the Cherokees. You will endeavor to ascertain his real character and designs, and make such use of him as you shall think proper. You have delivered to you copies of the papers which Mr. Ballew presented from the Cherokees.

The treaties with the Choctaws and Chickasaws will inform you of the stipulations of the United States to extend trade to those nations. You will report a plan for carrying into effect the said stipulations, and you will also transmit to the said nations messages containing assurances of the continuance of the friendship of the United States, and of the intentions of the General Government of extending the trade to them, agreeably to the treaties of Hopewell. You will have regular invoices of all articles delivered to you for the proposed treaty, and you will keep fair accounts of all your disbursements, which you will regularly settle at the treasury of the United States.

And in all cases where the same may be proper, consistently with the secrecy necessary to be observed, the delivery of the goods ought to be attested by the commissioned officers of the troops, who should attend the commissioners.

You will also keep a regular journal of your transactions, and report the same.

It is presumed that you will conduct all your disbursements by that proper economy so necessary to be observed in all transactions of the General Government. You will learn, by the papers delivered to you, that certain goods were left by the commissioners after the treaties at Hopewell, in the commencement of the year 1786. It is probable that these goods may have been delivered to Messrs. Pickens and Osborne; you will, therefore, apply to said gentlemen for regular invoices of all the goods in their possession, for the treaty, distinguishing the means by which they became possessed thereof.

You will also request of them an account of the moneys or goods they may have received of the States of South Carolina and Georgia, in consequence of the resolves of Congress, of the 26th October, 1787, and August 14, 1788.

As the said Messrs. Pickens and Osborne will most probably be at the proposed place of treaty, with the expectation of conducting the same, you will deliver them the letter containing the reasons of Government for appointing new commissioners.

Were there any services at the treaty, in which you could employ them, it might be proper so to do.

You will endeavor to avail yourselves, as far as may be, of any arrangements which may have been taken by Georgia, for the supplies of provisions during the holding of the treaty, or for furnishing the means of transportation, for which the said State will have credit on the before recited requisitions of Congress, of the 26th October, 1787, and the 14th of August, 1788.

You will please to observe, that the whole sum that can be constitutionally expended for the proposed treaty with the Creeks, shall not exceed the sum of twenty thousand dollars—the goods and money which have been delivered to you, and the expenses which will arise, by the removal and return of the troops, and your own pay, will amount to —

You will, therefore, see the necessity of economizing your means, and that the same cannot be extended.

It is, however, to be observed, that the sums you shall think proper to stipulate to the Creeks, for the cessions of the lands between the Ogechee and Oconee, is to be considered additional to the said twenty thousand dollars.

You will, from time to time, communicate your progress to the Secretary of the War Department, and receive such further directions from him, as the case may require.

The company of artillery, commanded by Captain Burbeck, will accompany you to the place of treaty, and be under your orders. As soon as the treaty shall be finished, you will take the proper measures for the return of the

company to this place, as the time of service will soon expire. The company will receive one month and a half's pay, and be furnished with three months' rations, which you will cause to be transported as the service may require. These instructions will be the governing principles of your conduct, and they are to be regarded as secret.

But many circumstances may arise, which may render some degree of modification necessary. In every event, however, you will please to remember, that the Government of the United States are determined, that their administration of Indian affairs shall be directed entirely by the great principles of justice and humanity.

As soon as you have concluded your negotiations with the Creeks, and forwarded your messages as herein directed, you will return to this place, and make a full report of all your transactions to the Secretary of the War Department.

Given under my hand, at the city of New York, this 29th of August, 1789.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

By command of the President of the United States:

H. KNOX.

A.

*Report of the Commissioners for treating with the Southern Indians.*

NEW YORK, 17th November, 1789.

SIR:

We have kept a regular journal of our negotiations with the Creek nation, and now make a full report of the mission to you, as Secretary of the War Department.

We are, sir, with great respect, your most obedient humble servants,

B. LINCOLN,  
CYRUS GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

To the Honorable HENRY KNOX, Esq.

*A report of the proceedings of the Commissioners of the United States of America, for restoring and establishing peace and amity, between the United States and all nations of Indians situated within the limits of the said States, southward of the river Ohio.*

On the 31st day of August last, we sailed from New York, and arrived at Savannah in the night of the 10th of September.

In conformity to our instructions on the 11th, we wrote the following letters, to the Governor of the State of Georgia, and to Messrs. Pickens and Osborne, the commissioners then at the Rock Landing.

“SAVANNAH, 11th September, 1789.

“SIR:

We have been honored by the Supreme Executive of the United States, with the appointment of commissioners plenipotentiary for negotiating and concluding a treaty of peace with the independent tribes or nations of Indians, within the limits of the United States, south of the river Ohio; and in consequence thereof, it becomes our duty, by the earliest opportunity, to communicate this information to your honor. In our negotiations, many subjects important to the interests of the State of Georgia will probably be discussed. Your honor will, therefore, if you should think the measure necessary, appoint some person or persons, the best informed in the nature of our business, to attend the commissioners, that they may, from time to time, receive from them such information as may be necessary on the subject of their negotiations. The commissioners expect to leave this town on the morrow, and to be at Augusta with all possible despatch.

In expectation that a large number of the natives would be at the Rock Landing, and lest there might not be a full supply of provisions to be obtained in the vicinity thereof, a very considerable quantity of salted provisions and flour were put on board of our vessels, the transportation of which, we find will be attended with great delay and expense.

We shall, therefore, store a considerable proportion of it here, until your honor's opinion can be known, whether there are high degrees of probability that fresh beef and Indian corn can be had at, or convenient to, the Rock Landing, sufficient to answer the great demands which, it is very certain, will be made for those articles. If such a probability shall not exist which shall fully satisfy your honor, the commissioners in that case have to beg, that an express may be immediately forwarded to Major Habersham, requesting him to forward the whole of the flour in his hands, or such parts as you may think necessary, by water, to Augusta.

As it is important that we should, as soon as possible, know the state of the supplies on which we are to rely while on the negotiation, and as we have been taught to expect that we should be aided essentially by this State, we must beg that your honor would order to be made out, for our own use, an invoice of such stores, the property of Georgia, as will be placed in our hands.

We have the honor to be, sir, your honor's most obedient servants,

B. LINCOLN,  
C. GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

His honor the GOVERNOR of the State of Georgia.”

“SAVANNAH, 11th September, 1789.

“GENTLEMEN:

Having been appointed commissioners plenipotentiary by the Supreme Executive of the United States of America, for concluding treaties of peace and amity with the Indian nations, south of the Ohio, we thought proper to give you the earliest possible notice of our appointment. The reasons why it was deemed necessary that the characters employed in the execution of this business should not belong to any of the States bordering on those tribes of Indians with whom the treaties are proposed to be formed, will be fully, and, we trust, satisfactorily explained to you by the letter from the Secretary of War, which we shall have the honor of delivering into your hands.

We have also to inform you that we shall set off from this place as early as we can possibly make the necessary arrangements, and reach you as soon as may be. In the mean time, we earnestly hope and expect that you will not remit your endeavors to have every thing in readiness to give despatch and success to the negotiations; and you will please to communicate every necessary information to the Creek nation on the subject. We are convinced this will be the case, because the interest and happiness of the State of Georgia, not less than the dignity and honor of the United States, seem to require it.

On our part, you will be assured, gentlemen, that we shall always take a particular pleasure in doing justice to your merits by making the most favorable representations of your public services,

Being, with the greatest respect and esteem, gentlemen, your most obedient humble servants,

B. LINCOLN,  
C. GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

The Honorable ANDREW PICKENS and H. OSBORNE, Esquires, Rock Landing.

Immediately after writing these letters, we proceeded to make the necessary arrangements relative to the transportation of ourselves, and also a part of the goods and provisions under our direction, to the place of treaty. We then despatched the subsequent communication to the Secretary of War:

“SAVANNAH, 12th September, 1789.

“SIR:

We arrived here the night before last, after an unusually rough passage; the transport with the troops (all well) had been in port nearly two days. We learned upon our arrival, that Mr. McGillivray was actually on his way to the place for holding the treaty, and on the second day of this month, at a short distance from it. The number of the Indians who attend him, is said to be between three and four thousand.

Our first care was to send an express to the Governor and the late commissioners, announcing our mission, and suggesting such arrangements as we deemed indispensable; particularly, we gave information to the Governor, that, from the difficulty of procuring the means of transportation, we should leave the greatest part of the provisions which we had brought with us, at this place, unless in his judgment they should be absolutely necessary for supporting the Indians during the continuance of the treaty; in this case, he was requested to send back an express to Major Habersham, that consequent measures might be taken instantaneously.

We found it impossible to hire horses, and, therefore, have been obliged to purchase five to carry us forward. It was with great difficulty that we have obtained a few poor teams to transport the most essentially necessary articles; with the troops who will march by the route of Augusta to-morrow morning, the greater part of the remaining stores will at the same time proceed by water to that place: for which place we shall also commence our journey early in the morning.

Mr. Ballew, and the Indians with him, having expressed an earnest inclination of returning to their own country from hence, and as it would save a travel of at least two hundred miles, we have furnished them with the means of doing it, and have sent friendly messages to the Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Cherokees, by them. We have likewise sent an address to the white people of the State of North Carolina, bordering on the country inhabited by the latter.

The captains of the sloops which came with us to this place having insisted upon receiving their money here, we have accordingly paid them.

We have the honor to be, sir, your obedient humble servants,

B. LINCOLN,  
C. GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

*The Honorable the Secretary of War.”*

From Savannah we transmitted friendly talks to the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, expressed in the following words:

“*A message to the Cherokee nation of Indians, from the commissioners plenipotentiary for restoring and establishing peace and amity between the United States of America and all the Indian nations situated within the limits of the said States, southward of the river Ohio:*

**BROTHERS OF THE CHEROKEE NATION!**

We have been made very happy, by receiving information from the public newspapers, that, on the 16th of June last, a truce was concluded with your nation by the commissioner of North Carolina, on behalf of that State, and that, in this truce, a treaty was stipulated to be held as soon as possible; and in the mean time, that all hostilities should cease on both sides.

Whereupon, we, the commissioners plenipotentiary aforesaid, do think proper to confirm the said truce, and to give the strongest assurances of the friendly dispositions of the United States towards the Cherokee nation; and we have made the same known to all those whom it might concern, and particularly to all the inhabitants of the frontiers bordering on the Cherokee towns and settlements; declaring, in consequence of the full powers vested in us by the Supreme Executive of the United States of America, that it is the sincere intention of the said States to cultivate a friendly intercourse between our citizens and your people, and strictly enjoining an observance of the truce aforesaid upon the former.

**HEAD-MEN AND WARRING CHIEFS OF ALL THE CHEROKEES,** hearken to what we have to say to you!

Notwithstanding there are some difficulties, arising from the local claims of North Carolina, which prevent us at present from writing to you, so fully as we could wish; yet we would not omit so good an opportunity to assure you, by the return of your beloved man Mr. Bennet Ballew, and your beloved chief, Nontowaky, that, when those difficulties shall be removed, the General Government of the United States will be desirous of taking every wise measure to carry into effect the substance of the treaty of Hopewell, as well as to convince you of their justice and friendship.

Now, **BROTHERS!** we have nothing more to add at this time, except that we wish you all the happiness which we wish to the most dear of our own fellow-citizens; and that we will send to you another message on the subject of public affairs, before we shall return to the beloved city of Congress, from whence we came.

Done at Savannah, under our hands and seals, this 13th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1789, and in the 14th year of the independence of the United States of America.

B. LINCOLN,  
C. GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

Attest, D. S. FRANKS, *Sec'y.*”

“*A Message to the Chickasaw nation of Indians, from the commissioners plenipotentiary for restoring and establishing peace and amity between the United States of America and all the Indian nations situated within the limits of the said States, southward of the river Ohio:*

**BROTHERS OF THE CHICKASAW NATION:**

We are glad, by the return of your beloved man, Mr. Bennet Ballew, into your country, to assure you of the continuance of the strong friendship of the United States of America for your nation.

We hope that the peace which was established between the commissioners plenipotentiary of the United States of America and the commissioners plenipotentiary of all the Chickasaws, at Hopewell on the Keowee, the tenth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty six, will last as long as the sun shall shine in the Heaven, or the rivers run into the ocean.

**BROTHERS:** We rejoice to inform you of many good things which have happened to our nation since that treaty; we have been fast recovering from the wounds that were made upon us by the British in the late war.

Our people are increasing in number every day. The white men in the other great continent begin more and more to respect us; we are at peace with all the world; a new and great council fire is kindled at our beloved city of New York, where the old and the wise men, from all our States, come to consult and promote the prosperity of all America.



Our union is strong: for, BROTHERS, we think and act like one man; our great warrior, General Washington, who, you very well know, drove our enemies all beyond the great water, is now the head-man of all our councils, and the chief of all our warriors; he, by the advice of his wise counsellors, has commanded us to tell you, that the United States regard the red men with the same favorable eye that they do the white men, and that justice shall always be maintained equally between them.

NOW, HEAD-MEN AND WARRING CHIEFS OF ALL THE CHICKASAWS, listen to us! We are the mouth of the Union for you, and say that we are perfectly satisfied with your conduct since the treaty of Hopewell, and trust we have given you reason to be satisfied with ours. All that remains for both nations, is to continue to act the same open and friendly part. You, Brothers, may rest assured that your interests are always near to our hearts, and that, in conformity to the true intent and meaning of the eighth article of the said treaty, the General Government of the United States will, as soon as the circumstances may conveniently admit, take measures for extending more fully to the Chickasaws, the benefits and comforts arising from a well regulated and mutually advantageous trade.

BROTHERS, farewell: we wish you all the happiness and prosperity which we wish to our fellow citizens, the white men of the United States.

Done at Savannah, under our hands and seals, this 13th day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, and in the 14th year of the independence of the United States of America.

B. LINCOLN,  
C. GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

Attest, DAVID S. FRANKS, *Secretary.*"

A similar message, with the necessary alterations, was sent to the Choctaws.

We also gave to Mr. Ballew, a copy of an address to the white inhabitants contiguous to the Cherokee nation, accompanied by the letter which follows it:

*"To all those whom it may concern.*

"The commissioners of the United States of America, for restoring and establishing peace and amity between the United States and all nations of Indians situated within the limits of the said States, southward of the river Ohio, send greeting:

Forasmuch as we have been given to understand, that a truce hath lately been concluded at the War-ford, between the commissioners of the State of North Carolina, on the one part, and the head-men of the Cherokees on the other; in expectation that a further negotiation for the purpose of establishing permanent peace and tranquillity will take place, as soon as the circumstances may admit: and whereas we have sent an official message to the Cherokee nation, with full assurances of the continuation of the good disposition and friendly intentions of the United States towards them:

Now, therefore, we the commissioners plenipotentiary aforesaid, do think proper to make the same known to all the inhabitants of the frontiers; bordering on the towns and settlements of the said Cherokee nation; and we do declare, in virtue of the full powers vested in us, by the Supreme Executive of the United States of America, that it is the sincere intention of the said United States to cultivate a friendly intercourse and perpetual harmony between the citizens of the United States and the Southern Indians on their frontiers, upon terms of perfect equality and mutual advantage.

We therefore enjoin an observance of the truce aforesaid, and further declare, that any infraction of the tranquillity now subsisting between the said contracting parties, would directly contravene the manifest intention, and highly incur the displeasure, of the supreme authority of the United States of America.

Done at Savannah, under our hands and seals, this 13th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1789, and in the 14th year of the independence of the United States of America.

B. LINCOLN,  
C. GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

Attest, DAVID S. FRANKS, *Secretary.*"

"SAVANNAH, 13th September, 1789.

"SIR:

We have thought proper to entrust to your care, friendly messages from us, the commissioners plenipotentiary of the United States of America, for restoring and establishing peace and amity between the United States and all the Indian nations, situated within the limits of the said States, southward of the river Ohio, to the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw nations of Indians, which you will be pleased to deliver to the great councils of their several nations. We have also given to you, for the satisfaction of the Cherokees, a copy of the address which we propose to transmit to the white inhabitants contiguous to the Cherokee nation. Relying upon your diligence and zeal to execute, with despatch and fidelity, the business that we have committed to you, we wish you a prosperous journey, and are, with due consideration,

Sir, your most obedient humble servants,

B. LINCOLN,  
C. GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

Mr. BENNET BALLEW."

On the 13th we left Savannah, and on the 17th arrived at Augusta. We announced our arrival to the Governor the same evening, and the next morning addressed to him the following note:

"AUGUSTA, 18th September, 1789.

SIR:

We are extremely unhappy to find that your honor was so much indisposed as to prevent you from receiving company at the time of our arrival last evening. We did not, therefore, trouble you with the letters we had in charge for your honor, until this morning. We now take the earliest moment of laying them before you, with our best wishes for the re-establishment of your health.

We have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest consideration and esteem,

Sir, your most obedient humble servants,

B. LINCOLN,  
C. GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

*His Honor the Governor of the State of Georgia."*

To which his Honor was pleased to reply:

"AUGUSTA, 18th September, 1789.

"SIRS:

I am happy that you are arrived thus far on the business with which you are charged. Whilst we had flattering expectations that the proposed treaty would have taken place with the Creeks, we feel an additional consolation in your appointment, from the knowledge you will derive, by the incidents of your negotiations, of all the causes of our complaints.

Not having recently heard from the Rock Landing, I could not farther act on that part of your despatch of the 11th, respecting provisions, than by sending for the State agent to meet you at this place, whose arrival I expect every moment.

Upon the other parts of that, and the whole of those of this morning, I shall be happy to see you before I go into council; and, as far as lies in my power, and I may respond for the Executive council, you may rely on the support of the Government, in the accomplishment of the objects of your mission:

I have the honor to be, sirs, with much consideration, your most obedient humble servant,

GEORGE WALTON.

*The Honorable the Commissioners Plenipotentiary for }  
negotiating with the Indians south of the Ohio." }*

After a free conversation with the Governor, on the objects of the mission, he wrote us a note, enclosing an act of the Council of the same date.

" AUGUSTA, 18th September, 1789.

" SIRs:

I do myself the honor of enclosing to you a proceeding of the Executive authority of this day. Those details, which it shall be necessary to go into on the same ground, shall be communicated to you by express, through,

Sirs, your most obedient servant,

GEORGE WALTON.

*The Honorable the Commissioners for Indian Affairs."*

" IN COUNCIL, Augusta, 18th September, 1789.

" The letter of the honorable the commissioners for negotiating treaties with the Indians south of the Ohio, of the 11th instant, dated at Savannah, being taken up, and another letter of the 18th, announcing their arrival at Augusta, and enclosing a despatch from the War Office, of the 29th of August last, being read and considered:

It is ordered, that the said commissioners be assured, that every assistance in the power of the State shall be given, which may be necessary to give facility and effect to their negotiations with the Creek Indians.

Extract from the minutes.

J. MERIWETHER, *Sec'y E. C."*

An answer to our letter of the 11th, to Messrs. Pickens and Osborne, was received at this place:

" ROCK LANDING, 16th Sept. 1789.

" GENTLEMEN:

We had, this day, the honor to receive your joint letter of the 11th instant. Every arrangement that was in our power to make, preparative to the treaty, has been completed for two weeks past, and the Indians have been encamped at the distance directed by the Secretary of War, during the same period.

We have used every exertion to keep the Indians together, and in good humor, which has hitherto been done with great difficulty. The same zeal and industry shall be continued on our part, for their continuance, but at the same time it is necessary to give you the earliest information, that the Indians will not remain after Friday next, unless you arrive here before the expiration of that day; this Mr. McGillivray informed us yesterday, though it is his wish to remain longer.

We have the honor to be, gentlemen, with due respect, your obedient servants,

ANDREW PICKENS,  
H. OSBORNE.

The Hon. B. LINCOLN, C. GRIFFIN, D. HUMPHREYS, Esqrs."

To which we made the following reply:

" AUGUSTA, 18th September, 1789.

" GENTLEMEN:

We have just been honored by the receipt of the letter which you addressed to us on the 16th instant, and are inexpressibly astonished at the information which you have given, as it is so diametrically contrary to the ideas which his honor the Governor of this State had a few moments before held out to us.

Trusting, gentlemen, that you will still continue your utmost exertions to keep the Indians together, and that, in all events, you will have the goodness to forward the letter which accompanies this to Mr. McGillivray, with the utmost despatch,

We have the honor to be, with great respect, gentlemen, your most obedient humble servants,

B. LINCOLN,  
C. GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

To Messrs. PICKENS AND OSBORNE, *Rock Landing."*

By the same express we wrote to Mr. McGillivray:

" AUGUSTA, September 18th, 1789.

" SIR:

We left New York eighteen days ago, invested with full powers, from the Supreme Executive of the United States of America, to conclude a treaty of peace and amity with the Creek nation of Indians. For the accomplishment of an object of so much importance, we have pressed our journey with uncommon expedition. We arrived here last evening, and, after making the necessary arrangements for our luggage to follow, we propose departing from this place for the Rock Landing this afternoon.

Being this moment greatly astonished by information from Messrs. Pickens and Osborne, that the Indians would certainly disperse, unless we should arrive within three days after the very day which was originally appointed for the meeting, we shall accelerate our journey as much as possible. We therefore send an express with this letter, to let you know that we shall be at the Rock Landing the day after to-morrow, and to assure you, that, if a lasting peace and friendship shall not be established, between the United States and the Creeks, it will not be owing to the want of the best dispositions on the part of the former.

We are, sir, with due respect, your obedient humble servants,

B. LINCOLN,  
C. GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

The Hon. ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRAY, Esq."

On the afternoon of the 18th we pursued our journey, and two of the commissioners reached the Lock Landing on the 20th, at evening, the other being unavoidably detained on the road. The following note was immediately sent to Mr. McGillivray, to which he replied early the next morning:

“ROCK LANDING, 20th September, 1789.

“The commissioners present their most respectful compliments to Mr. Alexander McGillivray, chief of the Creek Nation, and have the pleasure to announce that a majority of them, a few moments since, arrived at this place, and that, without delay, they shall be ready to proceed to business.

ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRAY Esq. *Great Chief of all the Creeks, &c.*”

“September 20th, 1789.

“Alexander McGillivray, and the rest of the chiefs, are very glad to hear of the arrival of the honorable the commissioners of the United States of America at the Rock Landing. A few principal chiefs intend to visit them this forenoon.

*The Honorable the Commissioners  
of the United States of America, at the Rock Landing.*”

About 11 o'clock, the following note from Mr. McGillivray was received:

“GENTLEMEN:

Some of the principal chiefs, accompanied by an interpreter, named Derezeau, go over to pay you a visit this forenoon. I beg leave to suggest to you, that a private conversation between us will be necessary, previous to the opening of the treaty; and this camp I think the most convenient place for the purpose. I could therefore wish to be honored with the company of one or two of you this evening. In suggesting this measure, I intreat, gentlemen, that you will not consider it as proceeding from a want of the proper attention in me, which is due to the very respectable characters that compose the present commission.

I am, very respectfully, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRAY.”

The Cussetah king, the Tallasee king, and the Hallowing king, attended the commissioners accordingly, as a deputation from the whole nation, to congratulate them on their arrival.

After the customary ceremony, they all expressed the most ardent wishes to establish a lasting peace with the United States, and declared their extreme joy that the day was come, which afforded a fair opportunity for accomplishing an object so interesting and desirable to their nation.

Soon after this interview, the following talk was sent to the Indian camp:

“To the Hon. Alexander McGillivray, great chief, and all the other head men and warring chiefs of the Creek Nation:

“BROTHERS:

Having been honored with a commission by the Supreme Executive of the United States of America, to conclude a treaty of peace and amity with your nation, we think it expedient, in the first instance, to show you our full powers; on the other part, we desire to be favored, by you, with such evidence as the nature of the case may admit, of the fullness and authenticity of the representation of the Creek nation which is now present.

These preliminaries being satisfactorily settled, so that hereafter there may be no complaints of partial or defective representations, we shall be ready to make our further communications, as soon as the Honorable Mr. Griffin, our colleague, shall arrive, which will probably be to-morrow.

B. LINCOLN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

21st September, 1789.”

Much conversation was had with Mr. McGillivray upon the subjects of our negotiation, at the camp of the Indians, on the evening of the 21st, and at the quarters of the commissioners, the 22nd, where Mr. McGillivray and a number of the other chiefs passed the day.

Early in the morning of the 23d, a letter was sent to Mr. McGillivray, and the day was employed by the commissioners in completing the draught of a treaty, and other communications to be laid before the great council of the nation.

“ROCK LANDING, 23d September, 1789.

“SIR:

We have the pleasure to inform you that the honorable Mr. Griffin arrived here the last evening. We are now engaged in preparing the communications we intend to make to your nation, which, if agreeable to you, will be delivered to-morrow morning. General Lincoln and General Pickens will have the pleasure of attending this forenoon at your black drink.

We have the honor to be, &c.

B. LINCOLN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

ALEX. MCGILLIVRAY, Esq. *Chief of the Creek nation.*”

At the conference between General Lincoln and Mr. McGillivray, it was agreed that the Creeks should attend the commissioners the next day at 11 o'clock, to hear what they had to communicate. However, late in the same evening, it was understood that it would be a matter of convenience for the Indians to receive the talks on the west side of the Oconee, and the commissioners accordingly wrote the subsequent letter:

“ROCK LANDING, 23d September, 1789.

“SIR:

As we are disposed to do every thing in our power to accomplish the objects of our mission, without an undue regard to matters of form, and as we understand it would be a matter of convenience for your people, that we should attend on your ground for the purpose of making our communications to-morrow, we have no objections to passing the river to your camp upon that occasion. You will therefore be pleased to consider this letter as designed to take away all cause of jealousy, and to put it in your option to arrange the time and place of conference in such manner as shall be most satisfactory to the Creeks. We shall expect your answer by the bearer, and, in the mean time, we have the honor to be,

Sir, your obedient servants,

B. LINCOLN,  
C. GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

ALEX. MCGILLIVRAY, Esq. *Chief of the Creek nation.*”

To which Mr. McGillivray replied the next morning:

"INDIAN CAMP, Oconee River, 24th September, 1789.

"GENTLEMEN:

I have this morning received your letter, which I explained to the chiefs, who appear satisfied to find that you are disposed to make your communications to them on this side of the river. They therefore desire that they may be favored with your company this morning, at the ceremony of their black drink; when that is over, they wish immediately to proceed to business with you.

I have the honor to be, &c.

ALEX. MCGILLIVRAY, C. C. N.

*The Hon. the Commissioners of the United States of America, &c. &c. Rock Landing."*

At the time appointed, the commissioners attended the ceremony of *black drink*, and were conducted to the great square of the encampment by all the kings, chiefs, and warriors, in solemn pomp, and much apparent friendship. The commissioners then proceeded to business, and having read and explained their commission, gave the following talk:

"KINGS, HEAD-MEN, AND WARRIORS OF THE CREEK NATION: This parchment which we hold in our hands, and a copy of which we now deliver, has informed you that we are appointed by the President of the United States of America, with the advice of his old counsellors, commissioners plenipotentiary for restoring and establishing peace and amity between the United States and all the nations of Indians within the limits of the United States, southward of the river Ohio.

BROTHERS OF THE CREEK NATION, ATTEND! We trust that the great master of breath who formed us all brothers, whether white men or red men, has created this day to be the time for preventing our people and your people from taking away that breath which none but he can give, or should take away. We appeal to you, and ask, are not the pains and the miseries of the human race naturally severe enough, without their endeavoring, by unkindness, to increase the portion of bitterness and sorrow which must, of necessity, fall to the lot of man? Let us try to make each other happy, and not wretched. It is in this way that the General Government of the United States of America intend to act with all the world.

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS: We will first speak of the present state and policy of our nation; and we will speak next of the reasons which ought to induce you to be in alliance with us, rather than with any other people whatever.

Although, Brothers, we cannot entirely forget the calamities we suffered in the late war with Great Britain, yet we have buried all resentments for the part which the allies of Britain acted in that bloody scene. That war left many of our cities, villages, and towns, in a ruinous condition; but we obtained liberty and independence. Our country has recovered from desolation. We are at peace with all the nations of the world. We are increasing every day in numbers. We have the means of happiness in our power, and wish to communicate them to you. Our lands are so extensive that they enjoy all seasons, and yield all productions. Our great ships are made to go in every part of the world, where goods and merchandise can be obtained. Our Union, which was a child, is grown up to manhood; so that it can speak with a louder voice, and strike with a stronger arm, than ever it has done before: for you must know, that a happy change has taken place in our national Government. One great council is established, with full powers to promote the public good. General Washington, who led our armies to conquest wherever he turned his face, is now the head-man of all our councils, and chief of all our warriors. You know him, and he never speaks the thing which is not. He has commanded us to tell you, that, while the General Government of confederated America will vindicate the right of every member of the Union, it will also see that justice shall be done to the nations of Indians situated within the limits of the United States. And we are authorized to declare and make known, that the United States will guaranty and defend to you, all the lands of your nation within the limits aforesaid, and which shall not be clearly ceded to any part of the Union.

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS OF THE CREEK NATION: A few words only are necessary to prove to you, that it will be more natural for you to be allied with us, than with any other people. You are under the necessity of being connected with the white men, because you want their goods and merchandise. We can make a reasonable profit, by your articles of export, and afford such imports as you may want, at rates cheaper than they can be obtained in any other place. A secure port in our country will be much more convenient for you than a port in any other country. Thus both of us will be gainers by being friends. The promotion of our mutual interest will promote our mutual friendship. This will be found the only sure method to make a peace happy and lasting.

BROTHERS: We have nothing more to say to you at present; but, if you like this talk, and are possessed of the same good disposition for us which we entertain in good faith for you, we are ready to propose to you the draught of a treaty, which we think may be the foundation of a permanent treaty of peace and amity."

The talk having been received with strong marks of approbation, the commissioners then presented the representatives of the nation the draught of a treaty, as follows:

"Articles of peace and amity agreed upon between the President of the United States of America, in behalf of the said States, by the undersigned commissioners plenipotentiary, on the one part, and the undersigned kings, head-men, and warriors, of all the Creeks, in behalf of themselves and the Creek nation, on the other.

ARTICLE 1. There shall be a perpetual peace and friendship between all the citizens of the United States of America, and all the towns, tribes, and individuals, of the Upper and Lower Creeks.

ART. 2. The boundary between the citizens of the said United States and the Creeks, is, and shall be, from where the former line strikes the river Savannah; thence, up the said river, to a place on the most northern branch of the same, commonly called the Keeowee, where a northeast line, to be drawn from the top of the Occunna mountain, shall intersect; thence, along the said line, in a southwest direction, to Tugaloo river; thence to the top of the Currahee mountain; thence, to the head of the most southern branch of the Oconee river, that is to say, the river Apalachy, including all the waters of the same; thence, down the said river, to the confluence of the Oakmulgee; thence, on a southwest direction, to the most southern part of the river St. Mary; thence, down the said river, to the old line.

ART. 3. The Supreme Executive of the United States solemnly guaranties to the Creeks all their remaining territory, against all aggression or unjust usurpation whatever, and will support the said guarantee, if necessary, by a line of military posts.

ART. 4. The said Indian chiefs, for themselves, and their respective towns and tribes within the limits of the United States, do acknowledge the Creeks to be under the protection of the supreme authority of the United States, and of no other sovereign whosoever; and, also, that they are not to hold any treaty with an individual State, or with individuals of any State.

ART. 5. If any citizen or citizens of the United States shall presume to settle upon the lands guarantied to the Creek nation by this treaty, he or they shall be put out of the protection of the United States, and the Creeks may punish him or them if they shall think proper.

ART. 6. For the mutual advantage of the contracting parties, it is stipulated, that a free trade and friendly intercourse shall always be maintained between them; and, for the particular benefit of the said Creek nation, it is farther stipulated, that a secure post shall be established, at a place known by the name of Beard's Bluff, on the river Altamaha, or, if that shall be found inconvenient, at such other place as shall hereafter be agreed upon; into which, or from which, the Creeks may import or export all the articles of goods and merchandise necessary to the Indian commerce, on the same terms as the citizens of the United States: *Provided*, That the number of arms, and quantity of ammunition, shall not exceed their annual necessary supply for hunting. And if any just apprehension should be entertained by the Creeks, for the safety of the goods and merchandise, so imported or exported, the

Supreme Executive of the United States will take effectual measures for protecting the same, by stationing a body of regular troops at the said post.

ART. 7. The General Government of the United States having the sole and exclusive right of regulating the trade between their citizens and the Indians, within the limits of their territories, will, as soon as may be, adopt an equitable system for the prevention of injuries and oppressions on the citizens or Indians; and, in the mean time, all traders, citizens of the United States, shall have liberty to go to any towns or tribes of the Creeks to trade with them, and they shall be protected in their persons and property, and kindly treated.

ART. 8. If any Indian or Indians, or persons residing among the Creeks, or who shall take refuge in their nation, shall commit a robbery or murder, or other capital crime, on any citizen of the United States of America, or person under their protection, the tribe to which such offender may belong, or the nation, shall be bound to deliver him or them, to be punished according to the laws of the United States: *Provided*, The punishment shall not be greater than if the robbery or murder, or other capital crime, had been committed by a citizen on a citizen.

ART. 9. And if any citizen of the United States of America, or person under their protection, shall commit a robbery or murder, or other capital crime, on any Indian, such offender shall be punished in the same manner as if the robbery or murder, or other capital crime, had been committed on a citizen of the United States of America, and the punishment shall be in presence of some of the Creeks, if any will attend; and that they may have an opportunity so to do, proper notice, if practicable, of the time and place of such intended punishment, shall be sent to some one of the tribes.

ART. 10. It is understood that the punishment of the innocent, under the idea of retaliation, is unjust, and shall never be practised on either side.

ART. 11. The kings, head-men, and warriors, of the Creek nation, will restore to their liberty all prisoners, citizens of the United States, now in that nation; and they will also restore all negroes, and all other property taken from citizens of the United States, during the late hostilities, to such person or persons as shall be appointed by the Governor of the State of Georgia to receive them.

ART. 12. The Creeks shall give notice to the citizens of the United States, of any designs which they may know, or suspect to be formed, in any neighboring tribe, or by any person whosoever, against the peace, free trade, and interest, of the United States.

ART. 13. All animosities for past grievances shall henceforth cease; and the contracting parties will carry the foregoing treaty into full execution, with all good faith and sincerity."

After some conversation with Mr. McGillivray, and the other chiefs, upon the business of the day, the commissioners returned to their quarters, and received the next morning the following note, which was immediately answered:

"GENTLEMEN:

The chiefs were in council until very late last night. The result appears to be, that they are not entirely satisfied with all parts of your talk; they object principally to the boundary marked out in the talk; however, it was my decision to let the matter stand as it was for the present—the hunting season being at hand. The chiefs should take care to prevent every act of hostility or depredation on the part of the warriors during the winter, and until we heard farther from you on the part of the United States. They resolve to break up to depart; it would be proper to give some presents, that they may not complain of losing their time, &c. &c.

I have the honor to be, your obedient humble servant,

ALEX. MCGILLIVRAY.

*Hon. the Commissioners of the United States of America."*

"ROCK LANDING, 25th September, 1789.

"SIR:

We have received your note of this morning, informing us that the chiefs were in council until very late last night; that it appeared they were not entirely satisfied with some parts of our talk; that they principally objected to the boundary line marked out in it; that, however, it was your decision to let the matter stand as it was for the present, establishing, in the mean time, a certain kind of a truce, until you should hear farther from us on the part of the United States. As the chiefs object to some part of our propositions, we have to ask, that they will give us in writing the only terms upon which they will enter into a treaty with us. We hope and trust that they will not separate without affording us this satisfaction, since we are as well prepared for concluding a treaty now, as we shall be at any other time. It is by no means probable, that the United States will send another commission to them. We are not authorized to make any presents whatever, unless a treaty of peace shall be concluded.

We have the honor to be, your most obedient humble servants,

B. LINCOLN,  
C. GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

*The Hon. A. MCGILLIVRAY, Chief of the Creek Nation."*

During this stage of the business, Mr. McGillivray solemnly promised that he would pass the Oconee, and have a full and free conference with the commissioners upon the subject of the negotiations; and not more than an hour before his abrupt departure, he repeated the promise to one of them, that he would state his objections to the draught of the treaty, either in conversation or writing, the same afternoon. Very soon after this, he sent a verbal message, that he was constrained to fall back four or five miles, for the purpose of obtaining better forage for his horses; and that he hoped that the commissioners would not misconstrue his intentions. Yet, to their astonishment, they afterwards found that he had retreated to a greater distance, under the false pretext mentioned in his subsequent letter from Oakmulgee. On the 26th, the following letter was written to Mr. McGillivray. The honorable Mr. Few, appointed by the Executive of Georgia to communicate with the commissioners, General Pickens, and Colonel Saunders, of Georgia, going at the same time to Mr. McGillivray's encampment, to convince him of his error, and to persuade him to return; the Hallowing king going also, on the part of the Indians.

"ROCK LANDING, 26th September, 1789.

"SIR:

We had, on the 24th, the pleasure of presenting to you the sketch of a treaty, which appeared to us such an one as you could, in justice to yourselves, all circumstances considered, have subscribed to. In your observations thereon, you say, that there are some parts to which you object—principally to the boundary marked out in the talk. In answer to these observations, we informed you that it was our wish you would give us, in writing, the terms only upon which you would enter into a treaty with us. And we requested, at the same time, that you would not separate without affording us the satisfaction of receiving your final terms. We waited with anxious expectation, during the afternoon of yesterday, hoping we should be favored with them; but, as they have not come to hand, and we are informed that you have removed your camp to the distance of fifteen miles, without any intention of returning, not remarking on that conduct of yours, which has too much the appearance of a studied neglect of the commissioners, we go on to observe, that, had you given us your objections to the boundaries, that would have brought into discussion the validity of former treaties; had it appeared to us, upon a full investigation of this interesting matter, that all had not been right, and that full and perfect justice had not been done to the Indians, we should have been disposed to have adopted such measures as would have removed all reasonable grounds of complaint. If

you should depart without this inquiry and full discussion of the whole business, it cannot be considered in any other point of light, than a refusal to establish any terms of peace whatever.<sup>4</sup>

We have the honor to be, &c.

B. LINCOLN,  
C. GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

The Hon. ALEX. MCGILLIVRAY,  
*Chief of the Creek nation.*"

In the mean time, all the other kings and head-men, attending at the quarters of the commissioners, addressed them through the White Bird king, in the following talk:

"You are the great men whom we look upon as our brothers, and here are the great men of my nation, who are come to speak to you. We have been here a long time, and we met with you over the river in friendship; but all our people have got tired; our horses are strayed, and a good many of our people are gone; yet I have persuaded several to stay, to have, once more, a talk with you.

All the men here, at present, are come to take a peaceable leave of you. As our hunting time is coming on very soon, we are come over to hear what you have to say to us. Some of our people are gone up the river to hunt, in their way home. I have given orders for them to behave themselves well. If they go on this side the river, not to take off any of the white people's horses. I hope the whites will also behave themselves well, and not take our horses. If our people do not observe these orders, they shall be seized and sent down to the whites.

Although nothing should be done at this time about the treaty; I hope that it may be done hereafter, and that, in the mean time, peace and quietness will be kept on both sides.

When we get home, all our nation will hear the talks; and they will be peaceable and quiet, for that is the wish of them all.

I have little more to say at present, but that we are not going off affronted, but in peace and friendship.

It was the intention of our people to do something for our wives and children, and I think it was also the intention of the white people. I have nothing more to say, but that, when we part, I hope to shake hands in peace; and all our young people are come, that they may shake hands with you also."

Then the Cussetah king arose, and lighting a pipe, presented it to the commissioners, and said, "I look upon you as fathers and elder brothers, and wish to smoke a pipe with you."

To which the commissioners answered:

"FRIENDS AND BROTHERS: In answer to your friendly talk, we would say, that, having come from a long distance, we expected to smoke the pipe of peace and friendship with you, and to bury the hatchet of war forever.

We hear that your great chief and beloved man, Mr. McGillivray, is gone from his former camp, for which we are very sorry.

The other day we made some propositions for a long peace and friendship. If they were not agreeable to you, why did you not tell us? and then something else might have been proposed.

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS: We are sent to make a peace, which shall be good for all parties. Persuade your great chief and beloved man, Mr. McGillivray, to come back and hear us again, that all things may be explained. We thank you for your good talk, and we hope you will not return to your nation until we have taken each other by the hand, and concluded a lasting peace with all our people, in friendship and good faith. We have no more to say to you at present."

On the 27th, we received the following answer from Mr. McGillivray, and on the next day we wrote him our last letter:

"CAMP, OAKMULGEE RIVER, 27th September, 1789.

"GENTLEMEN:

I am favored with your letter of yesterday, by Weatherford. I beg to assure you, that my retreat from my former camp, on the Oconee, was entirely owing to the want of food for our horses, and at the earnest entreaty of our chiefs. Colonel Humphreys and myself, at different interviews, entered minutely and deeply into the subject of contest between our nation and the State of Georgia. I observed to him, that we expected ample and full justice should be given us, in restoring to us the encroachments we complained of, in which the Oconee lands are included; but finding that there was no such intention, and that a restitution of territory hunting grounds was not to be the basis of a treaty of peace between us, I resolved to return to the nation, referring the matter, in full peace, till next spring. Many of the principals having gone hunting, nothing farther can now be done. I am very unwell, and cannot return. We sincerely desire a peace, but we cannot sacrifice much to obtain it. As for a statement of our disputes, the honorable Congress has long ago been in possession of, and has declared that they would decide on them in the principles of justice and humanity. 'Tis that we expect.

I have the honor to be, &c.

ALEX. MCGILLIVRAY.

*The Hon. the Commissioners of the United States of America, Rock Landing."*

"ROCK LANDING, 28th September, 1789.

"Sir:

We are extremely sorry that you would neither give us your objections to our propositions for forming a treaty, nor propose such terms as would be acceptable to the Creek nation, if acceded to by us. Colonel Humphreys asserts, that he neither told, nor intimated to you, that we had offered any articles in our project of a treaty, as an ultimatum: all our proceedings evince the same thing. You could not avoid having understood, from our letter of the 25th, (which you received previous to your departure from the Oconee, and which you have not yet answered) that we were desirous of receiving the terms upon which you and the chiefs of the Creek nation would enter into a treaty with us; you will also be pleased to recollect, that we expressed, at the same time, an earnest hope and expectation, that they would not separate without giving us this satisfaction.

These overtures on our part clearly indicated that we were disposed to make a peace upon any conditions not incompatible with the dignity and justice of the United States. Our last letter to you, of the 26th, explained our ideas and wishes, if possible, still more unequivocally, and informed you that, if you should depart without our having an opportunity of inquiring into the validity of former treaties, and fully discussing the whole business, it could not be considered in any other point of light than a refusal to establish peace upon any terms whatever.

Your not having done this, leaves it only in our power to return and report a state of facts to the Supreme Executive of the United States. To obtain still further information, we shall remain till Monday of next week, at Augusta, to which place we invite you to repair, either in person, or by some agent or agents of the Creek nation, in order to be present at the time when we shall attempt to procure farther documents, for establishing facts, as well as to give, on your part, all such intelligence, relative to past transactions, as shall be deemed expedient. We pledge our public faith and sacred honor for the safe conduct of yourself, or such agent or agents as may be employed by your nation, to and from the proposed place of conference. Should you conclude to come yourself, or send an agent or agents to the conference at Augusta, the person or persons under that description will be pleased to apply for a safeguard to the commanding officer at the Rock Landing, who has our instructions on the subject. In the mean time,

we have to inform the Creeks, that the people settled on Cumberland river have just cause of complaint against them, because some of them have, during the present year, murdered several families within that district; and as the Creeks can have no cause of complaint against that settlement, we insist that effectual measures should be taken, on your part, to prevent all acts of hostility and plunder in that quarter.

With due consideration, we have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servants,

B. LINCOLN,  
C. GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

The Honorable ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRAY, *Chief of the Creek nation.*"

On the 28th, we gave a short account of our proceedings to the Secretary of War.

"ROCK LANDING, 28th September, 1789.

"SIR:

We have the mortification to inform you that the parties have separated without forming a treaty. The terms which were offered by us at the commencement of the negotiation, were not agreeable to Mr. McGillivray, but neither would he come forward with written objections, or propose any conditions of his own. His verbal communications were inadmissible, upon the spirit or words, of our instructions.

We shall have the honor of stating this business very fully at a future day, and are, with the greatest respect and esteem, your most obedient humble servants,

B. LINCOLN,  
C. GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

*The Honorable the Secretary of War, New York.*"

Having made all the necessary arrangements concerning the goods and stores belonging to the public, we departed from the Rock Landing, and arrived at Augusta on the 2d of October! The same evening, and early the next day, we wrote the following letter to the Governor of the State of Georgia:

"AUGUSTA, 2d October, 1789.

"SIR:

We make use of the first moment after our arrival to acquaint your honor that we have not been able to conclude a treaty of peace between the United States and the Creek nation. However, positive and repeated assurances were given to us by Mr. McGillivray, and all the chiefs of the Creeks present, that the tranquillity which now prevails, shall be inviolably preserved on the part of their people. Being much fatigued with our journey, we cannot have the honor of waiting upon you until to-morrow morning, when we shall do ourselves the pleasure of stating such further particulars as may be interesting to the State over which you preside.

We have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient humble servants,

B. LINCOLN,  
C. GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

*His Honor the Governor of Georgia.*"

"AUGUSTA, 3d October, 1789.

"SIR:

As a variety of reports have been circulated throughout the United States, relative to the circumstances under which the treaties of Augusta, in 1783, at Galphinton, in 1785, and at Shoulderbone, in 1786, were formed; and as it is highly important that facts should be ascertained, we take the liberty of requesting your honor that you will be pleased to assist us in obtaining the information necessary for that purpose.

The principal points to which our attention has been attracted, are: whether all lands belonging to the Upper and Lower Creeks are the common property of the whole nation: or, whether the lands stated to have been ceded to Georgia by the three treaties, or either of them, were acknowledged by the Upper Creeks to be the sole property of the Lower Creeks?

Whether the acknowledged proprietors of the lands stated to have been ceded to Georgia were present or fully represented at the said treaties?

Whether the Creeks present at the said treaties did act with a full understanding of the cessions they are stated to have made?

And whether the said treaties and cessions were freely made on the part of the Creeks, uninfluenced by any threats or implication of force?

It is also desirable that any other interesting circumstances connected with the object of these inquiries should be made known to us: for example, whether the Indians did, for any considerable length of time, acquiesce quietly in the location and settlement of the lands in question?

What value in goods has been given at the several treaties, as presents or compensations for the cessions? And, in effect, whatever other matters may serve to place the conduct of the State of Georgia, on this subject, in its true point of light.

After being possessed of the written and official documents, we wish to receive oral information from private characters who were present at the several transactions before alluded to.

We have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your most humble servants,

B. LINCOLN,  
C. GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

*His Honor the Governor of Georgia.*"

To the preceding letters the Governor was pleased to send the following answer; also, a return of depredations committed by the Indians, and other documents:

"AUGUSTA, October 4th, 1789.

"SIRS:

The communications which you were pleased to make to me first after your return from the Rock Landing, on the 2d instant, shall be laid before Council, and made the foundation of a proclamation, the object of which shall be to meet and reciprocate the assurances of the chiefs of the Creek Indians, for preserving of peace.

With respect to the further particulars stated in your favor of the 3d, I am sorry that so many persons who were privy to the transactions to which they allude, are, at this time, engaged in their attendance on the general election, whose testimony, were they present, would point to the truth of facts, through all that variety of report which originated equally from private speculation and personal disappointment. I have, however, directed such documents as are immediately within my power, to be made out for your present information.

From all the evidences which have or shall be collected, it will be found, that the lands between the mountains and the old Ogeechee line, north of the Oconee, were ever equally claimed by the Cherokees and the Creeks; and that, by a convention had before the Revolution, the lands comprehended within the limits afterwards called the ceded lands, and now Wilkes county, were ceded at the same time, by the heads of the two nations.

That, during the progress of the late war, the State had been, alternately, attacked by either, and that, at the close of it, they were respectively called upon to make some satisfaction. Accordingly, in the spring of 1783, the Chero-



kees, attended by a few Creeks, came down to Augusta, talked the matter over, avowed their claims to the lands in question; agreed to and signed a treaty; and, in the autumn of the same year, the Creeks, chiefly of the Lower towns, also came down; talked their matter over; avowed their claim; and agreed to and signed a treaty on their part, whereby the state obtained the relinquishment of the right, or claim of right, of both nations, to the lands therein described and bounded. These treaties were laid before the Legislature, with all that order of business and deliberation required by public and fair proceedings, and the lands were divided into counties. The offices were opened, and the lands surveyed, granted, felled, settled, and cultivated, in perfect peace.

The writer was present at both these conventions. The first he wrote from principles previously agreed upon, and which were made the foundation of the propositions to the Creeks in the fall.

At neither were there any men in arms, or the smallest coercion used; the conduct of the Indians was voluntary, and while, on their part, they were rendering satisfaction, they also received valuable considerations in presents.

When the treaties were over, it is within his most lively recollection that the commissioners, the chiefs, the citizens, and the Indians, ate, drank, and reciprocated all the usual marks of friendship, satisfaction, and peace; nor was it until a considerable time afterwards, that any umbrage was taken by the Upper Creeks, when a new motive and principle of direction appeared to have sprung up in the nation, which pretended, for the first time, an equal claim to the hunting grounds on the Oconee.

At the treaty of Galphinton, in the year 1785, it is said, some new opinions were disseminated; be that as it may, the treaty, and the testimony respecting the conduct of it, shew plainly, the good intentions of the State upon the occasion. The writer can say but little thereupon, as his engagements were then in a different line, which left no surplus attention to the other departments. In the year 1786, he was of the Legislature, when the arrangements took place for the convention at Shoulderbone. To doubt the validity of treaties, had become familiar to the Indians, as well as to think triflingly of the power of the State. To settle a substantial peace, and to remove these impressions, formed the objects of Government. The commissioners employed were respectable men, and the officers attending were of service and distinction. A sacrifice of their fame was not to be expected, and it evidently appears, that no unworthy use was made of the force which was sent upon the ground.

In the year 1787, their attacks were renewed, and repeated on almost all our frontiers. These we resisted, and called upon the Union for support.

A superintendent and commissioners were appointed, and all their endeavors have not been effectual to remove the cause of the untowardness of that nation, and our citizens have continued to be killed and plundered in the most cruel and distressing manner, until the late efforts for peace; even the new commission, which the States themselves so highly respected, have been treated with an indifference which ought not to have been expected.

I have the honor to be, sirs, with much estimation, your most obedient servant,

GEORGE WALTON.

To the Hon. B. LINCOLN, C. GRIFFIN, D. HUMPHREYS, Esqrs. Commissioners, &c."

"Return of depredations committed by the Creek Indians since the commencement of hostilities in the State of Georgia.

Whites killed,	- - - - -	72
Do. wounded,	- - - - -	29
Do. taken prisoners,	- - - - -	30
Blacks killed,	- - - - -	10
Do. taken prisoners,	- - - - -	110
Horses taken off, (their value £3,395 10s.)	- - - - -	184
Horses taken off, not valued,	- - - - -	459
Horned cattle taken off,	- - - - -	984
Hogs destroyed,	- - - - -	387
Houses burnt,	- - - - -	89
Sundry household furniture, farming utensils, wearing apparel, &c. destroyed.	- - - - -	

"OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF COUNCIL, 5th October, 1789.

"I do hereby certify, that the above estimate of losses sustained by the Indians, since the commencement of hostilities, is taken from the returns made on oath, and filed in this office.

J. MERIWETHER, Secretary E. C."

From Augusta, we sent a second message by General Pickens, to the Cherokees, accompanied by a duplicate of our first; we also forwarded many printed copies of the address to the inhabitants bordering on the towns and settlements of the Cherokee nation, by the same conveyance.

"HEAD-MEN AND WARRIORS OF ALL THE CHEROKEES: We sent to you a friendly talk from Savannah, about one moon past. But lest that should not have reached you all, we now repeat it. We farther inform you, that, although a formal treaty of peace has not been concluded with the Creek nation, yet we have received positive and repeated assurances from them, that the same tranquillity which now prevails, shall be faithfully preserved on their part.

BROTHERS: Had not the hunting season commenced, so as to prevent us from finding you at home, we should have been happy in seeing you personally, before we returned to the far distant *ue town* of Congress. As that will now be impossible, we conclude by cautioning you to beware of listening to bad men, in such manner as to interrupt the truce concluded between you and the commissioner of North Carolina.

Now, BROTHERS, in assuring you that the General Government of the United States will always do you strict justice, we bid you farewell.

Done at Augusta, this 5th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1789, and in the 14th year of the independence of the United States of America.

B. LINCOLN,  
C. GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

Attest, D. S. FRANKS, Secretary."

On the 6th of October we left Augusta, and arrived at Richmond on the 29th, where we had the satisfaction to meet with Piomingo, the second great chief of the Chickasaws, attended by other Indians. With him we had frequent talks, at which he gave us the strongest assurances of the good disposition of that nation towards the United States, and also of the rooted aversion of the Chickasaws to the whole Creek nation. By this chief, we sent a duplicate of our messages to the Chickasaws and to the Choctaws. On the 10th of November, we returned to New York. Thus stating the facts in a journal of their transactions.

The commissioners are decidedly of opinion, that the failure of a treaty at this time with the Creek nation, can be attributed only to their principal chief, Mr. Alexander McGillivray—

1st. From the repeated declarations and apparent good disposition of all the kings, head-men, and warriors, to establish a permanent peace with the United States.

2d. From the proposed boundary being offered to the great council of the nation, only as the basis of amicable negotiation.

3d. From the deception and precipitate retreat of Mr. McGillivray, without stating his objections to the draught of a treaty, either verbally or in writing.

4th. From many inquiries concerning this man, and from Mr. McGillivray's own declarations: that, without obtaining a full equivalent for the sacrifice, he would not renounce the close connexion which he had formed with the Spanish Government in the hour of distress—a connexion honorable and lucrative to himself, and advantageous to the Creek nation.

5th. From his frequent intimations that no treaty could be formed with the commissioners, unless a free and exclusive port should be granted to him upon the Altamaha, or the river St. Mary; and

6th. From the most positive refusal to acknowledge the Creek nation to be within the limits, or under the protection of the United States; although in express contradiction to a former letter, written by him, on the 5th of September, 1785, to General Pickens.

The commissioners beg leave further to report, that, after the most accurate investigation in their power to make, after consulting the best documents, and having recourse to creditable depositions, they are unable to discover but that the treaty of Augusta, in the year 1783, the treaty of Galphinton, in the year 1785, and the treaty of Shouderbone, in the year 1786, were all of them conducted with as full and authorized representation, with as much substantial form, and apparent good faith and understanding of the business, as Indian treaties have usually been conducted, or perhaps can be, where one of the contracting parties is destitute of the benefits of enlightened society. That the lands in question did of right belong to the Lower Creeks, as their hunting grounds; have been ceded by them to the State of Georgia, for a valuable consideration; and were possessed and cultivated for some years, without any claim or molestation by any part of the Creek nation.

As Mr. M'Gillivray, and all the other chiefs, head-men, and warriors, have given strong assurances in their talks, and by writing, that no further hostilities or depredations shall be committed on the part of their nation; and as the Governor of Georgia, by issuing proclamations, and by other effectual measures, will prevent the commission of hostilities and depredations upon the Creek nation, on the part of Georgia, the commissioners, in the best of their judgment, report, that all animosities with the Creek nation should henceforth cease.

That some person should be despatched to the said nation, with the ultimate draught of a treaty, to establish perpetual peace and amity. That, when such a draught of a treaty shall be properly executed by the leading men of the nation, all the presents intended for the Indians, and now in the State of Georgia, should be distributed among them. That, if the Indians shall refuse to execute such draught of a treaty, the commissioners humbly submit—

That the arms of the Union should be called forth for the protection of the people of Georgia, in the peaceable and just possession of their lands; and in case the Creeks shall commit further hostilities and depredations upon the citizens of the United States, that the Creek nation ought to be deemed the enemies of the United States and punished accordingly.

B. LINCOLN,  
CYRUS GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

*The Commissioners to the Secretary of War.*

NEW YORK, November 20, 1789.

SIR:

We made our communications to the Creek nation, and they have refused to conclude a treaty of peace with the United States; and, as in this case, we are directed by our instructions to report such plans, both for defensive and offensive measures, as may be thought best to protect the citizens of the United States on the frontiers, in obedience to those instructions we offer the following particulars to your consideration:

For defensive measures, a line of six posts ought to be established on the frontiers of Georgia, and two at least to guard the settlements upon the Cumberland river. The posts to consist of one complete company in each, to be covered by works of sufficient strength to resist any sudden impressions of the Indians, and to serve as places of deposit, if magazines should hereafter be formed. To them, also, the exposed inhabitants of those countries might retire upon the alarm of danger; by this experiment, we should be satisfied how far a line of posts would be adequate to give complete protection to the citizens of the United States living on the frontiers.

The stations in Georgia should be as follow: One upon the navigable waters of St. Mary; one at Beard's Bluff, upon the Altamaha; one at the junction of the Oconee and Oakmulgee; one at the Rock Landing; one at the Middle Trading Path; and one at the Upper Trading Path; the two latter at such positions as will be found the most convenient to protect the frontiers.

If the offensive plan shall become indispensable, in that case we beg leave to recommend the most vigorous and effectual operations, by carrying the arms of the Union into the very heart of the Creek country. By this proceeding, the Creek nation will be taught to feel the weight and superiority of the United States, and the measure would be consistent with the honor and dignity of the republic.

The forces necessary upon this occasion should consist of five regiments of infantry, seven hundred men to each regiment; one regiment of cavalry of five hundred men, and a corps of artillery of two hundred and forty men; the whole amounting to 4,250. That two regiments of infantry be enlisted from the States of Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina, if that State should accede to the new constitution—the cavalry from the States of Virginia and Maryland, and the remainder of the forces from the other States indiscriminately. We are induced to recommend only two regiments to be raised from the more southern States, because such a measure would probably comprehend all that class of men, whose inclinations might lead them into the field against such an enemy; and because, if the troops should be drawn altogether, or principally from these States, and a defeat should unfortunately take place, it might involve that country for a time in disagreeable consequences; besides, great injury might be experienced by calling forth, in the first instance, a large proportion of that body of men, which, from their local situation, ought to remain as a reserve.

From the best intelligence, and from observation, we think that Augusta, in the State of Georgia, ought to be the place of rendezvous. To that town the military and quartermaster's stores might be transported from Savannah, by water, in 15 days. A full supply of wagons can be obtained at no great distance from thence, and upon the road, towards the Ogechee, which might bring with them a load of corn, or flour, each. The route from Augusta to the Creek nation is a good one, little more than 200 miles to their first towns, and about 300 miles to their western settlements.

Two other routes to the Creek nation present themselves. From Beard's Bluff, on the Altamaha, to Flint river, the distance about 150 miles, and 70 miles from the Flint river to the Cowetas.

From Bryant's trading-house, on St. Mary's river, to the Flint river, and from thence to the Cowetas, is nearly the like distance as from Beard's Bluff. The navigation is good from the ocean to Beard's Bluff, and to Bryant's trading-house—from either of them a tolerable good wagon road may be had into the Creek nation; yet both of these routes, particularly while the boats shall be going up the river St. Mary's, on the Altamaha, would be attended with considerable embarrassment and danger to the troops from the enemy; and the difficulties, and long distance for the wagons, to reach Beard's Bluff, or Bryant's trading-house, would be almost insurmountable.

In addition to the foregoing reports, we were commanded, if possible, to ascertain the following points: Those points have been ascertained, from the best information in our ability to procure.

1. The number of warriors, in the whole Creek nation, does not exceed 4,500.
2. They are armed pretty generally with good rifles; they receive their ammunition in presents, and by purchase from the Spaniards.
3. The Lower Creeks and Seminoles are about equal to the Upper Creeks, in number; the Lower Creeks rather more numerous than the Seminoles.

4. The number of old men, women, and children, in the proportion as four to one of the warriors.
5. The number of towns in each district, could not be ascertained, probably about eighty in the whole, of which about forty-five are in the upper country. The towns are very different in magnitude; and a few, of what are called the mother towns, have the principal direction in national affairs: that is to say, the war towns in war, and the white towns in peace.
6. Mr. McGillivray, of the half breed, is the most influential chief throughout the nation. Among the Upper Creeks, the White Lieutenant has the ascendancy, and is considered, in some respects, as the rival of Mr. McGillivray; the Mad Dog is next in authority. Among the Lower Creeks, the Hallowing king, and the Cussetah king—the former commanding the war towns, the latter commanding the white towns—towns unstained with blood, and which are towns of refuge; add to these the Talassee king, the White-bird king, the Fat king, the king of the Seminoles, and the king of the Euchees.
7. Their kinds of government approach the qualified monarchy. In the towns, they have head-men, who are much respected, and have authority, both in peace and war, in their respective towns; in the districts, they have kings or chiefs, and warriors; the former have their influence in time of peace, and the latter in time of war. Upon all important occasions they meet in great council, and deliberate with freedom, particularly once a year, at the ceremony of the *first fruits*, called the *bushing*, when they punish great delinquents, regulate internal policy, and form plans for hunting or war the ensuing season.
8. They are, in a great measure, hunters; however, they cultivate some Indian corn, and potatoes, possess cattle and horses, a few slaves, and, lately, in some instances, have introduced the plough.
9. Of late years, they are not rigidly confined to particular districts for hunting, but are permitted to go, in small parties, throughout the whole nation; yet, pretty generally, they find it convenient to keep within their respective divisions.
10. The kinds of furs are the beaver, otter, mink, fox, squirrel, and some others, together with deer, and other skins, the whole amounting, annually, to somewhat more than £10,000 sterling. They are principally sold to the Indian traders in the nation, and exported through the Spanish settlements.
11. The amount of the European goods, annually consumed, is about £12,000 sterling, furnished, principally, by the commercial house of which Mr. McGillivray is a partner.
12. Ginseng abounds in that country, but is not yet gathered in any considerable quantities.
13. The country of the Lower Creeks and Seminoles is level, sandy, and piney. The country of the Upper Creeks much broken, with a good soil and growth; farther to the west, and even to the Mississippi, the lands are rich, and rather low and marshy, abounding with good streams of water, and excellent timber, such as the oak, hickory, bucks-eye, elm, and large gum, &c. &c.
14. The waters of the Mobile are navigable for large boats: the one branch 270 miles from the ocean, to the Hickory settlement, where Mr. McGillivray resides, and the western branch is about 320 miles into the Choctaw and Chickasaw country, and within 50 miles of the great bend of the Tennessee. The waters of the Apalachicola, particularly the Flint river and Catahekee, and the waters of the Altamaha, particularly the rivers Oconee and Oakmulgee, are navigable for boats some hundred miles. From the northern navigable streams of these rivers to the southern navigable waters of the Tennessee, there are no established portages, but the country is level; good roads might easily be made, and the greatest distances not more than one hundred miles.
15. We could not ascertain with precision the nature of the connexion which the Creeks have formed with the Spaniards, but, from intelligence somewhat to be relied on, we believe that connexion to consist principally in paying less duties upon the goods imported than the Spaniards themselves pay, by a guarantee of all the Creek possessions, and by military distinctions and presents to Mr. McGillivray and other considerable chiefs. We could procure no copy of any treaty subsisting between them. The predominating prejudices of the Creeks are certainly adverse to the Spaniards, particularly Mr. McGillivray has often mentioned and declared, that a connexion with the United States would be more natural to the Creek nation, if they could obtain such conditions of interest and friendship as would justify and induce them to *break* with the Spanish Government.
16. We had but little opportunity to ascertain similar facts with respect to the other Indians, from our small lights upon this article of instruction. We think the Cherokee nation will be found to contain about 600 gun-men; the Chickasaws about 700, and the Choctaws about 3,000. Their arms are bad, scarcely any ammunition, and themselves naked. The Cherokees and Chickasaws cultivate the ground more than the other Indians, and possess cattle, proportionally, in greater numbers. The Choctaws hunt only, are brave and hardy people in the woods, but indolent to a great degree at home.

In order to preserve the attachment of the several Indian nations bordering upon the United States, it appears to us expedient that some adequate means of supplying them with goods and ammunition, at moderate prices, should immediately be adopted. With our best endeavors to obtain information concerning the internal state of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, we have not been able to succeed fully, so as to justify us in giving any positive opinion upon the best mode of effecting this desirable object; however, in conformity with our instructions, we respectfully suggest, that some uniform plan of granting permits to those who may be employed in the Indian commerce should be established by the supreme authority of the United States. This would be a part of the duty imposed upon the superintendent, agent, or commissary, of Indian affairs, in the Southern department. The fees of office for granting such permits ought to be moderate, and might be applied towards the payment of salary. An expedient of this sort is highly requisite to prevent persons of bad character from defrauding the Indians, from making still more unfavorable impressions upon the inimical tribes, and from alienating the affections of the friendly tribes from the United States. This superintendent, agent, or commissary, by going through the Indian towns of all the different nations, would be able to collect such information as might be extremely useful in forming definite plans of trade with those people; and, in case of war with the Creek nation, he might be of solid advantage in bring the Choctaws and Chickasaws to co-operate with the arms of the United States.

We have rendered to the treasury of the United States a full account of all our disbursements. The books No. 1. and 2, we now deposit in your office. They contain invoices of all the articles delivered to us for the proposed treaty, and will clearly account for the whole of them by ascertaining those articles which were necessarily expended, and those which now remain in the State of Georgia.

While we sincerely regret that our negotiations with the Creek nation have not terminated in a treaty of peace, we hope it will be found that the commissioners have been as diligent and attentive to the subjects of their mission, and as economical in the expenditures of the public money, as the nature of things would permit.

We have the honor to be, with sentiments of respect, sir, your most humble servants,

B. LINCOLN,  
CYRUS GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

*The Hon. The Secretary of War.*

N. B. The commissioners wrote the following letter to Messrs. Pickens and Osborne, during their stay at Rock-landing, and received their answer, with sundry papers enclosed, which they deposit in the War Office.

ROCK LANDING, September 26, 1789.

"GENTLEMEN: We have received the following articles of instruction from the President of the United States, which we do ourselves the honor to communicate to you, and wish to be favored with an answer.

We are, with great respect, your most obedient servants,

B. LINCOLN,  
C. GRIFFIN,  
D. HUMPHREYS.

Messrs. PICKENS and OSBORNE."

## [EXTRACT.]

"You will learn, by the papers delivered to you, that certain goods were left by the commissioners, after the treaties of Hopewell, in the commencement of the year 1786. It is probable that these goods may have been delivered to Messrs. Pickens and Osborne. You will therefore apply to the said gentlemen for regular invoices of all the goods in their possession for the treaty, distinguishing the means by which they became possessed thereof.

"You will also request of them an account of the moneys or goods they may have received of the States of South Carolina and Georgia, in consequence of the resolves of Congress, of the 26th of October, 1787, and August 14, 1788."

"ROCK LANDING, *September 26, 1789.*

"GENTLEMEN: In answer to your letter of this date, we do ourselves the honor to enclose a copy of our letter to Mr. Gervis, of Charleston, dated the 20th April last, with a copy of his answer, dated the 6th of June last. We do not know of any goods being left at Hopewell. The accounts of moneys received from the States of South Carolina and Georgia, together with an account of the appropriation and expenditures of the same, we have also the honor to enclose; the vouchers of all which are ready for your inspection.

"We have the honor to be, gentlemen, your most obedient servants,

ANDREW PICKENS,  
H. OSBORNE.

"*The Hon. The Commissioners for treating with the Indians, south of the Ohio.*"

1st CONGRESS.]

No. 10.

[2d SESSION.

## THE CREEKS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, AUGUST 4, 1790.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

In consequence of the general principles agreed to by the Senate in August, 1789, the adjustment of the terms of a treaty is far advanced, between the United States and the chiefs of the Creek Indians, now in this city, in behalf of themselves and the whole Creek nation.

In preparing the articles of this treaty, the present arrangements of the trade with the Creeks have caused much embarrassment. It seems to be well ascertained, that the said trade is almost exclusively in the hands of a company of British merchants, who, by agreement, make their importations of goods from England, into the Spanish ports.

As the trade of the Indians is a main mean of their political management, it is therefore obvious, that the United States cannot possess any security for the performance of treaties with the Creeks, while their trade is liable to be interrupted or withheld, at the caprice of two foreign Powers.

Hence it becomes an object of real importance, to form new channels for the commerce of the Creeks through the United States. But this operation will require time, as the present arrangements cannot be suddenly broken, without the greatest violation of faith and morals.

It therefore appears to be important, to form a secret article of a treaty, similar to the one which accompanies this message.

If the Senate should require any further explanation, the Secretary of War will attend them for that purpose.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, *August 4, 1790.*

The President of the United States submitted the following question, for the consideration and advice of the Senate:

If it should be found essential to a treaty, for the firm establishment of peace with the Creek nation of Indians, that an article to the following effect should be inserted therein, will such an article be proper? viz.

## SECRET ARTICLE.

The commerce necessary for the Creek nation shall be carried on through the ports, and by the citizens of the United States, if substantial and effectual arrangements shall be made for that purpose, by the United States, on or before the first day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two. In the mean time, the said commerce may be carried on through its present channels, and according to its present regulations.

And whereas the trade of the said Creek nation is now carried on wholly, or principally, through the territories of Spain, and obstructions thereto may happen by war, or prohibitions of the Spanish government,

It is therefore agreed between the said parties, that in the event of any such obstructions happening, it shall be lawful for such persons as the President of the United States shall designate, to introduce into, and transport through, the territories of the United States, to the country of the said Creek nation, any quantity of goods, wares, and merchandise, not exceeding in value in any one year, sixty thousand dollars, and that free from any duties or impositions whatsoever; but subject to such regulations, for guarding against abuse, as the United States shall judge necessary; which privilege shall continue as long as such obstruction shall continue.

[1st CONGRESS.]

No. 11.

[2d SESSION.]

## THE CREEKS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, AUGUST 6, 1790.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

Considering the circumstances which prevented the late commissioners from concluding a peace with the Creek nation of Indians, it appeared to me most prudent, that all subsequent measures for disposing them to a treaty should in the first instance be informal.

I informed you on the 4th inst. that the adjustment of the terms of a treaty with their chiefs, now here, was far advanced; such further progress has since been made, that I think measures may at present be taken for conducting and concluding that business in form. It therefore becomes necessary that a proper person be appointed and authorized to treat with their chiefs, and to conclude a treaty with them. For this purpose, I nominate to you Henry Knox.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, *August 6th, 1790.*

[1st CONGRESS.]

No. 12.

[2d SESSION.]

## THE CREEKS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, AUGUST 7, 1790.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

I lay before you a treaty between the United States and the chiefs of the Creek nation now in this city, in behalf of themselves and the whole Creek nation, subject to the ratification of the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the Senate.

While I flatter myself that this treaty will be productive of present peace and prosperity to our southern frontier, it is to be expected that it will also, in its consequences, be the means of firmly attaching the Creeks and the neighboring tribes to the interests of the United States.

At the same time it is to be hoped, that it will afford solid grounds of satisfaction to the State of Georgia, as it contains a regular, full, and definitive relinquishment, on the part of the Creek nation, of the Oconee land, in the utmost extent in which it has been claimed by that State, and thus extinguishes the principal cause of those hostilities, from which it has, more than once, experienced such severe calamities.

But, although the most valuable of the disputed land is included, yet there is a certain claim of Georgia, arising out of the treaty made by that State at Galphinton, in November, 1785, of land to the eastward of a new temporary line, from the forks of the Oconee and Oakmulgee, in a southwest direction to the St. Mary's river, which tract of land the Creeks in this city absolutely refuse to yield.

This land is reported to be generally barren, sunken, and unfit for cultivation, except in some instances on the margin of the rivers, on which, by improvement, rice might be cultivated; its chief value depending on the timber fit for the building of ships, with which it is represented as abounding.

While it is thus circumstanced on the one hand, it is stated by the Creeks, on the other, to be of the highest importance to them, as constituting some of their most valuable winter hunting ground.

I have directed the commissioners, to whom the charge of adjusting this treaty has been committed, to lay before you such papers and documents, and to communicate to you such information relatively to it, as you may require.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, *August 7, 1790.*

[NOTE. The papers that may have been communicated, were returned; but are believed to be substantially the same with those of No. 9 of this series.]

*A Treaty of peace and friendship, made and concluded between the President of the United States of America, on the part and behalf of the said States, and the undersigned kings, chiefs, and warriors, of the Creek nation of Indians, on the part and behalf of the said nation.*

The parties being desirous of establishing permanent peace and friendship between the United States and the said Creek nation, and the citizens and members thereof, and to remove the causes of war by ascertaining their limits, and making other necessary, just, and friendly arrangements, the President of the United States, by Henry Knox, Secretary for the Department of War, whom he hath constituted with full powers for these purposes, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, and the Creek nation, by the undersigned kings, chiefs, and warriors, representing the said nation, have agreed to the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between all the citizens of the United States of America, and all the individuals, towns, and tribes, of the Upper, Middle, and Lower Creeks and Seminoles, composing the Creek nation of Indians.

ART. 2. The undersigned kings, chiefs, and warriors, for themselves, and all parts of the Creek nation within the limits of the United States, do acknowledge themselves, and the said parts of the Creek nation, to be under the protection of the United States of America, and of no other sovereign whatsoever; and they also stipulate, that the said Creek nation will not hold any treaty with an individual State, or with individuals of any State.

ART. 3. The Creek nation shall deliver, as soon as practicable, to the commanding officer of the troops of the United States, stationed at the Rock Landing on the Oconee river, all citizens of the United States, white inhabitants or negroes, who are now prisoners in any part of the said nation. And if any such prisoners or negroes should not be so delivered, on or before the first day of June ensuing, the Governor of Georgia may empower three persons to repair to the said nation, in order to claim and receive such prisoners and negroes.

ART. 4. The boundary between the citizens of the United States and the Creek nation, is, and shall be, from where the old line strikes the river Savannah; thence, up the said river, to a place on the most northern branch of the same, commonly called the Keowee, where a northeast line, to be drawn from the top of the Occunna mountain shall intersect; thence, along the said line, in a southwest direction to Tugelo river; thence, to the top of the Currahee mountain; thence to the head or source of the main south branch of the Oconee river, called the Appalachee;

thence, down the middle of the said main south branch and river Oconee, to its confluence with the Oakmulgee, which form the river Altamaha; and thence, down the middle of the said Altamaha, to the old line on the said river; and thence, along the said old line, to the river St. Mary's.

And in order to preclude forever all disputes relatively to the head or source of the main south branch of the river Oconee, at the place where it shall be intersected by the line aforesaid, from the Currahee mountain, the same shall be ascertained by an able surveyor, on the part of the United States, who shall be assisted by three old citizens of Georgia, who may be appointed by the Governor of the said State, and three old Creek chiefs, to be appointed by the said nation; and the said surveyor, citizens, and chiefs, shall assemble for this purpose on the first day of October, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, at the Rock Landing on the said river Oconee, and thence proceed to ascertain the said head or source of the main south branch of the said river, at the place where it shall be intersected by the line aforesaid, to be drawn from the Currahee mountain. And in order that the said boundary shall be rendered distinct and well known, it shall be marked by a line of felled trees at least twenty feet wide, and the trees chopped on each side, from the said Currahee mountain to the head or source of the said main south branch of the Oconee river; and thence, down the margin of the said main south branch and river Oconee, for the distance of twenty miles, or as much farther as may be necessary to mark distinctly the said boundary. And in order to extinguish forever all claims of the Creek nation, or any part thereof, to any of the land lying to the northward and eastward of the boundary herein described, it is hereby agreed, in addition to the considerations heretofore made for the said land, that the United States will cause certain valuable Indian goods, now in the State of Georgia, to be delivered to the said Creek nation; and the said United States will also cause the sum of one thousand and five hundred dollars to be paid annually to the said Creek nation. And the undersigned kings, chiefs, and warriors, do hereby, for themselves and the whole Creek nation, their heirs, and descendants, for the considerations above-mentioned, release, quit claim, relinquish, and cede, all the land to the northward and eastward of the boundary herein described.

ART. 5. The United States solemnly guaranty to the Creek nation, all their lands within the limits of the United States, to the westward and southward of the boundary described by the preceding article.

ART. 6. If any citizen of the United States, or other person, not being an Indian, shall attempt to settle on any of the Creeks' lands, such person shall forfeit the protection of the United States, and the Creeks may punish him or not, as they please.

ART. 7. No citizen or inhabitant of the United States shall attempt to hunt or destroy the game on the Creek lands; nor shall any such citizen or inhabitant go into the Creek country, without a passport first obtained from the Governor of some one of the United States, or the officer of the troops of the United States commanding at the nearest military post on the frontiers, or such other person as the President of the United States may, from time to time, authorize to grant the same.

ART. 8. If any Creek Indian or Indians, or person residing among them, or who shall take refuge in their nation, shall commit a robbery or murder, or other capital crime, on any of the citizens or inhabitants of the United States, the Creek nation, or town, or tribe, to which such offender or offenders may belong, shall be bound to deliver him or them up, to be punished according to the laws of the United States.

ART. 9. If any citizen or inhabitant of the United States, or of either of the territorial districts of the United States, shall go into any town, settlement, or territory, belonging to the Creek nation of Indians, and shall there commit any crime upon, or trespass against, the person or property of any peaceable and friendly Indian or Indians, which, if committed within the jurisdiction of any State, or within the jurisdiction of either of the said districts, against a citizen or white inhabitant thereof, would be punishable by the laws of such State or district, such offender or offenders shall be subject to the same punishment, and shall be proceeded against in the same manner, as if the offence had been committed within the jurisdiction of the State or district to which he or they may belong, against a citizen or white inhabitant thereof.

ART. 10. In cases of violence on the persons or property of the individuals of either party, neither retaliation nor reprisal shall be committed by the other, until satisfaction shall have been demanded of the party of which the aggressor is, and shall have been refused.

ART. 11. The Creeks shall give notice to the citizens of the United States, of any designs which they may know or suspect to be formed in any neighboring tribe, or by any person whatever, against the peace and interests of the United States.

ART. 12. That the Creek nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will, from time to time, furnish gratuitously the said nation with useful domestic animals, and implements of husbandry. And further, to assist the said nation in so desirable a pursuit, and at the same time to establish a certain mode of communication, the United States will send such, and so many persons, to reside in said nation, as they may judge proper, and not exceeding four in number, who shall qualify themselves to act as interpreters. These persons shall have lands assigned them by the Creeks for cultivation, for themselves and their successors in office; but they shall be precluded exercising any kind of traffic.

ART. 13. All animosities for past grievances shall henceforth cease; and the contracting parties will carry the foregoing treaty into full execution, with all good faith and sincerity.

ART. 14. This treaty shall take effect, and be obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall have been ratified by President of the the United States, with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.

In witness of all and every thing herein determined, between the United States of America and the whole Creek nation, the parties have hereunto set their hands and seals, in the city of New York, within the United States, this 7th day of August, 1790.

In behalf of the United States:

H. KNOX,

*Secretary of War, and sole Commissioner for treating with the Creek nation of Indians.*

ALEX. MCGILLIVRAY,

*And twenty-three chiefs and warriors, in behalf of themselves and the whole Creek nation of Indians.*

1st CONGRESS.]

No. 13.

[2d SESSION.

## THE CHEROKEES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, AUGUST 11, 1790.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

Although the treaty with the Creeks may be regarded as the main foundation of the future peace and prosperity of the southwestern frontier of the United States, yet, in order fully to effect so desirable an object, the treaties which have been entered into with the other tribes in that quarter, must be faithfully performed on our parts.

During the last year, I laid before the Senate a particular statement of the case of the Cherokees. By a reference to that paper, it will appear that the United States formed a treaty with the Cherokees in November, 1785: That the said Cherokees thereby placed themselves under the protection of the United States, and had a boundary assigned them:

That the white people settled on the frontiers had openly violated the said boundary by intruding on the Indian lands:

That the United States, in Congress assembled, did, on the first day of September, 1788, issue their proclamation, forbidding all such unwarrantable intrusions, and enjoining all those who had settled upon the hunting grounds of the Cherokees, to depart with their families and effects without loss of time, as they would answer their disobedience to the injunctions and prohibitions expressed, at their peril.

But information has been received, that, notwithstanding the said treaty and proclamation, upwards of five hundred families have settled on the Cherokee lands, exclusively of those settled between the fork of French Broad and Holston rivers, mentioned in the said treaty.

As the obstructions to a proper conduct on this matter have been removed since it was mentioned to the Senate on the 22d of August, 1789, by the accession of North Carolina to the present Union, and the cessions of the land in question, I shall conceive myself bound to exert the powers entrusted to me by the constitution, in order to carry into faithful execution the treaty of Hopewell, unless it shall be thought proper to attempt to arrange a new boundary with the Cherokees, embracing the settlements, and compensating the Cherokees for the cessions they shall make on the occasion. On this point, therefore, I state the following questions, and request the advice of the Senate thereon:

1st. Is it the judgment of the Senate that overtures shall be made to the Cherokees to arrange a new boundary, so as to embrace the settlements made by the white people since the treaty of Hopewell, in November, 1785?

2d. If so, shall compensation, to the amount of — dollars, annually, or of — dollars, in gross, be made to the Cherokees for the land they shall relinquish, holding the occupiers of the land accountable to the United States for its value?

3d. Shall the United States stipulate solemnly to guaranty the new boundary which may be arranged?

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, August 11, 1790.

The Senate thereupon adopted the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the Senate do advise and consent, that the President of the United States do, at his discretion, cause the treaty concluded at Hopewell, with the Cherokee Indians, to be carried into execution according to the terms thereof, or to enter into arrangements for such further cession of territory, from the said Cherokee Indians, as the tranquillity and interest of the United States may require: *Provided*, The sum which may be stipulated to be paid to the said Cherokee Indians, do not exceed one thousand dollars annually; and *Provided further*, That no person who shall have taken possession of any lands within the territory assigned to the said Cherokee Indians, by the said treaty of Hopewell, shall be confirmed in any such possessions, but by compliance with such terms as Congress may hereafter prescribe.

*Resolved*, In case a new, or other boundary than that stipulated by the treaty of Hopewell, shall be concluded with the Cherokee Indians, that the Senate do advise and consent solemnly to guaranty the same.

1st CONGRESS.]

No. 14.

[3d SESSION.

## NORTHWESTERN INDIANS.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS ON THE 9TH OF DECEMBER, 1790,

*And referred to by the President of the United States in his speech to Congress of December 8, of which the following is an extract:*

“It has been heretofore known to Congress, that frequent incursions have been made on our frontier settlements by certain banditti of Indians from the northwest side of the Ohio. These, with some of the tribes dwelling on, and near, the Wabash, have of late been particularly active in their depredations; and, being emboldened by the impunity of their crimes, and aided by such parts of the neighboring tribes as could be seduced to join in their hostilities, or afford them a retreat for their prisoners and plunder, they have, instead of listening to the humane invitations and overtures made on the part of the United States, renewed their violences with fresh alacrity, and greater effect. The lives of a number of valuable citizens have thus been sacrificed, and some of them under circumstances peculiarly shocking; whilst others have been carried into a deplorable captivity.

“These aggravated provocations rendered it essential to the safety of the western settlements, that the aggressors should be made sensible that the government of the Union is not less capable of punishing their crimes, than it is disposed to respect their rights and reward their attachments. As this object could not be effected by defensive measures, it became necessary to put in force the act which empowers the President to call out the militia for the protection of the frontiers; and I have, accordingly, authorized an expedition, in which the regular troops in that quarter are combined with such draughts of militia as were deemed sufficient: the event of the measure is yet unknown to me. The Secretary of War is directed to lay before you a statement of the information on which it is founded, as well as an estimate of the expense with which it will be attended.”



WAR DEPARTMENT, *December 8th, 1790.*

SIR:

In obedience to the orders of the President of the United States, I have the honor respectfully to submit to the Senate, a statement of the information on which the expedition against the Indians northwest of the Ohio has been founded, and also the instructions to the Governor of the Western territory, and the commanding officer of the troops relative to the same object; together with an estimate of the expense with which the expedition will probably be attended.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

The Honorable the PRESIDENT of the Senate of the United States.

INFORMATION RELATIVE TO DEPREDACTIONS OF THE INDIANS NORTHWEST OF THE OHIO.

*John Evans, Lieutenant of the county of Monongalia, to the Executive of Virginia, 25th April, 1789.*

On the 23d instant the Indians committed hostilities on the frontiers of this county, killed a captain William Thomas, Joseph Cornbridge and wife, and two children on Dunker's Creek, which has alarmed the people in such a degree as to occasion them to apply to me for assistance.

*William McClery to the Governor of Virginia.*

MORGANTOWN, *25th April, 1789.*

An express came here this morning with the disagreeable news of the Indians having committed hostilities on one of our frontier settlements on the 23d instant; two parties attacked, nearly about the same time, two families on Dunkard Creek, about twenty to twenty-five miles from this place, and killed one man out of one, and the man and his wife and two children, which was the whole of the other family; the alarm given to the frontier of this county generally by this murder, hath become very serious, and unless some speedy assistance is given, I am something of opinion, that the Monongahela river (which runs by this place) will be our frontier line in a short time.

*Geo. Clendinen to the Governor of Virginia.*

GREENBRIER, *15th June, 1789.*

I am also unhappy to find that the Executive have received no official information respecting the disposition of the Indians westward of the Ohio; but let their disposition be what it may, they, or some Indians to us unknown, since my last, by Mr. Renick, have killed and taken ten prisoners from the settlement on Clinch, and also several persons at the mouth of Great Sandy, and I have reason to expect their blows hourly on Kenhawa.

*Robert Johnson, Lt. of the County of Woodford, to the President of the United States.*

DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY, *22d August, 1789.*

About the 10th instant, two men were fired on by a party of Indians, but no damage sustained; only one of the horses the men rode was killed; the Indians took the saddle and bridle, and the night following, they stole eleven horses; our men pursued them, next day came up with them, and retook all the horses, together with the said saddle and bridle, and killed two (one of which was a white man.) On Sunday, the 16th, six negroes were taken by a party of Indians in ambuscade, about three quarters of a mile from my house; they carried them about one quarter of a mile, where they were surprised by the noise of some people riding near them; they tomahawked four, two of which died, two were left for dead, which are now in a hopeful way of recovery; the other two made their escape while they were murdering the rest. The day following, the party was seen twice, and the evening or night of the sixteenth they stole some horses from Captain Buford; we pursued them as quick as possible, with about forty men, to the Ohio, about twenty-five miles below the mouth of Big Miami, where twenty-six volunteers crossed the Ohio after them; we came to a large camp of them, early in the morning of the 20th, about twelve miles from the Ohio; we divided our party, and attacked them opposite, on each side; they fought us a short time in that position, until they got their women and children out of the way, and then gave back to a thick place of high weeds and bushes, where they hid very close; we immediately drove up about forty of their horses, and made our retreat across the Ohio. We lost three men and two wounded. The Indians wounded one of our men as we returned. Thus they are going on from time to time in this country.

*The Convention to the President of the United States.*

DANVILLE, *26th July, 1789.*

We can assure your Excellency that the militia of Kentucky, from their hardiness, alertness, and bravery, are able to render essential service to the inhabitants of the district, if they are employed in its defence.

And we beg leave further to observe, that, from the present station of the federal troops, it is absolutely impossible to give the commanders notice, so as to enable them, even if their force was sufficient, to render any service whatever.

*Robert Johnson, County Lieutenant, to the Governor of Virginia.*

DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY, WOODFORD COUNTY, *August 22d, 1789.*

The hostile acts of the savages are so frequent in our country that it becomes troublesome to write you on every occasion. On the 10th of this instant, a party fired on a young man in this county, near the settlement, killed the horse, and took the saddle and bridle, and stole some horses, the night following. We were in motion, early next morning, and soon found their trail, and came up with them and retook the horses, and killed two of them, one of which was a white man; the 16th following, a party took six negroes within a mile of my house, killed two, wounded two with their tomahawks, and left them for dead, and the other two made their escape while they were murdering the rest. The second night after, they stole some horses. About forty men followed them to the Ohio,

and twenty-six crossed the river and followed them over the Ohio, about twelve miles, where we came up with a party at a large camp, making salt at a salt spring; we divided the party, and attacked them on each side; they soon gave back; we took some of their horses, and returned to the Ohio, where we crossed. We lost three men killed and two wounded.

*An account of the depredations committed in the District of Kentucky, by the Indians, since the first of May, 1789.*

IN JEFFERSON COUNTY, on Floyd's fork, two men killed; near the same time and place, two persons were killed and three taken prisoners. On Brashear's creek, two killed and two taken prisoners. On the 17th July, Chinoweth's station was attacked by a number of Indians, who entered Chinoweth's house, while the family was at supper. Three of Chinoweth's family were killed and seven wounded. Three of the wounded are since dead, and several others yet dangerous. The Indians plundered the house of every thing they could carry away. There was at the same station, before this date, one man killed and one wounded. The number of horses stolen from this county exceeds twenty.

NELSON.—Two men killed and two wounded, and a number of horses stolen, to the amount of about twenty.

LINCOLN.—One man and one child killed and two women wounded; about twenty-five horses stolen.

MADISON.—On the first day of June, the Indians broke into the house of Edmond Stephenson, and wounded one person; they have stolen a number of horses from this county.

BOURBON.—Two men have been badly wounded, and about fifteen horses stolen.

MASON.—Two men killed and forty-one horses stolen.

WOODFORD.—One boy killed and several horses stolen.

*Colonel Benjamin Wilson to Governor St. Clair.*

HARRISON COUNTY, 4th October, 1789.

On the 19th of September last, a party of Indians killed and scalped four persons, and captured four; the family of a certain William Johnston, within about nine miles of Clarksburg. On the 22d, the Indians killed John Mauk's wife and two of his children, and burnt his house; the same evening, burnt Jacob Flotzer's house; the family hardly escaped. On the 23d, burnt Jethro Thompson's house; and on the 26th, burnt John Simm's house; and on the 28th, stole from Randolph county, ten or eleven horses. The number of horses taken from this county, is not yet truly ascertained: but certain, five horses taken—cattle, sheep, and hogs killed. Some part of this mischief done eleven or twelve miles in towards the interior parts of this county. Sir, be assured, the people of this part of the county are much alarmed and much confused; and in my humble opinion, if something more than treaties made with part of the Indian tribes, is not done shortly, it will be with difficulty the frontiers of this county can be kept from evacuating their settlements. This opinion I have gathered from my having taken a tour amongst the people, whilst the mischief was doing.

*Geo. Clendinen, Lieut. of the county of Kenhawa, to the President of the United States.*

RICHMOND, 27th December, 1789.

The Indians have, in the county of Kenhawa, committed many hostilities, some of which, I beg leave to enumerate. They killed a man near Point Pleasant; took a young man, and a negro fellow, prisoners; have shot at others, who made their escape; and have taken between twenty and thirty head of horses, together with many other outrages, to the manifest injury and distress of the inhabitants.

If protection is not immediately given, I am sure the greater part of our frontier will be compelled to leave their homes, and either live in forts or move into the strong settled parts of the neighboring counties, which I conceive would do great public injury, as well as distress, in a great degree the inhabitants that are thus exposed, who are situated in a part of the country not only to become respectable but very useful.

*Address of the General Assembly of Virginia to the President of the United States.*

It has been a great relief to our apprehensions for the safety of our brethren on the frontiers, to learn from the communications of the Secretary of War, that their protection against the incursions of the Indians has occupied your attention.

Knowing the power of the Federal Executive to concentrate the American force, and confiding in the wisdom of its measures, we should leave the subject unnoticed, but from a belief that time has been wanting to give the proper intelligence, and make the necessary arrangements of defence, for a country so far remote from the seat of Government.

Many members of the General Assembly now present, have been either witnesses of the recent murders and depredations committed by the savages, or have brought with them information; the truth of which cannot be questioned. It is unnecessary to enter into a detail of those hostilities. Permit us only to say, that those parts of Kentucky, and the southwestern and northern counties, lying on the Ohio and its waters, which have generally been the scene of Indian barbarity, are now pressed by danger the most imminent.

We have been induced to suppose it possible, that, for the purpose of affording effectual relief, it may be found expedient to carry war into the country of the Indian enemy. Should this be the case, we take the liberty of assuring you, that this Commonwealth will cheerfully sustain her proportion of the expenses which may be incurred in such an expedition.

*From the Representatives of the frontier counties of Virginia, to the President of the United States.*

RICHMOND, 12th December, 1789.

In addition to the address of the General Assembly on Indian Affairs, we, the representatives of the counties of Ohio, Monongalia, Harrison, and Randolph, are constrained to take the liberty of stating to you the defenceless situation of those counties, in order that you may be able to direct such measures as may be necessary for their defence, as we have every reason to expect that the Indians will break in upon our settlements as soon as the weather will permit them in the spring. First, from the northern boundary line, where it crosses the Ohio river at the mouth of the Little Beaver creek, down the said river to the mouth of Big Sandy creek, distant about three hundred miles, we lay open to the ravages of the Indians, who may attack our settlements in any quarter they may choose. It may here be supposed, that the troops stationed at Muskingum would check their progress in this business; but experience hath taught us, that they are of very little use, for we find, that the Indians cross the river Ohio, both above and below that garrison, undiscovered either on their way to our country or returning to their own.

And indeed, such will always be our fate, until more effectual measures are adopted for our defence. It may be further supposed, that General St. Clair can grant all the relief that is necessary for our safety. In answer to which, we beg leave to observe, that, although we have the highest opinion of that gentleman's integrity and goodness, yet, from his necessary calls to visit the different posts on the Ohio river, even as low down as the Rapids, we fear it will be out of his power to render us the necessary aid; besides, it is impracticable for us to find him in the hour of distress. We further beg leave to suggest, that, whilst our operations were confined to a defensive plan only, we have ever found the greatest degree of safety to our country arising from keeping out scouts and rangers on our frontiers. Indeed, it was owing to that plan, and that only, that large tracts of our country have not, long ere now, been depopulated. These scouts and rangers were composed of our own militia, on whom our people could, with confidence, depend, as they are well acquainted with our woods, and with the paths the Indians use to come in upon our settlements. Whilst we were thus covered, we lived in perfect security, but as soon as they were withdrawn last spring, we immediately felt the effects of Indian cruelty: for, from the month of April last, to the month of October, at which time we left home, there were killed and captured twenty persons—a considerable number of horses and other property carried off, and several houses burnt in our country. All military regulations being submitted to you, we therefore beg leave to suggest our wishes, that you would continue to us the aforesaid mode of defence, should you approve of it, or direct such other measures as you, in your wisdom, may think more advisable to be continued in our country, until it may be thought necessary to carry on offensive war into the enemy's country, to bring about a lasting peace. Suffer us further to assure you, that we, on the behalf of our bleeding country, look up to you, and to you only, for that assistance that our necessities require, and shall conclude with praying that the great Parent of the universe may conduct you under the eye of his special providence, enabling you to fill that exalted station to which he hath called you, as well for the good of your fellow citizens, as also for the happiness of mankind, so far as they come within the bounds of your administration.

We have the honor to be, with very great regard and esteem, your Excellency's most ob't servants,

JOHN P. DUVALL,	Senator.	
WILLIAM MACMAHON,		} Ohio.
ARCHIBALD WOODS,		
WILLIAM M'CLEERY,		} Monongalia.
THOMAS PINDALL,		
JOHN PRUNTY,		} Harrison.
GEO. JACKSON,		
JONA. PARSONS,		} Randolph.
CORN. BOGARD,		

*Governor St. Clair to the Secretary of War.*

FORT STEUBEN, 26th January, 1790.

By a note this moment received from Louisville, I am informed that the Indians have killed three men, within twelve miles of Danville, at Carpenter's Station, and three more, and broke the settlement up, upon Russell's creek, about forty miles from the same place; some people who had been hunting on this side the river, about six miles below Limestone, were fired upon by Indians, and one man killed; just almost at the time Major Doughty was passing; he landed and pursued them, but in vain.

*Hon. Harry Innes, Judge for the District of Kentucky, to the Hon. Jno. Brown.*

DANVILLE, 13th March, 1790.

In the month of January; a boat with ten persons were cut off, about sixteen miles above Limestone; nine found dead in the boat, and one woman missing; during the massacre, a boy, who was a prisoner, made his escape; he was up Licking, being out with two men on a hunting party, who were killed. Three men were killed about the same time in the wilderness, between Rickland creek and Stinking creek; on the road two escaped. Old John Sloan and his son, were killed on the head of the Rolling fork; one man killed on Holin. A station on Russell's creek was attacked about the 25th of the month; Isaac and Nathan Farris, a son of Isaac Farris, John Painter, and one other man, killed; a negro woman, and white woman wounded, and a number of horses have been taken, but I can't enumerate them. One Harper was killed on State creek.

In February, one man killed at the Mudlick; one killed at the mouth of Kentucky, and the people have evacuated the station from fear. In this month I have only heard of one man killed and one wounded on the Rolling fork; but from various reports, there is too much reason to fear they will be hostile this spring.

*Wm. W. Dowell to the Hon. John Brown.*

4th April, 1790.

Although I wrote you a few days ago; I feel a propensity to hand you every intelligence in my power. The Indians have again made a capital stroke on the Ohio; they, to the number of about fifty, are encamped near the mouth of the Scioto, and have, by means of a white prisoner, who they have with them, taken three boats and a perigou; the perigou contained six men, who were going up the river from Limestone; one of the boats belonged to Mr. John May; the six men, together with Mr. May, and the whole crew, were put to instant death by the savages. The other two boats, one of them belonged to families, the other was the property of Colonel Edwards, of Bourbon, and Mr. Thomas Marshall and others, who, the day after May was taken, were at the same place attacked by the savages; they in the first instance attempted to induce the boats to come to shore, by means of the prisoner, who was the only person exposed to view, and who affected the utmost distress and anxiety, in order that he might be received on board and brought to Limestone; but finding their stratagem would answer no purpose, they immediately exposed themselves, and began to fire on the boats, but without effect; the devils then, to the number of about thirty, jumped into May's boat, and gave chase; by which means, being better supplied with oars, they would soon have overtaken Marshall and the family boat, if it had not been for Colonel George Thompson, who was owner to a third part in the same company; he threw out all the horses he had in his boat, and received Colonel Edwards' crew, and the families all into his boat, together with their oars, by which means the whole of the people escaped after sustaining a chase of about fifteen miles. The loss of property in the two boats, was seventeen horses, about fifteen hundred pounds worth of dry goods, and a considerable quantity of household furniture. It is not known what May had on board, as no person was left alive.

I have also heard to-day, that the Indians have taken a boat on Salt river, which was laden with salt, and killed a John Prior, and two others who belonged to the boat's crew.

These are the most material outrages that I now recollect. The consequences are truly alarming; no preparation is yet made, neither can there be by us, who are not authorized to cross the river.

*Governor St. Clair to the Secretary of War.*

CAHOOKIA, 1st May, 1790.

The Major (Hamtramck) understanding that there was some private difference between that Indian and the person who served as interpreter to the messenger, did, on the first of April, send forward another messenger, and he has enclosed to me a letter from him from Quitpicomuais, fifteen miles above Ouisconsin, of the 15th of that month, a translation of which is sent with this. By that letter you will observe that every thing is referred to the Miamies, which does not indicate a peaceable issue. The confidence these have in their situation, the vicinity of many other nations, either much under their influence, or hostilely disposed towards the United States, and pernicious counsels of the British traders, joined to the immense booties obtained by their depredations on the Ohio, will most probably prevent them from listening to any reasonable terms of accommodation, so that it is much to be feared that the United States must prepare effectually to chastise them; and the consequence of not doing it, may very probably be the defection of those who are now at peace, and would remain so, with the entire alienation of the affections at least of the people of the frontiers.

N. B. Gamelin's information being unimportant, is not copied.

*Representation from the Field Officers of Harrison county.*

VIRGINIA, HARRISON COUNTY, February 2d, 1790.

SIR:

The alarming predicament in which this country now stands, as touching the state of Indian affairs, and the small prospect of protection from his Excellency Arthur St. Clair, hath moved us the subscribers to meet this day in council, in order to concert measures as, far as in our power, to calm the minds of our exposed frontiers, who expect early in the Spring to be again harassed by the savages.

It appears to us, by the address of the General Assembly of Virginia, dated the 30th of October, 1789, that official information has been given to your Excellency of the Indians' wanton barbarity on the frontiers of this State. We also have the strongest assurance that the members of the General Assembly from the western district did apply, by a subsequent address, separate and apart from the said address sent by the General Assembly, which we trusted would have fell into your hands before Governor St. Clair left New York, which now appears to us not to be the case; therefore, the frontiers are left defenceless; the people, who lay exposed, are complaining that they are neglected; that the interior parts of the United States have enjoyed peace since the year 1782; that Government has got thoughtless about the lives of their citizens, &c.

We would undertake to give a full detail of the various incursions made on the frontiers of this country, but expect our county lieutenant will hand this petition to your Excellency, who, we believe, will better satisfy your inquiries than our detail.

We presume the aforesaid address of our legislative body, and the separate address sent by the members of this western district, fully take in our wishes as touching the mode of present and future relief.

Therefore, in the name and behalf of our suffering fellow-citizens, over whom we preside as field officers of the militia, pray that your Excellency would take our distressed situation under your parental care, and grant us such relief as you in your wisdom shall think proper, and we, in duty bound, will pray, &c.

BENJAMIN WILSON, Colonel,  
GEO. JACKSON, Lieut. Colonel,  
WILLIAM ROBINSON, Major.

*The PRESIDENT of the United States.*

*Extract of a letter from the Lieutenants of the counties of Fayette, Woodford, and Mercer, to the Secretary of War, dated 14th April, 1790.*

We almost every day receive accounts of their horrid murders on our defenceless frontiers, (which entirely surround us) and the taking of horses and other property, to the ruin of a number of families. It is painful to repeat particulars, but some recent acts of the savages demand our representation.

Several boats have, within a few weeks past, been attacked and taken on the Ohio river, and one in Salt river, by strong parties of Indians, and their unhappy crews murdered or carried into captivity.

We have reason to believe that there is a combination of several tribes, and their numbers pretty numerous.

*Major Hamtramck to Governor St. Clair.*

POST VINCENNES, May 22, 1790.

I now enclose the proceedings of Mr. Gamelin, by which your Excellency can have no great hopes of bringing the Indians to a peace with the United States. The 8th of May Gamelin arrived, and on the 11th some merchants arrived, and informed me, that, as soon as Gamelin had passed their villages, on his return all the Indians had gone to war; that, a large party of Indians from Michilimackinack and some Pattawatamies had gone to Kentucky; and that, three days after Gamelin had left the Miami, an American was brought there and burnt.

*Deposition of Charles Johnson, taken before the Secretary of War, July 29, 1790.*

On the 20th of March, 1790, going down the river Ohio, in company with John May, Esq. of Virginia, with four other persons in our boat, (two of whom were women) we were attacked by a party of fifty-four Indians, consisting chiefly of Shawanese and Cherokees. In this attack, Mr. May and one of the women were killed, the rest of us made prisoners.

The day following, a canoe coming up the river, with six men in it, were fired upon and all killed.

In a few hours afterwards, two boats (the owners of which had abandoned them and got on board a third boat that was in company) were taken by the savages, with goods and other property in them, which, in my opinion, must have amounted to several thousand pounds value.

Two days afterwards the Indians divided themselves into several parties, when they set off to this town, and arrived in about five or six weeks at Sandusky, where the nation of Wyandot or Huron Indians live.

Whilst in the Indian country, I was informed that one of our party, whose name was William Flin, and whom, on a division, had fallen to the Cherokees, was carried to the nation of Miamies, there tied to a stake, and, in the most inhuman manner, was roasted alive.

I further understood that there are a number of Americans who have been made prisoners by the Indians, and are now in the Shawanese and Miami nations, languishing under slavery and all its bitter appendages.

*Col. Robert Rankins to Col. Thomas Lewis.*

APRIL 3, 1790.

As I presume you have not heard of the late mischief, I shall just beg leave to inform you, that, about six weeks ago, two men were taken off Cabin Creek, who have been made use of to decoy boats ashore, by which means six men in a canoe, going up the river, attempting to escape, after they found themselves ensnared, were murdered; Mr. May's boat taken, himself and one other killed, the rest of the crew made prisoners; two boats, in which was a considerable amount of property, belonging to Col. John Edwards, of Bourbon, Capt. Thomas Marshall, and a number of other gentlemen taken; the gentlemen themselves forced to crowd into Col. George Thompson's boat, and row for life, the Indians having pursued them in Mr. May's boat, armed for that purpose, with unparalleled avidity.

Two men were also killed and seven more, one woman, and five children, taken prisoners, about six weeks ago, in Kennaday's Bottom, on the Ohio, 20 miles above Limestone, where they were engaged in erecting a new settlement. All this mischief has been done by the same party of Indians, who are still on the river, and, from information, about the same place where the boats and canoe were taken, six or seven miles above the mouth of Scioto. And we are informed, by the two men above mentioned, who have escaped and come in, that they have sent the plunder to their town by a party, and expect a reinforcement. A party of men was raised in this settlement on the first intelligence of the disturbance, but a dispute arising among them respecting the object in view, they split, and returned without doing of any service, except bringing away a boat which the Indians fitted up for their offensive operations. However, such generally is the consequence of expeditions where the officers who conduct them have only power to advise and persuade; and it is much to be lamented that the Government under which we live wants power, or they who are at the helm a disposition, to protect its citizens.

I have this moment received further intelligence of the depredations of those cursed devils. A boat from Greenbrier, in which was Colonel Ward, Mr. R. Madison, and three or four other boats from Monongahela, were yesterday afternoon attacked, at or near the place mentioned above; a Mr. Richards was killed, and the Monongahela people were obliged to abandon one of their boats, with about one hundred gallons of whiskey, some other property, besides several horses and cattle: a number of horses were killed and wounded in the other boats.

*Judge Innes to the Secretary of War.*

DANVILLE, May 13th, 1790.

That you may have an idea of our unhappy situation, I beg leave to refer you to a letter I wrote on the 20th ultimo, to the Hon. John Brown; since which the Indians have killed two white men and two negroes in Jefferson county; in Nelson two girls, scalped one woman, and made one other woman prisoner.

*Judge Innes to the Secretary of War.*

DANVILLE, July 7th, 1790.

I have been intimately acquainted with this district from November, 1783; I can with truth say, that in this period of time, the Indians have always been the aggressors; that any incursions made into their country have been from reiterated injuries committed by them; that the depredatory mode of war and plundering carried on by them, renders it difficult, and almost impossible, to discriminate what tribes are the offenders; that, since my first visit to this district, which was the time above named, I can venture to say, that above 1500 souls have been killed and taken in the district, and migrating to it; that upwards of 20,000 horses have been taken and carried off, and other property, such as money, merchandise, household goods, and wearing apparel, have been carried off and destroyed by these barbarians, to at least £15,000.

Repeated informations have been given of these injuries, which continue to be daily perpetrated, and yet we have no satisfactory account of the intention of Government for our relief; the consequences to the district are of a serious and important nature; by them do we see the population of our country decreased, by the murders committed on the emigrants and actual settlers, and by them do we find people intimidated from migrating to our country, which lessens our rising strength; by them is the wealth of our citizens diminished, and the value of our lands decreased. What will be the result?

Volunteer expeditions will be carried on into the Indian countries, upon the principle of *revenge, protection, and self-preservation*, and Government will not be able to counteract them; the consequences will be, that the volunteers who may thus embody will not discriminate between the Indians who are hostile and those who have treated; they will consider all as enemies that come in their way, and the supposed amicable Indians will no longer have any faith in Government; it will not only prevent the intended views of Government, but undo what hath been done.

I will, sir, be candid on this subject, not only as inhabitant of Kentucky, but as a friend to society, who wishes to see order and regularity preserved in the Government under which I live. The people say they have long groaned under their misfortunes. they see no prospect of relief, they are the strength and wealth of the Western country; all measures which have been attempted, are placed (for execution) in the hands of strangers, who have no interest among them: they are the general sufferers, and yet have no voice in the business; they are accused as the aggressors, and have no representative to justify. These are the general sentiments of the people, and they begin to want faith in the Government, and appear determined to revenge themselves: for this purpose a meeting was lately held in this place, by a number of respectable characters, to determine on the propriety of carrying on three expeditions this fall. From a more general representation of the district, the business was postponed until the meeting of our convention, which is about the 26th instant, at which time there will be a very general meeting of influential characters of the district; and unless some information is received before that time, that will be satisfactory, I fully expect one or more expeditions will be determined on.

Impressed with the idea that the foregoing observations will not be unacceptable to you as an officer of Government, through whose Department it may be properly communicated to the President; if worthy your attention, I shall make no apology for the length of my letter.

*From the same to the same.—July 8th.*

I have, this day, received a letter from Governor St. Clair, dated the 5th inst. "at the Rapids of Ohio;" he says, "that the expectations of peace which I much wished, cannot be realized with the people on the Wabash, and in consequence I have come here sooner than I should otherwise have done, to prepare for operating against them." He has requested me to apprise the field officers of the district, that he shall call for the proportions of the militia they are to furnish, in consequence of the orders he has received from the President.

*Alexander S. Ballit, Licut. Jefferson County, to Judge Innes.*

May 24th, 1790.

I now embrace the first opportunity which offers, of informing you, that a man was wounded near Mr. Joseph Hite's plantation, about a fortnight ago. I mention this instance as the last of several which have appeared this spring, of mischief done by the Indians in this country.

*Certificate of Robert Lemen, Jacob Steulan, and William Price.*

We, the under writers, inhabitants of Jefferson county, on the waters of Brashear's creek, do certify, that, in the latter end of March last, the Indians took a negro woman prisoner, the property of Anderson Long, two young men at work at the said Long's, in his field, on Clear creek and branch of Brashear's creek.

That, on Tick creek, a branch of Brashear's creek, in April, the Indians killed two men at work in their field.

That, in May, two boys were made prisoners from Loudon's station, on the head of Drennon's Lick creek.

That, on the 23d instant, a party of Indians fired on a company of people, on Clear creek, as they were returning from meeting, killed one man on the spot, and took a young woman prisoner, who they carried about ten miles, and then tomahawked and scalped her.

That, on the 25th instant, as a company were bringing home the corpses of the man and woman, they were alarmed by their dogs, and sent a party out to reconnoitre, who discovered the trail of some Indians.

Given under our hands, this 28th day of May, 1790.

ROBT. LEMON,  
JACOB STEULAN,  
WM. PRICE.

There was no magistrate, to be conveniently found, when this certificate was given, or I would have had an affidavit made of the facts.

HARRY INNES.

*John Caldwell to Judge Innes.*

NELSON COUNTY, May 12th, 1790.

On Tuesday morning, about eleven Indians attacked the house of Miles Heart, on Valley Creek, a fork of Nolelin, and killed Heart and one of his children; and his wife and two more, which includes the whole family, were made prisoners.

*Deposition of Samuel Winter, taken before Christopher Greenup, 21st May, 1790.*

MERCER, ss.

Samuel Winter came before me, a justice for the said county, and being sworn, saith: That he is an inhabitant of Nelson county, and resides on Nolelin creek, that a certain Miles Heart, who lived on Valley creek, about six miles from the deponent, was murdered in his house, on Tuesday, the 11th instant, and that the wife and two children of the said Heart were taken prisoners; that two of Heart's horses are missing, which are supposed to be carried off by the Indians, who did the mischief.

*Christopher Greenup to Judge Innes.*

MERCER COUNTY, 24th May, 1790.

About four days ago, the Indians stole four horses from Mr. Meaux, a considerable distance within the inhabitants; this might have been prevented had there been scouts.

*John Caldwell to Judge Innes.*

June 4th, 1790.

About the seventh of March last, the Indians came to the Rolling fork, and stole a number of horses, to the amount of sixteen; they were pursued by Captain Wilson, and a small party, who came up with them, in about forty miles; but, being overpowered, they were obliged to retreat; Capt. Wilson was killed upon the spot.

*Robert Johnson to Judge Innes.*

May 13th, 1790.

I send you two depositions, containing an account of some mischief done lately by the savages in this county, to wit: the killing McBride and McConnel, in April last, and also taking a son of Mr. Tanner's (on the Ohio) a prisoner, &c. I also inform you, that, last fall, two men were killed by the savages, one of the name of Brown, whose wife and children live now in Lexington, as I was with the men who brought the corpse into the neighborhood I live in; besides this, there hath been another party, last winter, who stole a number of horses from the neighborhood I live in, and carried them off.

*Deposition of John Garnett, taken before Robt. Johnson, M. for W. C. May 12th, 1790.*

WOODFORD COUNTY, ss.

John Garnett, of full age, being duly sworn, saith: That he was at Mr. John Tanner's station, on the Ohio, in said county, about five miles below the mouth of the Big Miami, and that said Tanner informed him, that, about the last of April, or first of May, five Indians came and lay in ambush, a little over one hundred yards from his house, between the house and his field, and took a son of said Tanner's, about nine years old, and carried him off, across the Ohio; and further saith, that Indians have been, since, within about two miles of said station, and this deponent further saith not.

*Deposition of Samuel Stephenson, taken before Robert Johnson, M. for W. C'ty, May 12, 1790.*

WOODFORD COUNTY, ss.

Samuel Stephenson, of full age, being duly sworn, saith: That, about the 12th of April, 1790, being called on to go out to bring James McBride and ——— McConnel, who were killed by the Indians on the road or path from the mouth of Licking, to the settlement on Elkhorn; and this deponent further saith, that he assisted to bring two men which were both scalped; one was much cut with a tomahawk, and the other was shot through the hips, and he believes them to be said McBride and McConnel; and this deponent further saith not.

*John Edwards to Judge Innes.*

BOURBON COUNTY, *May 12, 1790.*

This morning was killed, within six or seven miles of this place, by the Indians, a certain Lewis Parker, who was at his work. It will be unnecessary for me to say any thing more with respect to the murder, as I have enclosed you an affidavit; and, as to the murder of two more men, I am satisfied of its certainty, but have had no opportunity of finding the man, who was with them when they were killed, nor those who have since buried them; the names of the men were McBride and McConnell.

*Deposition of David Rankin and James Hays, taken before Benjamin Harrison, 1790.*

BOURBON, ss.

This day came before me, one of the commonwealth's justices for said county, the subscribers, and made oath, that, on the 12th of May, inst. they saw Lewis Parker lying dead; he had received several wounds, with balls, tomahawks, and knives; (he was scalped) that they found him, the said Parker, about one hour after he was killed, and that they verily believe he was thus murdered by Indians, and further say not.

*Certificate of Benjamin Harrison.*

Although I did not see the Indians kill Parker, I do verily believe they did do it; I saw his body about two hours after he was killed; it happened at Michael Hogg's, not quite three miles from my house, and I followed the trails of those who committed the murder, near ten miles; their direction was towards the Big-bone Lick. The Indians have stole two horses from Mr. Coleman, lately. There is no person, in this quarter, that knows any thing of McBride and McConnell's being killed, only from hear-say; but it is a matter of fact.

*John Edwards, Lt. Bourbon County, to Judge Innes.*

BOURBON, *May 12, 1790.*

I am sorry to inform you, since my last letter, that a man was killed, by a party of Indians, in his cornfield, about seven miles from my house, on Thursday last; also a boat was taken, about eight or ten miles above Limestone, where five persons were found killed on the shore. I think we need no greater proof of the intentions of those savage barbarians, to distress us.

*Henry Lee, Lieutenant Mason County, to Judge Innes.*

MASON COUNTY, *May 16th, 1790.*

On the night of the 11th instant, four boats (one of which contained an officer and eight men of the United States' troops) landed about nine miles above Limestone, and about 12 o'clock was fired on by a party of Indians, supposed to be fifteen or twenty in number; three boats made their escape without damage, the other, containing sixteen souls, fell into possession of the enemy; five of those persons were killed and most horribly massacred; three made their escape, one of which was wounded, the balance taken prisoners; and from every discovery I have been able to make, they have not yet re-crossed the river. On the 15th instant, a trail of a party of Indians, supposed to be about fifteen, was discovered crossing the Ohio within the bounds of our lower settlements, and directed their course towards the Blue Licks; this notice has put the neighborhood in that quarter, on their guard; I have had no further intelligence, but am under apprehensions every hour of the fatal consequences; our surveyors and hunters have all retired from the woods, the frequent signs of Indians render it unsafe for them to pursue their business.

*John Logan to Judge Innes.*

LINCOLN, *May 17th, 1790.*

Friday morning the 14th instant, a company was defeated on the other side Ingle's station; six of said company are missing, supposed to be killed. About ten or fifteen Indians took possession of all their horses and goods, ready packed up to start.

*James Barnett to Judge Innes.*

MADISON, *Mount Holley, 23d May, 1790.*

I can assure you, sir, that the frontier of this county (which is about forty miles) have considered themselves in imminent danger all the last spring; but their fears are much increased, since the last hostilities committed on the wilderness road, and Indian signs discovered very lately upon Station Camp.

The mischief above referred to was in Madison county, about forty miles from the inhabitants; four killed, two wounded, 10 or 12 horses, with valuable property.

H. INNES.

*Deposition of Joseph Barnett, taken before Michael Campbell, June 8th, 1790.*

NELSON COUNTY, ss.

This day came Joseph Barnett, Esq. before me, a justice of the peace for said county, and made oath, on the holy evangelists of Almighty God, that on the eighteenth of April last past, (being Lord's day) about the hour of five in the evening, a party of Indians fell upon a few defenceless people, who were returning from Hartford town, on Rough creek, to a station at the house of this deponent, being two miles distant, killed a girl of twelve years old, and a boy of eight years old, cutting them in a cruel manner, with tomahawks supposed; cut an ancient lady of both respectable family and character, in her right arm, head and back, in a cruel manner, with a scimitar, and after having scalped her alive, left her, and his scimitar with her, and carried off the daughter of this deponent, a girl near eleven years old, into captivity. They were pursued by a party till night, which gave them an opportunity of escaping. The above mentioned boy lived till Tuesday morning following, having his skull split with a tomahawk, and a great part of his brains on the outside of his wounded scalped skull; and the old lady is yet alive, notwithstanding all the misery she has endured; further this deponent saith not.

Observe that the above persons were returning from sermon.



*Brigadier General Harmar to the Secretary of War.*

MARCH 24th, 1790.

The Indians still continue to murder and plunder the inhabitants, especially the boats going up and down the Ohio river. About the beginning of this month, they broke up Kenton's station, a small settlement of fifteen miles above Limestone, killing and capturing the whole of the people, supposed to be ten or twelve in number.

Buckner Thruston, Esq. has just arrived here, who informs me of a capital stroke of plunder which they made from the boats, one of which he was on board, a small distance above the Scioto river. This gentleman is a member of the Virginia Legislature, and has given me the enclosed written report of the attack, by which you will please to observe, that the property captured by the savages was estimated at four thousand pounds.

He supposes them to have been Shawanese. No calculation will answer, but raising a sufficient force to effectually chastise the whole of those nations who are known to be hostile.

*Report of Buckner Thruston, Esq.*

MARCH 24th, 1790.

On the 21st of March, about 12 o'clock, we discovered on the Indian shore a flat bottomed boat, which appeared to be crowded with Indians; we were fortunately near the Virginia shore at the time we discovered the savages. On our coming opposite them, a white man ran down on the beach and hallooed to us, for God's sake, to surrender; that there were fifty Indians, and if we made resistance, we should be massacred. We refused to surrender, and immediately they fired on us for a considerable time, perhaps to the number of one hundred guns, which gave us time to pass by them; they then embarked all hands aboard their boat, (commonly called a Kentucky boat, which they had taken a day or two before from Mr. John May, who, with four other men, it is supposed are either killed or taken) and gave chase to us; upon finding that we could not escape, there being three boats in company, we chose out the strongest boat, turned the horses adrift, and embarked therein; all the people belonging to the three boats cut holes in her sides, and put in the oars of the three boats, and made the best way we could for fifteen or twenty miles, the Indians pursuing us with great earnestness. They left us after a chase of between two and three hours, and we arrived without further impediment at Limestone. We lost twenty-eight horses, fifteen hundred pounds value of merchandise, (as I am informed) besides private property of passengers and others, to a considerable amount. We supposed the Indians to be fifty or sixty in number. We had about twenty-eight men, and sixteen or seventeen guns, a family of women, and a few negroes, women and children. The principal sufferers among the passengers, were Colonel Thompson, Colonel Edwards, Mr. Abner Field, Mr. Thomas Marshall.

*Brigadier General Harmar to the Secretary of War.*

JUNE 9th, 1790.

At the solicitation of the inhabitants of Kentucky, (copies of which are enclosed) I was induced to endeavor to break up a nest of vagabond Indians, who had infested the river, and seemed to make it an object to establish themselves near the mouth of the Scioto, in order to interrupt the navigation of the Ohio, and to plunder and murder the emigrants. I am sorry that my endeavors were unsuccessful, as the villains had retreated; wolves might as well have been pursued; every exertion in my power was made without effect.

Having settled our plan of operations, which was to make a circuitous route, and strike the Scioto pretty high, and from thence march down to its mouth, in hopes to intercept some of their parties, we took up our line of march on the same day, (18th April) and gained about twelve miles. On this first day's march, four moccasin tracks were discovered. General Scott detached a small party of horsemen, who fell in with the savages, killed them, and brought the four scalps into Limestone.

Ensign Hartshorne's convoy of boats was attacked at midnight on the 12th, (May) about nine miles above Limestone, from the Virginia side, and several of the emigrants killed; I have enclosed a copy of his report.

FORT WASHINGTON, May 30th, 1790.

SIR:

I beg leave to report as follows: On the 12th instant, as I was coming down the Ohio, in company with five other boats, in the evening, before we came to Limestone, by the request of the company, we put to shore, in order to stay until 2 o'clock, so that we might land at Limestone in day-light. I landed nine miles above Limestone, and the other boats landed about one hundred yards below me. About 12 o'clock the Indians attacked the lowermost boat; after a number of shot they left it, and fell on the other above them, which they took—in this time my men fired five or six shot at the flash of their guns. I had much to do to keep the men in the boat from cutting her loose, and leaving my men on shore, so I thought proper to order my men on board; for, by every circumstance, I thought them too strong for me with so few men; and it being very dark, I ordered the boat off from the shore, and fell down into their fire, where we received a number of shot; and when I found that all the boats were not taken, I ordered them to go ahead in case the Indians did pursue us, that I might check them. We arrived at Limestone at 3 o'clock in the morning; I immediately wrote to the county lieutenant upon the matter; he, with twenty men, came down: at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, myself with five men went up to the place where we were attacked; we found one man, one woman, and three children, killed and scalped, which we put into the boat, with their property, to Limestone. There are eight missing; the whole killed and missing is thirteen souls; they took none of the property but one horse.

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

ASA HARTSHORNE, *Ens. 1st U. S. regt.**James Wilkinson, Esq. to General Harmar.*

LEXINGTON, 7th April, 1790.

I write to you at the public request, on a subject deeply interesting to Kentucky, our national honor, and to humanity.

For more than one month past a party of savages has occupied the Northwestern bank of the Ohio, a few miles above the mouth of Scioto, from whence they make attacks upon every boat which passes, to the destruction of much property, the loss of many lives, and the great annoyance of all intercourse from the northward.

By very recent accounts, we are apprized that they still continue in force at that point, and that their last attack was made against five boats, one of which they captured. It is the general, and I conceive a well founded opinion, that if this party is not dislodged and dispersed, the navigation of the Ohio must cease. In a case so very critical, the people of this district conceive themselves justified in appealing to arms, because their dearest interests, and the lives of their brethren, are at hazard; but being extremely unwilling to proceed, except in a legal, regular, and authorized way, they call upon you for your advice, succor, and assistance, in the hope and the expectation, that

you will be able to co-operate with a detachment of the troops under your command, and carry an immediate expedition against the before mentioned party of savages, from Limestone, where it is proposed to rendezvous a body of militia volunteers.

Colonel Patterson waits upon you on this occasion to know your determination, and to make such adjustments as may be deemed expedient.

*Levi Todd to General Harmar.*

FAYETTE, 7th April, 1790.

Within a few days past a party of Indians, who have taken post on the Ohio, near the mouth of the Scioto, have captured four boats, killed and taken several people, and much property; for the particulars I refer you to Colonel Patterson, who, I expect, will hand you this. From circumstances we may conclude this practice will be continued, unless they are dislodged. The unhappy consequences which will result, are too obvious to every discerning man, and too distressing to be borne. A party of men from the counties north of Kentucky river, are preparing to remove these troublesome fellows from their station. They will rendezvous at Lexington, on Thursday, the 15th instant; at Limestone, the Saturday following. The inhabitants of this district flatter themselves they will meet with every encouragement and protection from the officers in the Western Government, in every plan that will tend to secure their persons and property, and to protect in the enjoyment of those rights, for which we have so often risked our persons, and expended property. I flatter myself that, in the present instance, we shall not only meet the approbation of his excellency General St. Clair, but with such instructions and assistance from you, as you may judge best calculated for the execution of the intended design, that a peaceable emigration may be preserved to the Western country.

I flatter myself that an account of the hostilities that are committed in the Western country will, by the earliest opportunity, be transmitted to the President of the United States.

*Colonel Patterson to General Harmar.*

LICKING, 9th April, 1790.

I was very desirous of handing you General Wilkinson's and Colonel Todd's letters, but our interruption on the way, and my business at home, puts it out of my power. Mr. Lemond, who I expect will hand this with others, can inform you particularly. I do not know that my personal attendance would have answered any purpose, only to have informed you of our intention. We do not wish to infringe on the rights of the Federal Government; it is well known that the Indians occupy both sides of the river. We know that it is not infringing to drive the enemy from our own door, but that will not answer any purpose in this case. We rest assured that we will not only meet with your approbation, but your assistance. You need not doubt, but that, on Saturday, the 17th instant, there will be at Limestone, five hundred men at least, to co-operate with your troops, and your directions. Our men will be furnished with twelve day's provisions, expecting to continue out that time.

*Governor St. Clair to the Secretary of War.*

NEW YORK, August 23d, 1790.

"The letter from Major Hamtramck, and journal of Mr. Gamelin, copies of which accompany this, were received by me at Kaskaskias, after my return from Cahokia; and when I was on the point of setting out for the Wabash. From the information that journal contained, and the intelligence which the Major had received afterwards, as stated in the letter, it appeared to me, that there was not the smallest probability of an accommodation with the Indians of that river, and of the Miami, and that, from the manner in which the proposal of an accommodation had been received by them, and their subsequent conduct, it would not be proper for me to go to Post St. Vincennes; I therefore took the resolution to return by the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, to the head quarters of the troops, in order to concert with General Harmar upon the means of carrying into effect the alternative contained in my instructions from the President—that of punishing them; and accordingly embarked on the eleventh day of June, and arrived at fort Washington on the 13th day of July.

Before my departure from Kaskaskias, I put a letter into the hands of Major Sargent, informing him of my intended journey, and that, as soon as I had embarked, he was to consider me as absent, and in consequence, the government devolved upon himself, and desired him to proceed to the post, lay out a county there, establish the militia, and appoint the civil and military officers. I was led to proceed in this manner from the little time there would be to digest the business, and bring the necessary force together from so many and distant parts, before it would be necessary that they should move, and the certainty there appeared to be that, if I went to the post, the consuming a good deal of it would be unavoidable, and the season for operation be lost.

From the falls of Ohio, I took Mr. Elliot, one of the contractors, with me to head quarters, that he might, in person, give General Harmar information with respect to the certainty of supplies, without being assured of which, it would be vain to think of the matter.

The number of militia I was empowered to call for, was one thousand from Virginia, and five hundred from Pennsylvania, to act in conjunction with the continental troops; these the General estimated at four hundred effective. The manner of employing this force, which was concluded upon, is this: three hundred of the militia of Virginia are to rendezvous at fort Steuben, and with the garrison of that fort, to march to Post St. Vincennes and join Major Hamtramck; the remaining twelve hundred of the militia to assemble at fort Washington, under the orders of General Harmar, which, with the troops to be collected there, will form a body of fifteen hundred: these are intended to march directly across the country to the Miami village, while Major Hamtramck moves up the Wabash to attack any of the villages on that river to which his force may be equal; but, as it is not so respectable as I could wish it, I took it upon myself to give him authority to call for aid from the militia of Post St. Vincennes.

It would, perhaps, have been better that the whole should have been drawn together, and one solid effort been made; but it was next to impossible to form a junction of all the parts at any one proper place, in time, and we were not without hopes that, as the movements will be made in concert, the success of both may be forwarded by each other: for that up the Wabash will, certainly, I think, make those nations uneasy for themselves, and prevent them from aiding the Miamies, while the direct movement to their village will have the same effect upon them.

I could indeed have wished that the force in both quarters had been more respectable, as far as it is possible their success should be put out of the chance of accidents; for a failure will be attended with the very worst consequences. I believe, sir, that, if the President approves the business, and should think proper to add to the numbers, it is not yet too late, being of opinion that many more men might be obtained from that part of Virginia from whence the others are called, on very short notice. You will observe, sir, by my letter to the county lieutenants, that the rendezvous at fort Washington is fixed for the 15th of next month. Their assembling there, however, was not counted upon before the 20th, and that they would be in readiness to march by the first of October. Before that time, I hope I shall be able to join them.

Mr. Elliot made very little hesitation about the provisions, though it will be impossible to furnish flour. Corn, however, it seems, is still abundant in Kentucky, and with that General Harmar is satisfied.

I am very apprehensive that some disappointment will be met with in the quota of Pennsylvania: for I found that, in two of the four counties from which that militia is to be drawn, they have not had an officer for upwards of two years, and there was a general complaint for want of arms. I represented that matter to the Executive of the State, and they think the first difficulty will be obviated by a voluntary enlistment, and have ordered a quantity of arms to be sent forward. As a disappointment there would be fatal, perhaps the President may think proper to make some conditional provision against it.

I hope it will not happen, but I fear it; and am extremely anxious about it, on account of the expense that will have been incurred to no purpose, and more so from the injury the reputation of the Government would sustain.

I request the favor of you, sir, to lay this letter before the President as soon as possible: for it is of importance that I should return without loss of time, as the assembling the militia of Pennsylvania is appointed on the 3d, and their being in motion not to exceed the 10th of September.

I have added a copy of my letter to the county lieutenants, and to the senior officer of the Pennsylvania militia.

#### MR. GAMELIN'S JOURNAL.

##### *Memorandum of sundry speeches held by Anthony Gamelin to the chiefs of the Wabash and Miami nations.*

I, Anthony Gamelin, by order of Major Hamtramck, set off from fort Knox the 5th April, to proceed to Miami town, with the speeches of his Excellency Arthur St. Clair, and to receive the answer of the Wabash and Miami nations.

The first village I arrived to is called Kikapouguoi. The name of the chief of this village is called Les Jambes Croches. Him and his tribe have a good heart, and accepted the speech.

The second village is at the river du Vermillion, called Piankeshaws. The first chief, and all the chief warriors, were well pleased with the speeches concerning the peace; but they said they could not give presently a proper answer, before they consult the Miami nation, their eldest brethren. They desired me to proceed to the Miami town, and, by coming back, to let them know what reception I got from them. The said head-chief told me, that he thought the nations of the lakes had a bad heart, and were ill disposed for the Americans: that the speeches would not be received, particularly by the Chaouanons,\* at Miami town.

The 10th of April I met thirteen Kickapoo warriors; I asked them the purpose of their journey. We are for war, said they, not against the white people, but against the Chichashas. I told them to be friends with white people: I gave them a letter for the commanding officer of Post Vincennes, desiring them to go and shake hands with him. They promised to do it.

The 11th of April, I reached a tribe of Kickapoos: the head chief and all the warriors being assembled, I gave them two branches of white wampum, with the speeches of his Excellency Arthur St. Clair, and those of Major Hamtramck (it must be observed that the speeches have been in another hand before me.) The messenger could not proceed further than the Vermillion, on account of some private wrangling between the interpreter and some chief men of the tribe. Moreover, something in the speech displeased them very much, which is included in the third article, which says, "I do now make you the offer of peace; accept it or reject it, as you please." These words appeared to displease all the tribes to whom the first messenger was sent. They told me they were menacing, and, finding that it might have a bad effect, I took upon myself to exclude them, and, after making some apology, they answered that he and his tribe were pleased with my speech, and that I could go up without danger; but that they could not presently give me an answer, having some warriors absent, and without consulting the Oujatanons, being the owners of their lands. They desired me to stop at Quitepiconnae, that they would have the chiefs and warriors of Oujatanons, and those of their nation, assembled there, and would receive a proper answer; they said that they expected by me a draught of milk from the great chief, and the commanding officer of the post, for to put the old people in good humor; also some powder and ball for the young men for hunting, and to get some good broth for their women and children; that I should know a bearer of speeches should never be with empty hands; they promised me to keep their young men from stealing, and to send speeches to their nations in the prairies for to do the same. One of the chiefs desired me to listen to his speech. "Is it true that a man called Lewis Loder has, in last summer, carried a letter, wrote with red ink upon black paper, directed to the chief of the Falls, by the French and American people of the post, inviting him for to furnish his young men for to destroy the Kickapoos? Yourself, Gamelin, you wrote the said letter, without giving notice to the chiefs of that place, as reported to us. But the chief of the Falls answered: I dont understand the meaning of writing a letter with vermilion; dont you know that the Kickapoos are my children, as well as other nations? Instead of destroying them, I want to contract a solid peace with them. That is a proof of a good heart of the great chief, and we sincerely believe that what you say concerning the peace is very true. Another proof of his good heart: we heard that Ducoign applied to the commanding officer of the post for to go against us, with the French people, his brethren; but he got a refusal."

The 14th April the Oujatanons and the Kickapoos were assembled. After my speech, one of the head chiefs got up and told me: "You, Gamelin, my friend, and son-in-law, we are pleased to see in our village, and to hear by your mouth, the good words of the Great Chief. We thought to receive a few words from the French people, but I see the contrary; none but the Big-knife is sending speeches to us. You know that we can terminate nothing without the consent of our elder brethren, the Miamies. I invite you to proceed to their village, and to speak to them. There is one thing in your speech I do not like: I will not tell of it: even was I drunk, I would perceive it; but our elder brethren will certainly take notice of it in your speech. You invite us to stop our young men. It is impossible to do it, being constantly encouraged by the British." Another chief got up and said: "The Americans are very flattering in their speeches: many times our nation went to their rendezvous. I was once myself. Some of our chiefs died on the route, and we always came back all naked, and you, Gamelin, you come with speech, with empty hands." Another chief got up and said to his young men: "If we are so poor, and dressed in deer skins, it is our own fault: our French traders are leaving us and our villages, because you plunder them every day, and it is time for us to have another conduct." Another chief got up and said: "Know ye that the village of Oujatanon is the sepulchre of all our ancestors. The chief of America invites us to go to him, if we are for peace; he has not his leg broke, having been able to go as far as the Illinois: he might come here himself, and we should be glad to see him at our village. We confess that we accepted the axe, but it is by the reproach we continually receive from the English and other nations, which received the axe first, calling us women; at the present time, they invite our young men to war: as to the old people, they are wishing for peace." They could not give me an answer before they received advice from the Miamies, their elder brethren.

The 18th April I arrived at the river à l'Anguille. The chief of the village, and those of war, were not present. I explained the speeches to some of the tribe; they said they were well pleased, but they could not give me an answer, their chief men being absent; they desired me to stop at their village coming back, and they sent with me one of their men for to hear the answer of their eldest brethren.

The 23d April I arrived at the Miami town; the next day, I got the Miami nation, the Chaouanons, and Del-awares, all assembled. I gave to each nation two branches of wampum, and began the speeches, before the French and English traders, being invited by the chiefs to be present, having told them myself I would be glad to have them present, having nothing to say against any body. After the speech, I showed them the treaty concluded at Muskingum, between his Excellency Governor St. Clair, and sundry nations, which displeased them. I told them that the purpose of this present time was not to submit them to any condition; but to offer them the peace, which made disappear their displeasure. The great chief told me that he was pleased with the speech; that he would soon give me an answer. In a private discourse with the great chief, he told me not to mind what the Chaouanons would tell me, having a bad heart, and being the perturbators of all the nations. He said the Miamies had a bad name, on

\* By these are meant the Shawaneese.

account of mischief done on the river Ohio, but he told me it was not occasioned by his young men, but by the Chaouanons, his young men going out only for to hunt.

The 25th of April, Blue Jacket, chief warrior of the Chaouanons, invited me to go to his house, and told me, "My friend, by the name and consent of the Chaouanons and Delawares, I will speak to you. We are all sensible of your speech, and pleased with it; but, after consultation, we cannot give an answer without hearing from our father at Detroit, and we are determined to give you back the two branches of wampum, and to send you to Detroit to see and hear the chief, or to stay here twenty nights for to receive his answer. From all quarters, we receive speeches from the Americans, and not one is alike. We suppose that they intend to deceive us—then take back your branches of wampum."

The 26th, five Pattawatamies arrived here with two negro men, which they sold to English traders; the next day I went to the great chief of the Miamies, called Le Gris; his chief warrior was present. I told him how I had been served by the Chaouanons; he answered me, that he had heard of it; that the said nations behaved contrary to his intentions. He desired me not to mind those strangers, and that he would soon give me a positive answer.

The 28th April, the great chief desired me to call at the French trader's, and receive his answer. "Don't take bad," said he, "of what I am to tell you; you may go back when you please. We cannot give you a positive answer; we must send your speeches to all our neighbors and to the Lake nations; we cannot give a definitive answer without consulting the commandant of Detroit." And he desired me to render him the two branches of wampum refused by the Chaouanons; also, a copy of speeches, in writing. He promised me that, in thirty nights, he would send an answer to Post St. Vincennes, by a young man of each nation; he was well pleased with the speeches, and said to be worthy of attention, and should be communicated to all their confederates, having resolved among them not to do any thing without an unanimous consent. I agreed to his requisitions, and rendered him the two branches of wampum, and a copy of the speech. Afterwards, he told me, that the Five Nations, so called, or Iroquois, were training something; that five of them and three Wyandots were in this village with branches of wampum; he could not tell me presently their purpose, but he said I would know of it very soon.

The same day Blue Jacket, chief of the Chaouanons, invited me to his house for supper, and, before the other chiefs, told me that, after another deliberation, they thought necessary that I should go myself to Detroit, for to see the commandant, who would get all his children assembled for to hear my speech. I told them I would not answer them in the night—that I was not ashamed to speak before the sun.

The 29th of April, I got them all assembled. I told them that I was not to go to Detroit; that the speeches were directed to the nations of the river Wabash and the Miami, and that, for to prove the sincerity of the speech, and the heart of Governor St. Clair, I have willingly given a copy of the speeches, to be shown to the commandant of Detroit; that his excellency will be glad to hear that his speeches have been sent to Detroit, and, according to a letter wrote by the commandant of Detroit to the Miamies, Chaouanons, and Delawares, mentioning to you to be peaceable with the Americans. I would go to him very willingly, if it was my directions, being sensible of his sentiments. I told them I had nothing to say to the commandant, neither him to me. You must immediately resolve, if you intend to take me to Detroit, or else I am to go back as soon as possible. Blue Jacket got up and told me, "My friend, we are well pleased with what you say; our intention is not to force you to go to Detroit: it is only a proposal, thinking it for the best. Our answer is the same as the Miamies. We will send, in thirty nights, a full and positive answer, by a young man of each nation, by writing to Post St. Vincennes." In the evening, Blue Jacket, chief of the Chaouanons, having taken me to supper with him, told me, in a private manner, that the nation Chaouanon was in doubt of the sincerity of the Big-knives, so called, having been already deceived by them.

That they had first destroyed their lands, put out their fire, and sent away their young men, being a hunting, without a mouthful of meat; also had taken away their women, wherefore, many of them would, with great deal of pain, forget these affronts. Moreover, that some other nations were apprehending that offers of peace would, may be, tend to take away, by degrees, their lands, and would serve them as they did before; a certain proof that they intend to encroach on our lands, is their new settlement on the Ohio. If they don't keep this side clear, it will never be a proper reconciliation with the nations Chaouanons, Iroquois, Wyandots, and perhaps many others. Le Gris, chief of the Miamies, asked me, in a private discourse, what chief had made a treaty with the Americans at Musingum. I answered him, that their names were mentioned in the treaty; he told me that he had heard of it some time ago, but they are not chiefs, neither delegates, who made that treaty; they are only young men, who, without authority and instruction from their chiefs, have concluded that treaty, which will not be approved. They went to that treaty clandestinely, and they intend to make mention of it in the next council to be held.

The 2d of May, I came back to the river à l'Anguille. One of the chief men of the tribe being witness of the council at Miami town, repeated the whole to them; and whereas the first chief was absent, they said they could not for present time, give answer; but they are willing to join their speech to those of their eldest brethren. "To give you proof of an open heart, we let you know that one of our chiefs is gone to war on the Americans, but it was before we heard of you; for certain they would not have been gone thither." They also told me, that a few days after I passed by their village, seventy warriors, Sautaux and Outawais, from Michilimackinac, arrived there; some of them were Poux, who, meeting in their route the Sautaux and Outawais, joined them. "We told them what we heard by you; that your speech is fair and true. We could not stop them from going to war. The Poux told us, that, as the Sautaux and Outawais were more numerous than them, they were forced to follow them."

The 3d of May, I got to the Ouais; they told me that they were waiting for an answer from their eldest brethren. "We approve very much our brethren for not to give a definitive answer, without informing of it all the Lake nations; that Detroit was the place where the fire was lighted; then it ought first to be put out there; that the English commandant is their father, since he threw down our French father; they could do nothing without his approbation."

The 4th May I arrived at the village of the Kickapoos; the chief, presenting me two branches of wampum, black and white, said: "My son, we cannot stop our young men from going to war; every day some set off clandestinely for that purpose; after such behavior from our young men, we are ashamed to say to the great chief at the Illinois and of the Post St. Vincennes, that we are busy about some good affairs for the reconciliation; but be persuaded that we will speak to them continually concerning the peace, and that, when our eldest brethren will have sent their answer, we will join ours to it."

The 5th of May I arrived at Vermillion; I found no body but two chiefs; all the rest were gone a hunting; they told me they had nothing else to say but what I was told going up. They told me that the Grosse Tête, a warrior absent, appears to have a bad heart.

ANTOINE GAMELIN, *Messenger.*

This 17th day of May, appeared before me, Mr. Antoine Gamelin, and swore that the within is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

FS. HAMTRAMCK, *Major Commandant.*  
AR. ST. CLAIR.

*Copy of a circular letter from Governor St. Clair, to the county Lieutenants.*

HEAD QUARTERS, FORT WASHINGTON, July 15th, 1790.

SIR:

The interests of the United States dictating a peace with the Indian nations on the Wabash, if it could be obtained upon reasonable terms, I was directed by the President to give them information of the disposition of the General Government on that subject, and to try to effect it; at the same time, I was instructed by him to take measures for the security of the frontier country, in case of their continuing hostile. The following is extracted from his instruc-

tions to me on that head (here was inserted that part of my instructions relative to the militia.) I have now to inform you that there is no prospect of peace with the said Indians at present; on the contrary, they continue very ill disposed towards the United States in general, and to Virginia in particular; and many parties are, from information lately received, now actually gone to war. The commanding officer of the troops and myself have, therefore, concerted a plan of offensive operations against them, and in conformity with the above recited instructions, I now call upon you, in the name of the President of the United States, for ——— men, rank and file, and properly officered, according to the legal establishment of the militia of your State, to act in conjunction with the federal troops, against the said Indians; and that they be at ———, on the ——— day of September next, armed, accoutred, and equipped, for a service of sixty days or more, after they shall have joined the troops, unless the object in view shall be sooner accomplished.

The laudable desire, and ardent spirit, to repress incursions of the savages, by which the militia have been actuated, upon all occasions, leave not room for a doubt but the present opportunity to punish them for the many injuries and cruelties they have committed, will be embraced with zeal. But allow me to observe, that it is of the utmost importance that they be punctually at the rendezvous.

I have the honor to be, &c.

AR. ST. CLAIR.

The counties of Virginia were called upon in the following proportion, which were assigned them from the best information I could get, of their respective strengths:

The county of Nelson,	125	} To rendezvous at Fort Steuben, on the 12th September.
Lincoln,	125	
Jefferson,	50	
	300	
Madison,	125	} To rendezvous at Fort Washington, September 15th.
Mercer,	125	
Fayette,	200	
Bourbon,	125	
Woodford,	85	
Mason,	40	
	700	

The counties of Pennsylvania, the proportions of which were assigned them by the number of their representatives in Assembly, which being governed by the number of people, from time to time, appeared an equal rule, and was the only one I had to go by, having been able to meet with but one of the Lieutenants.

Washington county,	220	} To assemble at McMahan's creek, four miles below Wheeling, on 3d Sept.
Fayette,	110	
Westmoreland,	110	
Alleghany,	60	
	500	

*Copy of a letter from Governor St. Clair to the senior officer of the Pennsylvania militia, assembled at McMahan's Creek.*

PITTSBURGH, August 7th, 1790.

SIR:

As soon as the detachments from the different counties are arrived, you will proceed, without loss of time, to fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum, and there join the Federal troops under the command of Major Doughty, who will either conduct you to head quarters, or direct the manner in which you are to proceed to that place. I do hope, and expect, that nothing will prevent the whole quota of Pennsylvania from being assembled at the appointed place and time; after which, you will remain on that ground not a moment longer than is necessary; at all events you must be in motion from thence, on, or before, the 10th of September: for the delaying beyond that period, even for one day, might create difficulties and embarrassments that would not be easily got over, if it did not render the expedition altogether abortive.

I have mentioned the 10th as the utmost period, but you are by no means to delay it to that time, if the different detachments are sooner arrived. Should it happen that any of them are not got up when you move, leave directions for them to follow you with all possible expedition to Fort Washington, without halting at Muskingum. You will be sure to take the necessary measures for the security of your camp, while you remain at the rendezvous, and on your way down the river; possibly you may see no Indians, or none that are hostile, but a surprise is ever to be guarded against, so that you will never encamp without establishing proper guards and patrols, nor even go ashore, for ever so short a time, without the same precaution.

You will please to observe that many of the friendly Indians with whom the United States are engaged by treaty, may be in the neighborhood of McMahan's creek, and that they have a right to hunt in that country. It is of great consequence that no injury be done to any of them, both for the sake of public faith, which has been pledged to them, and to keep them detached from those who are inimical.

You will therefore impress the necessity of treating those Indians with kindness, should any of them be met with, upon the minds of the people under your command, in the most forcible manner. Indeed, the success of the expedition, in some measure, depends upon it. They are the Wyandots and Delawares. If you see any of them, assure them no harm is intended them, if they continue in peace.

AR. ST. CLAIR.

*The Governor of the Western Territory to the Secretary of War.*

MARIETTA, 19th September, 1790.

The depredations on the Ohio and the Wabash still continue; every day, almost, brings an account of some murder or robbery, and yesterday a number of horses were taken from this settlement. Not long ago, a boat belonging to Mr. Vigo, a gentleman of Post St. Vincennes, was fired upon near the mouth of Blue River. This person, the United States have been very much obliged to on many occasions, and is, in truth, the most disinterested person I have almost ever seen. He had three men killed, and was obliged in consequence to fall down the river. This party, it seems, had been designed to intercept me: for they reported that they had had three fair discharges at the Governor's boat, and expected that they had killed him. In descending the river, Mr. Vigo's boat fell in with Mr. Melchor's, returning from Tennessee, and attempted, in company with him, to ascend the Wabash. Here they were attacked again. Melchor escaped, and fell down, it seems, to the Ance de la graisse, but the savages possessed themselves of Vigo's boat, which they plundered of all his and the crew's personal baggage and arms; but

as she was navigated by Frenchmen, they suffered them to depart with the peltries, telling them that, if she had not been in company with Americans, they would not have injured them, and that, if they found them in such again, they would put them to death. Captain McCurdy likewise was fired upon between Fort Washington and this place, and had five or six men killed and wounded.

"I am directed to write to the commanding officer at Detroit. I have enclosed a copy of that letter."

*Governor St. Clair to the commanding officer of Detroit.*

MARIETTA, 19th September, 1790.

SIR:

As it is not improbable that an account of the military preparations going forward in this quarter of the country may reach you, and give you some uneasiness, while the object to which they are to be directed is not perfectly known to you, I am commanded by the President of the United States to give you the fullest assurances of the pacific disposition entertained towards Great Britain and all her possessions, and to inform you explicitly that the expedition about to be undertaken, is not intended against the post you have the honor to command, nor any other place at present in the possession of the troops of his Britannic Majesty, but is on foot with the sole design of humbling and chastising some of the savage tribes whose depredations are become intolerable, and whose cruelties have of late become an outrage, not on the people of America only, but on humanity, which I now do in the most unequivocal manner. After this candid explanation, sir, there is every reason to expect, both from your own personal character, and from the regard you have for that of your nation, that those tribes will meet with neither countenance nor assistance from any under your command, and that you will do what in your power lies, to restrain the trading people, from whose instigations there is too good reason to believe, much of the injuries committed by the savages has proceeded. I have forwarded this letter by a private gentleman, in preference to that of an officer, by whom you might have expected a communication of this kind, that every suspicion of the purity of the views of the United States might be obviated.

*Governor St. Clair to the Secretary of War.*

FORT WASHINGTON, 9th October, 1790.

On the 23d ultimo, I arrived at this place, and found every thing in a better state of preparation than I had flattered myself with, owing to the prudent care and attention of General Harmar, and the indefatigable application of Captain Ferguson. The militia that had been ordered from Kentucky, appeared on the day appointed, all except one hundred and forty, who have since come forward, and marched to join the army. Major Wyllis, with the troops from the falls, got up on the 22d, and Major Doughty, with part of the garrison of fort Harmar, arrived on the 25th. From the failure on the part of Pennsylvania, the corps would have been rather too weak, and General Harmar was of opinion with me, that it would be proper to ask for a reinforcement from Kentucky, and in virtue of the powers granted to me by the President, I immediately called for five hundred from the counties of Fayette and Woodford, which were the nearest, and also the most populous, and requested that, if it could be done, they might all be mounted; but as the other militia had been for some time here, and were beginning to grow impatient, it was thought best not to wait for the arrival of the reinforcement, and accordingly the corps under the immediate command of Colonel Harding, was put in motion on the 27th, with orders to advance about twenty miles, and to open a road from their camp to this place, for the passage of the artillery. By the accounts we have of the country, after the first twenty miles are passed, it becomes level, and so thinly covered with wood, that there will be little occasion to open roads. On the 30th, General Harmar moved with the troops, three pieces of artillery, and the provisions for the campaign, the cattle and horses for the transportation of the flour having arrived in due season. On the 2d instant, Mr. Frothingham, arrived with the remainder of the garrison of fort Harmar, and proceeded to join the army on the third.

I have not heard from General Harmar since his second day's march. The country was then hilly and difficult for the artillery; but some persons who had been viewing the country came in two days ago, who confirm the account of its very soon becoming level and open. They fell in upon the trace of the army about seven miles from Mud river, and returned upon it. In that distance, there had been occasion to make only one very small causeway with logs. They must be up with Chillicothe before now, and if they have not been opposed there, which I do not expect, as it is situated in a plain prairie. The Indians will be found assembled at the Miami village. Major Hamtramck had orders from General Harmar to move on the 25th of the last month, and the militia would join him in time for him to comply with the orders within a day or two at farthest.

The intelligence I received shall be communicated from time to time, by every opportunity, and by express, if any thing occurs of sufficient importance.

The little army moved in high spirits, and have had excellent weather ever since, one day's rain excepted.

*Messrs. Elliot and Williams, Contractors, to the Secretary of War.*

14th October, 1790.

In consequence of orders received from General Harmar, dated the 15th of July, which we engaged to comply with by the 1st of October, we have, before the 18th of September, furnished and equipped for the use of the army, in the intended expedition against the savages, one hundred and eighty thousand rations of flour, two hundred thousand rations of meat, eight hundred and sixty-eight pack and artillery horses, equipped with pack saddles, bags, ropes, &c. and one horse-master general, eighteen horse-masters, one hundred and thirty pack-horse drivers, all of which could not have been done upon so short a notice as we have had, if we had not employed all our funds, and pledged our credit to the extent, to the people of the Western country, where the supplies were principally furnished.

The expedition, we trust, cannot fail from any default of ours, for we have forwarded supplies in greater quantities than were required of us; and even more than our most sanguine expectations, at the commencement of the business, encouraged us to promise.

*Instructions from the President of the United States to the Governor of the Western Territory.—6th October, 1789.*

TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR, Esq.

Governor of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern district:

SIR:

Congress having, by their act of the 29th of September last, empowered me to call forth the militia of the States, respectively, for the protection of the frontiers from the incursions of the hostile Indians, I have thought proper to make this communication to you, together with the instructions herein contained.



It is highly necessary that I should as soon as possible, possess full information, whether the Wabash and Illinois Indians are most inclined for war or peace. If for the former, it is proper that I should be informed of the means which will most probably induce them to peace. If a peace can be established with the said Indians on reasonable terms, the interests of the United States dictate, that it should be effected as soon as possible.

You will therefore inform the said Indians of the dispositions of the General Government on this subject, and of their reasonable desire that there should be a cessation of hostilities as a prelude to a treaty. If, however, notwithstanding your intimations to them, they should continue their hostilities, or meditate any incursions against the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, or against any of the troops or posts of the United States, and it should appear to you that the time of execution would be so near as to forbid your transmitting the information to me, and receiving my further orders thereon, then you are hereby authorized and empowered, in my name, to call on the lieutenants of the nearest counties of Virginia and Pennsylvania, for such detachments of militia as you may judge proper, not exceeding, however, one thousand from Virginia and five hundred from Pennsylvania.

I have directed letters to be written to the Executives of Virginia and Pennsylvania, informing them of the before recited act of Congress, and that I have given you these conditional directions, so that there may not be any obstructions to such measures as shall be necessary to be taken by you for calling forth the militia agreeably to the instructions herein contained.

The said militia to act in conjunction with the federal troops, in such operations, offensive or defensive, as you, and the commanding officer of the troops, conjointly, shall judge necessary for the public service, and the protection of the inhabitants and the posts.

The said militia, while in actual service, to be on the continental establishment of pay and rations; they are to arm and equip themselves, but to be furnished with public ammunition if necessary, and no charge for the pay of said militia will be valid unless supported by regular musters, made by a field or other officer of the federal troops, to be appointed by the commanding officer of the troops.

I would have it observed forcibly, that a war with the Wabash Indians ought to be avoided by all means consistently with the security of the frontier inhabitants, the security of the troops, and the national dignity. In the exercise of the present indiscriminate hostilities, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to say that a war without further measures would be just on the part of the United States.

But, if, after manifesting clearly to the Indians, the dispositions of the General Government for the preservation of peace, and the extension of a just protection to the said Indians, they should continue their incursions, the United States will be constrained to punish them with severity.

You will, also, proceed, as soon as you can, with safety, to execute the orders of the late Congress, respecting the inhabitants at St. Vincennes, and at the Kaskaskias, and the other villages on the Mississippi. It is a circumstance of some importance, that the said inhabitants should, as soon as possible, possess the lands to which they are entitled, by some known and fixed principles.

I have directed a number of copies of the treaty made by you, at fort Harmar, with the Wyandots, &c. on the 9th of January last, to be printed and forwarded to you, together with the ratification, and my proclamation enjoining the observance thereof.

As it may be of high importance to obtain a precise and accurate knowledge of the several waters which empty into the Ohio, on the northwest, and of those which discharge themselves in the lakes Erie and Michigan, the length of the portages between, and nature of the ground, an early and pointed attention thereto is earnestly recommended.

Given under my hand, in the city of New York, this 6th day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, and in the thirteenth year of the sovereignty and independence of the United States.

*The Secretary of War to General Harmar.*

*7th June, 1790.*

The information contained in your letter of the 24th of March last, relative to the depredations of the Indians, is corroborated by several other letters, with considerable additions. The reports of these several events, have excited much disquietude in the public mind generally, and, more particularly, in all men whose views or interests are westward.

A letter from Judge Symmes, dated at Lexington, the 30th of April last, mentions, that you, with some continental troops, and General Scott, with some volunteers from Kentucky, had made an expedition up the Ohio, against the Indians, at or near the Scioto, who had annoyed the boats in descending the Ohio, but without any considerable effect, having killed only four Indians.

The recent hostilities, according to the information, seems to have been committed by the remnants of the Shawanese, and the banditti from several tribes associated with them. Although the said Shawanese, and banditti, aggregately, may not amount, at the excess, to two hundred fighting men, yet they seem sufficient to alarm the whole frontier lying along the Ohio, and, in a considerable degree, injure the reputation of the Government.

To extend a defensive and efficient protection to so extensive a frontier, against solitary, or small parties of enterprising savages, seems altogether impossible. No other remedy remains, but to extirpate, utterly, if possible, the said banditti.

The President of the United States, therefore, directs, that you, and the Governor of the Western Territory, consult together upon the most practicable mode of effecting this object, in such manner as not to interfere with any treaties he may be about forming with any of the regular tribes of Indians on the Wabash.

At this distance, and under the information received, it would seem that an expedition of the nature herein described, might, if conducted with great address and rapidity, be attended with the desired effect.

The troops to be employed on this occasion, to be composed of one hundred continental, and three hundred militia, non-commissioned officers and privates, all picked men, and properly officered.

The militia to be drawn from the nearest counties of Kentucky, to rendezvous at fort Washington, or the mouth of the Great Miami, or such other place as you may judge more proper, to be engaged for thirty days from their arrival at the rendezvous.

The continental troops and militia to be mounted on horseback, and if, in the judgment of the Governor and yourself, that mode of transportation would most probably ensure success, and horses could be obtained in a reasonable distance.

The militia to be on continental pay, according to the establishment, passed the 30th April last; and rations from the time of their arrival at the place of rendezvous.

A continental officer, to muster and inspect the militia on their arrival, and none to be inserted in the pay abstracts, which must be certified by you, unless so mustered. The militia to find their own arms and accoutrements, but to be furnished by the public, with ammunition, if necessary.

The militia officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, to be allowed for the hire and risk of their horses, and horse accoutrements, such a sum, per day, as the Governor and you shall certify that the nature of the service required; provided, however, such sum shall not exceed half a dollar per day.

The horses to be hired for continental troops, to be on the same terms, or less, in proportion to the risk of the horses, which, perhaps, ought to be on account of the United States, according to the value of the horses, which, in that case, ought to be appraised.

It is presumed, that each horse, besides the rider, ought to carry thirty days bread and pork, or bacon, and about a bushel of corn, or one quart per day, as fodder for the horses.



The Shawanese, and banditti associated with them, are said to reside on the eastern branches of the Wabash river, towards its head. I have learned from Major Doughty and Captain Ferguson, that the Wabash has a more easterly course than is laid down in Hutchin's map. If this be so, the distance from the mouth of the Great Miami, over, cannot greatly exceed the distance from the rapids over to Post St. Vincennes. But, suppose the distance should be one hundred and thirty or forty miles, it could be marched on horseback, in four days, at furthest.

It would be unnecessary to enter into any further details. To the judgment of the Governor and you, the expedition may justly be confided. Efficacy, and the peace of the frontiers, are the great objects; with these are to be blended due economy. But, all future depredations of the Indians from the southwest of the Ohio, in considerable numbers, must, if possible, be prevented; and, for this purpose, the orders now given, or even an extension of them, one or two hundred men, must be considered as a standing order, until the object of extirpating the murderous banditti before mentioned, be effected.

It is, however, strongly to be observed, that the highest precautions must be taken in all incursions into the Indian country, that the friendly, or even neutral tribes, be uninjured, but, that the strongest assurances be given to such tribes, of the pacific and just dispositions of the United States, and, at the same time, of their firm intentions of inflicting severe punishment upon all those of a contrary nature.

Although these orders are to be considered as addressed, conjointly to the Governor and yourself, yet, in case of his absence, and a conviction, in your own mind, that an expedition of the beforementioned description would not interfere, or impede his negotiations, you are to undertake it as if he were present.

*The Secretary of War to the Secretary of the Treasury.*

23d August, 1790.

*An estimate of the expense of employing, for three months, one thousand seven hundred militia, and four hundred continental troops, in an expedition against the Wabash Indians—two hundred of the militia to be mounted.*

THE MILITIA.

The pay,	\$24,012
The subsistence and rations at 16-90ths of a dollar,	31,302
Forage for the field and staff officers,	234
	\$55,548

THE CONTINENTAL TROOPS.

Additional expense of subsistence and rations to the continental troops, during the same period.	
This expense arises from the contract; the price of the ration at fort Washington is stated at six and a half ninetieths of a dollar; but, from that post to the places of operation, the price will be sixteen-ninetieths,	4,146
The quartermaster's department, including the hire of four hundred horses, purchase of boats, and transportation,	30,000
Contingencies,	10,306
	\$100,000

The contractors are to execute the duties of the quartermaster's department; the extra services, therefore, which will be required of them, independent of the sum set down for contingencies, will amount to sixty-five thousand six hundred and eighty-two dollars. One half of this sum may be necessary to be advanced immediately, to enable them to perform effectually the services required.

*The Secretary of War to Governor St. Clair.*

23d August, 1790.

I have submitted to the President of the United States, your letter of this date, and the papers therein referred to, containing the reasons on which you have founded the proposed operation against the Wabash Indians.

While the President regrets exceedingly the occasion, he approves the measures you have taken, for preventing those predatory incursions of the Wabash Indians, which, for a considerable period past, have been so calamitous to the frontiers lying along the Ohio.

The offers of peace, which have been made upon principles of justice and humanity, to the Wabash Indians, and refused, will fully justify the conduct of the United States in the operations which have been directed for the prevention of future murders and robberies.

It is the earnest desire of the President that the operation should be effectual, and produce in the Indians proper dispositions for peace. He therefore confides in your judgment and abilities, as being perfectly acquainted with the force of the Indians, the nature of the operation, and all the circumstances of the case, whether any further force shall be added to that already ordered. If, upon due deliberation, you should be of opinion that the force you have directed should be inadequate to the end proposed, and that an additional number of militia should be requisite, he consents to the measure, and hereby authorizes you for that purpose.

In this case, the additional number of militia should be taken from the frontier counties of Virginia, on account of their vicinity to fort Washington, the place of rendezvous.

And, if you should be of the judgment that two hundred of the militia should be mounted on horse-back, he also consents to such arrangement, under the regulations prescribed in my letter to Brigadier General Harmar, of the 7th day of last June.

It may not, however, be improper to observe, in all the arrangements for the expedition, that, while energy is the first principle to be observed, it must be blended with a just economy.

There are existing jealousies in the minds of the British officers, in Canada, of the designs of the United States respecting the posts to have been relinquished by the last peace. It will be a point, therefore, of delicacy, that you should take measures, by sending some officer or messenger, at a proper time, to assure the commanding officer of the real object of the expedition. That the Shawanese, and some others joined with them, have committed such enormous offences against the citizens of the United States, as are any longer insupportable; but, to assure him of the entire pacific disposition of the United States towards Great Britain and its possessions.

You will also find it, at some certain moment, highly proper to inform the Indians, with whom you have formed treaties, of your pacific dispositions towards them.

And it may also be proper, under certain circumstances of humiliation of the Indians, to conclude with them treaties of peace, provided it can be done on proper security of their good behavior, and consistently with the dignity and interest of the United States.

The President has directed me to observe, that many important circumstances concur to press, that the operation should commence immediately after the assembling of the militia; and as the main force will march from fort Washington, it is his opinion, as far as an opinion can be formed from the maps, that the march of the troops from that post, should commence two or three days previous to those from Post Vincennes.

The militia employed must be mustered previously to their march, and on their return before they are discharged, by a field officer of the continental troops, agreeably to your instructions from the President, dated the 5th of October, 1789, and to Brigadier General Harmar, dated the 7th of June last.

I have made an estimate for the object of the expedition, and transmitted it to the Secretary of the Treasury, and I have requested him to advance a sum of money to the contractors, in order to enable them to furnish the requisite supplies of provision and articles in the quartermaster's department.

I have also written to Mr. Hodgden, commissary of military stores in Philadelphia, to forward, immediately, by the way of Red Stone and Wheeling, two tons of best rifle and musket powder, four tons leaden bullets, cartridge-paper, case shot for 5½ inch howitzers, and for three and six pounders.

I have written to Lieutenant Ernest, at fort Pitt, directing him to repair to Red Stone, in order to receive said stores, and to have them transported down the Monongahela, by water, to fort Harmar, or to Wheeling, by land, and thence to fort Harmar, as he shall find most convenient.

*The Secretary of War to Brigadier General Harmar.*

AUGUST 24, 1790.

I now acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th of last month, by Governor St. Clair, who has stated to me the plan of the proposed expedition against the Indians, and the same has been submitted to the President of the United States, who has approved thereof.

My letter to the Governor, of yesterday, which he will communicate to you, contains some circumstances which may not be necessary to repeat.

The expedition you are about to undertake is not only of great importance in itself, but it may be attended with extensive and remote consequences. Every consideration, therefore, of a public nature, as well as personal to yourself, require that it should be conducted in the most perfect manner; that there should not be any omissions, but all just arrangements made to produce a due execution of every plan and order.

A knowledge of your enemy's strength, situation, and designs, must be essential to your success; you will, therefore, make the best arrangements for obtaining intelligence.

While, on the one hand, your movements and execution should be so rapid and decisive as to astonish your enemy, so, on the other, every possible precaution in the power of human foresight should be used to prevent surprise. To enter into the details of the measures you ought to take to effect the former, or prevent the latter, would be to attempt to preclude the exercise of your abilities. The President of the United States is impressed with the conviction that you are aware of the importance of your command, and that you will endeavor to make the best arrangements to ensure success, and particularly that you will avail yourself, on all occasions, of the mature experience and judgment of Governor St. Clair.

I have, agreeably to Major Doughty's report, directed Mr. Hodgden to forward two tons of the best rifle and musket powder, lead in proportion, cartridge paper, flints, and the medicines you wrote for, the capital articles of which are doubled.

I have transmitted you, by Governor St. Clair, one thousand dollars for contingent money, for which you will forward me triplicate receipts.

As it is probable that most of the militia may be armed with rifles, which are certainly not good arms in a close fight, it may, perhaps, be proper for you to attempt to persuade some of them to arm themselves with the spare muskets you have in store.

P. S. It will be necessary that you communicate the time of your setting out, the number of your command, the progress and termination of the expedition, and the various events proper for the President to know.

*The Secretary of War to the Governor of Virginia.*

SEPTEMBER 2, 1790.

Governor St. Clair has, in person, laid before the President the plan of the proposed operation against the Wabash Indians, which has been approved.

It being the anxious desire of the President that the expedition should be effectual, and not require a repetition, all the arrangements are made to accomplish so desirable an end. For this purpose, Governor St. Clair has been further empowered to require, if necessary, an additional number of men. If, therefore, there are any measures necessary to be taken by your Excellency and the council, in order to facilitate an additional number of men, the President of the United States hopes they will be expedited with all possible despatch.

It has been suggested that the expedition may be liable to miscarriage, from a jealousy of the militia and regular troops. It is devoutly to be wished that such suggestions may be entirely unfounded. But, if jealousies should exist, it would be highly important that they should be entirely removed, or suspended during the season of activity. I shall write particularly on this point to Governor St. Clair and to Brigadier General Harmar, to adopt the most conciliatory conduct.

It has also been mentioned as a circumstance of considerable importance to the success of the expedition, that Colonels Logan and Shelby should be induced to accompany the militia on the expedition, even as volunteers, great confidence being placed in the characters of these gentlemen. Could your Excellency, therefore, influence those gentlemen to go forth on this occasion, it would be highly acceptable, and might tend greatly to the accomplishment of the public good. The expense of the expedition will be great, and if it should fail by any circumstances whatever, the public injury and disappointment will be in proportion.

It is thought proper, for particular and political reasons, to give the expedition the appearance of being levelled only at the Shawanese.

*The Secretary of War to Messrs. Elliot and Williams, at Baltimore.*

SEPTEMBER 3, 1790.

Your friend, Colonel Samuel Smith, has been here, and has made such arrangements with the Secretary of the Treasury, respecting advances, as are entirely satisfactory to him. You will, therefore, not find yourselves any ways restrained in your preparations for want of pecuniary assistance.

I am persuaded that you will endeavor, by every possible exertion, to make adequate preparations, both in the commissary and quartermaster's line, for the proposed expedition.

On your making adequate and seasonable supplies, the whole success of the expedition may depend. You will see, therefore, the urgent necessity of every thing being in perfect readiness.

*The Secretary of War to Governor St. Clair.*

SEPTEMBER 12, 1790.

I have not been unmindful of the suggestion you made at the moment of your departure from this city, relative to the establishment of a post at the Miami village, in the event of the proposed expedition's succeeding in a certain degree. I have had a full communication on the subject with the President of the United States, to whom you had previously made the same suggestion, and the following ideas are the result thereof, and will serve for the direction of yourself and Brigadier General Harmar on the occasion.

In contemplating the establishment of military posts northwest of the Ohio, to answer the purposes of awing the Indians residing on the Wabash, the west end of Lake Erie, St. Joseph's, and the Illinois, as much as Indians can be awed by posts, and at the same time exhibiting a respectable appearance to the British troops at Detroit and Niagara, the Miami village presents itself as superior to any other position, excepting the actual possession of the posts on the lakes, which ought to have been given up conformable to the treaty of peace. This opinion was given to me by the President in the year 1789, and has several times been held forth by me to Brigadier General Harmar.

But, at the same time, it must be acknowledged that the measure would involve a much larger military establishment, than, perhaps, the value of the object, or the dispositions of the United States would justify, and that it would be so opposed to the inclinations of the Indians generally, even with the tribes with whom we have made treaties, as to bring on inevitably an Indian war of some duration. In addition to which, it may be supposed that the British garrisons would find themselves so uneasy with such a force impending over them, as not only to occasion a considerable reinforcement of their upper posts, but to occasion their fomenting, secretly at least, the opposition of the Indians.

The proposed expedition is intended to exhibit to the Wabash Indians our power to punish them for their hostile depredations, for their conniving at the depredations of others, and for their refusing to treat with the United States when invited thereto. This power will be demonstrated by a sudden stroke, by which their towns and crops may be destroyed. The principal means used will be the militia.

Let us suppose the expedition to be successful, as I pray God it may, and let us estimate the force which would be fully required for establishing a post at the Miami Village.

From the mode of Indian fighting, it will not be reasonable to conclude their force will be greatly reduced in the skirmishes they may have with Brigadier General Harmar, or Major Hamtramck. If, therefore, eleven hundred warriors, according to your judgment, delivered to me, could be brought into activity from the Wabash and its vicinity, to which may be added a much greater number, if we should suppose that the Wyandot, Delaware, St. Joseph's, and Illinois Indians should be combined with them, the post to be established ought not to have a less garrison than 750 men; were it inferior to this number, it would always be liable to be invested and to have its supplies cut off, even when arrived in its vicinity. Whether the posts of communication essentially necessary to the existence of the Miami post, should be up the Wabash, up the Miami of the Ohio, or the Miami of lake Erie, they would require at different places, at least 500 men.

To establish the post in the first instance, so as to render it superior to the Indian force in the neighborhood, would require all the troops employed in the expedition, to wit, 2,000: for if a sudden stroke, by which the attention and force of the Indians should be divided, would require that number, the notoriety of establishing a post and erecting fortifications at the Miami village, in the heart of the Indian country, would require the same or a superior number; as the Indians would then have one object of their attention and exertion.

To complete the works at the post, and the essential communications to it, would probably require two months. Would the militia stay for that period? If so, would part of them remain in garrison afterwards, for six months? for the four hundred continental troops to be employed on the expedition, would be *utterly* inadequate for all the services required.

Besides, the post could not be established, unless it had a number of pieces of cannon, and a proper quantity of stores, and also three months' provision in the first instance. The transportation of these articles, would require considerable time and a great apparatus.

It might be added, further, that, although the establishment of a strong post, at the Miami Village, would awe the Indians, yet experience has demonstrated that posts will not prevent the depredations of small parties against the frontiers.

To render the measure entirely effectual, and at the same time to guard the public lands from intrusion, the regular force to be employed, northwest of the Ohio, ought to be increased to 1,800 men. This establishment would not be compatible either with the public views or the public finances, unless it should result from mere necessity; a due consideration, therefore, of these several circumstances, renders the measure at this period inexpedient, and, therefore, not to be undertaken.

The expedition will either incline the Indians to treat of peace, or it will induce them to wage open war in the ensuing spring. A further time is also required, to know the intentions of the British court, respecting the delivery of Niagara and Detroit. The decision of this point has an intimate connexion with the peace of the frontiers.

The ultimate determination of Government must, therefore, depend on the result of the arrangements which have been directed and which are in operation. It would not be wise to direct a measure which would give a wrong bias to affairs.

The President will be exceedingly desirous to learn the measures taken by yourself and Brigadier General Harmar, from time to time, and above all, he is exceedingly anxious that every arrangement should be made to render the proposed expedition entirely effectual.

*Secretary of War to General Harmar.*

14th September, 1790.

The expense of the proposed expedition will be great; but, I have that confidence in your economical arrangements, that you will not order more pack-horses than shall be absolutely necessary, consistent with efficacy. The pack-horses for provisions, will be at the contractor's expense. It is true they will have an additional price for the rations; but, as you will not take tents, and, in all other respects, will be unincumbered, and as light as possible, I do not conceive that you will want pack-horses for other objects than your provisions. I have written to the Governor by this conveyance, respecting the Miami village, which will be considered as a joint letter. The President of the United States will be anxious to hear of the arrangements and success.

*The Secretary of War to General Harmar.*

3d September, 1790.

Since the departure of Governor St. Clair, I have been informed, that there may be an aversion in the minds of the militia to act with the regular troops. If this should really be the case, and any jealousies should arise, to impede the success of the expedition, it would indeed be an unfortunate circumstance. Every precaution therefore should be taken by the Governor and yourself, either to remove such dispositions, if existing, or to prevent them arising among the militia.

It has been suggested, that, could Colonels Logan and Shelby, of Kentucky, be induced to accompany the expedition as volunteers, they would have a powerful influence over the conduct of the militia. I therefore submit the idea, that the Governor and you invite those characters to accompany you in the expedition, and that you treat them with the greatest cordiality.

*To Governor St. Clair, or Brigadier General Harmar.*

WAR OFFICE, *March 3, 1790.*

SIR:

In pursuance of powers vested in the President of the United States, by the act of Congress, passed the 29th day of September, 1789, he authorized you, by his instructions, dated the 6th of October following, in certain cases, and in the proportions therein specified, to call forth the militia of Virginia and Pennsylvania, for the protection of the frontiers against the depredations of the Indians.

Since transmitting you the aforesaid instructions, he has received several applications for protection, from the inhabitants of the frontier counties of Virginia, lying along the south side of the Ohio. These applications are founded on the depredations of small parties of Indians during the last year, who, it seems, have murdered many of the unguarded inhabitants, stolen their horses, and burned their houses.

Until the last year, an arrangement of the following nature existed at the expense of Virginia. The lieutenants of the exposed counties, under certain restrictions, were permitted to call forth a number of active men as patrols or scouts, as they are generally termed, and parties of rangers; but the government of that State thought proper to discontinue that arrangement on the organization of the General Government, to which the inhabitants of the said counties now apply for protection.

All applications of this nature have been placed before the Congress for their information, and in order that they may adopt such measures as the case may require. But as the season is fast approaching in which the inhabitants are apprehensive of a repetition of the injuries suffered the last year, they seem to be of an opinion, that their situation requires some conditional security, previously to the measures which may result from the deliberations of Congress.

The President of the United States has, therefore, so far conformed to their apprehensions on this point, as to refer the case to you, or in your absence to Brigadier General Harmar, and to give you the authority herein described.

1st. That if, from good and sufficient information, it should be your judgment, or, in your absence, the judgment of the commanding officer aforesaid, that any of the frontier counties of Virginia, lying along the south of the Ohio, are, under existing circumstances, threatened immediately with incursive parties of Indians, that you or the said commanding officer, under your hands and seals, empower the lieutenants of such exposed counties to call forth a particular number of scouts, in proportion to the danger of the said counties, not, however, exceeding, for one county, the number of eight men. The said scouts to be continued in service no longer than the danger shall exist, according to the judgment of the county lieutenants.

2d. That, when the said service shall be performed, the following evidence thereof shall be required:

1st. A return of the names, ages, and residence, of the said scouts.

2d. An abstract of the pay of the said scouts, specifying the exact days in which they were so employed. The pay to be regulated by the lowest price in the respective counties in which the service may be performed; and on this point, you and the commanding officer will be particularly accurate. I have been informed, that 5s. Virginia currency per day, has been given to each of the scouts. If this high price has been given, it must form the excess to be given on the part of the United States.

3d. An account of rations, each ration being stated at not a higher rate than 6d. per ration.

4th. All these papers might be signed and certified on oath by the county lieutenants, or commanding officer of each county, and transmitted to Brigadier General Harmar, in order to be delivered to the paymaster of his regiment, who will have the accounts passed, and draw the money for the same. The money so drawn, to be paid by him to the county lieutenants, who must produce to him the receipts of the individuals for whom the money was so drawn.

The commanding officer will also issue a reasonable quantity of powder and ball, for the said scouts, to the county lieutenants.

It is, however, to be strongly remarked, that all measures of this nature are uncertain, opposed to the principles of regularity, and to be adopted only in cases of exigence, and to cease the moment the said exigencies shall cease. That, therefore, you, or the commanding officer aforesaid, will not confer the authority herein contained, but in cases of the most conspicuous necessity; and that, when such cases do arise, that you or he transmit to this office, a particular detail of the evidences whereon you have formed your judgment. H. K.

*To the Lieutenants of the counties of Harrison, Randolph, Ohio, Monongalia, and Kenhawa; and also to the Lieutenant of Russell county, April 29th, 1790.*

WAR OFFICE, *April 13, 1790.*

SIR:

The President of the United States, on the 3d of last month, directed me to authorize the Governor of the Western territory, or, in his absence, the commanding officer of the troops, in certain cases, to empower the lieutenants of the counties lying along the Ohio to call forth, for the protection of said counties, certain patrols, denominated scouts, at the expense of the United States. Colonel Duval, lieutenant of Harrison county, was charged with these orders to the Governor, or Brigadier General Harmar, and from the particular interest he took in the affair, no doubt can remain, but that he exerted himself to have the said orders carried into full effect.

But, as it is possible that some delays may have been occasioned, by your distance or other circumstances, and as the President of the United States is exceedingly desirous that the exposed counties may avail themselves of the provision intended in said orders, he has directed me to write to the lieutenants of the counties of Harrison, Randolph, Ohio, Monongalia, and Kenhawa, in Virginia, and in case their situation required the benefit of the said provision, that they should be empowered for that purpose.

Therefore, sir, I do, in the name of the President of the United States, hereby authorize and empower you, if in your judgment the appearances of danger are such as to require the measure, to call forth the scouts herein mentioned, and under the regulations described.\* H. K.

*To Harry Innes, Esq. District Judge of Kentucky.*

WAR OFFICE, *April 13, 1790.*

SIR:

By some recent information from the Ohio, it appears that the Indians still continue their depredations on the frontiers.

A general arrangement relative to the frontiers has been contemplated, but, not having been finally concluded upon by Congress, and the season of activity approaching, the President of the United States was induced, from the

\* For these regulations, see the preceding letter of the 3d of March, to Gov. St. Clair, or General Harmar.

particular situation of the counties lying along the Ohio, to direct, on the 3d of last March, that the Governor of the Western territory, or, in his absence, Brigadier General Harmar, should be invested with a conditional authority, of which the enclosed is a copy.

These orders were transmitted by Colonel Duval, lieutenant of Harrison county, who would undoubtedly, as he was much interested in the business, convey expeditiously the same to the commanding officer.

But, as it is possible, notwithstanding, that some delays may have taken place, and as the President of the United States is exceedingly desirous that the inhabitants of the frontier counties should experience the benefits of the provision contained in the said orders to the commanding officer, he has directed me to make this communication to you; and he has further directed me to empower you, that, in case any of the counties of Kentucky should not have already availed themselves of said provision, and should, in your judgment, stand in need thereof, that you should, under your hand and seal, authorize the lieutenants of such counties to call forth the scouts, precisely as to the numbers and under the regulations directed in the instructions to the Governor of the Western territory, or, in his absence, the commanding officer of the troops.

The information of the wages paid for the scouts, was given by Colonel Duval. It exceeds greatly all calculations of pay to be given persons for performing military service, and, were it carried to a considerable extent, no government on earth could support it.

But as this measure is regarded merely as a temporary expedient until further measures are taken, the President of the United States consents to the usual sums being given, which hitherto have been given by Virginia for the same services; at the same time, he reposes entire confidence in your character, that you will (if arrangements should not have been made by the commanding officer) guard in this respect the interests of the United States.

It is the opinion of some gentlemen, well acquainted with Kentucky, that four scouts, or men, to each county, would be satisfactory. If this should also be your judgment, you will limit the arrangement to that number, or at least to the usual number heretofore employed. But as the information was different from that whereon the instructions to the Governor and commanding officer of the 3d of March were founded, it has been concluded best to make no alteration in that discretionary arrangement.

H. K.

*Copy of a letter written by the Secretary of War to the Lieutenants of the counties of Washington, in Pennsylvania, Harrison, Randolph, Ohio, Monongalia, and Kenhawa, in Virginia, Mason, Bourbon, Woodford, Madison, Lincoln, Mercer, Nelson, and Jefferson, in Kentucky.*

WAR OFFICE, July 17, 1790.

SIR:

I had the honor, on the 13th day of April last, to address you on the subject of the incursions of small parties of Indians on the western frontiers. In that letter I authorized you, in the name of the President of the United States, in certain cases of imminent danger, to call out, for the protection of the county, certain species of patrols, denominated scouts, at the expense of the United States.

I have now the honor, by the direction of the President of the United States, to inform you, that the authority contained in said letter relative to said scouts, is to be considered as having ceased and terminated upon your receiving this letter, duplicates of which I have written and transmitted to you.

The representations of the then deplorable situation of the frontier counties, and the high estimation the said scouts were held in by the inhabitants, were the inducements of the President of the United States to consent to calling forth that expensive species of militia as a temporary measure for the protection of the exposed counties.

But, as experience has demonstrated the inefficiency of defensive measures for an extensive frontier, against straggling parties of Indians, and as conditional orders have been transmitted to the Governor of the Western territory and the commanding officer of the troops of the United States, to act offensively against the Shawanese and out-cast Cherokees joined with them, inhabiting northwest' of the Ohio, who are probably the banditti which has for some time past committed depredations on the counties lying along the Ohio; and as the militia or rangers hereafter described will, in cases of necessity, be permitted, at the expense of the Union, in lieu of the scouts, it is presumed that no injury will be sustained by revoking the authority for calling into service so expensive a species of troops as the said scouts.

The President of the United States is anxiously desirous of effectually protecting the frontiers, and he will take all such reasonable measures as, in his judgment, the case may require, and for which he shall be, by the constitution or by the laws, authorized.

He has, therefore, directed me to inform you, that, in addition to the general measures aforesaid, which have been ordered, he has empowered the Governor of the Western territory and Brigadier General Harmar, or either of them, to make the arrangement hereafter described for the internal security of the exposed counties.

The said Governor and commanding officer, or either of them, will, under their hands and seals, empower the lieutenants of such counties lying along the Ohio, as they shall judge necessary, to call forth the number of militia or rangers hereafter mentioned, and under the regulations prescribed.

1st. The said militia, or rangers, shall not exceed, for the internal defence of any county, one subaltern, one sergeant, one corporal, and twelve privates, but such less number may be ordered as the said Governor and commanding officer, or county lieutenant, may judge requisite.

2d. The said militia, or rangers, shall, during the time of their actual service, receive the following rates of pay, which are the same as is by law established for the regular troops of the United States and the militia, viz:

Lieutenant, twenty-two dollars	} per month.
Ensign, eighteen dollars	
Sergeant, five dollars	
Corporal, four dollars	
Privates, three dollars	

3d. The said rangers shall be furnished with rations, in such manner as the lieutenants of the county shall think proper. The United States will allow for each ration sixpence, Virginia currency, or eight and one-third hundredth parts of a dollar; the subaltern to have two, and the non-commissioned and privates one ration each.

4th. The lieutenant of each county will be responsible, on oath, that the said rangers shall be called into service only in cases of imminent danger, and that they be discharged as soon as the danger shall cease.

That, when any service shall have been performed by said rangers, the following evidence thereof will be required:

1st. A return of the names, rank, ages, residence, and times of service, of each of the said rangers.

2d. A pay abstract, or account of the number of said rangers, agreeably to the aforesaid returns.

3d. An abstract of the rations, agreeably to the aforesaid return.

4th. These papers to be signed and verified, upon oath, by the lieutenant of the county, or commanding officer of the militia, who will transmit the same to Brigadier General Harmar, or the commanding officer of the troops of the United States on the Ohio.

5th. Brigadier General Harmar, or the commanding officer of the troops, will certify on the said return, that the said rangers were ordered into service in pursuance of his authority, or the authority of the Governor of the Western territory.

6th. The paymaster of the regiment of regular troops will receive the amount of the said abstracts from the treasury or pay office of the United States, and pay the same to the county lieutenants, and the said county lieutenants will pay each of the rangers, respectively, taking triplicate receipts for the payments, two of which he must transmit to the paymaster aforesaid, within two months from the time he shall have received the money from the said paymaster; and, until these said receipts shall be transmitted to the said paymaster, the lieutenants of the counties will

be held responsible for the sums they may have received, or such proportions thereof for which they shall not have produced receipts from the individual rangers (or their attorneys) who performed the service.

And whereas some of the counties may be involved in such immediate danger as not to permit the county lieutenants sufficient time to obtain the authority herein mentioned from the said Governor or commanding officer, in such case the county lieutenants may order out the rangers herein mentioned, under the regulations prescribed, on condition that, as soon as may be, the said lieutenants of the county and two magistrates make a statement to the said Governor and commanding officer of the reasons which induced them to order out the said rangers.

This statement will be considered as essential, in order that General Harmar, or the commanding officer, may ground thereon his certificate on the pay abstracts, without which, payments will not be made.

It may perhaps be considered as unnecessary, after stating the vouchers before mentioned, to add any further precautions against unnecessarily calling out the rangers before described, but, as the said service is at best only to be viewed as an expedient, rather temporary and desultory, than permanent and regular, it is the earnest desire of the President of the United States that it should be conducted with the highest economy. He therefore has desired that the county lieutenants may be strongly impressed with this idea, as well from a personal regard to themselves as to the common welfare of the Western country and the United States.

If the permission now given be used with great discretion, and only in cases of real necessity, every consideration will, in future, justify a more extensive and perfect protection, should the situation of the frontier require the same.

I shall beg, that, immediately upon your receiving this letter, you will inform me thereof.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

H. KNOX,

Secretary for the Department of War.

*An estimate of the expenses of scouts and rangers, for the protection of the frontiers lying along the Ohio, the Cumberland settlements, and the settlements upon and between the forks of Holston and French Broad rivers, for the year 1791.*

Five men or scouts to be averaged for each county, and the number of counties or divisions being estimated at 22.

110 men, to be employed as scouts from the 1st of March to the 30th of November, being 9 months,	
at the rate of 12 dollars per month,	\$11,880 00
One ration per day is, for the above period, for 110 men, 29,700 rations, at 8½ cents per ration,	2,524 50
	<u>\$14,404 50</u>

RANGERS.

One lieutenant, one sergeant, one corporal, and twelve men, to act as rangers for each of twenty-one of the above counties, at the same rate of pay as the regular troops.

21 Lieutenants, at 22 dollars per month, is, for 9 months,	\$4,158 00
21 Sergeants, 5 do do do do	945 00
21 Corporals, 4 do do do do	756 00
252 Privates, 3 do do do do	6,804 00

Three lieutenants, six sergeants, six corporals, and forty-eight privates, for the same period, for Russell county—

3 Lieutenants, at 22 dollars per month, is, for 9 months,	594 00
6 Sergeants, 5 do do do do	270 00
6 Corporals, 4 do do do do	216 00
48 Privates, 3 do do do do	1,296 00

24 Lieutenants, at 2 rations per day, is, for 9 months, 12,960 rations,

354 Non-commissioned and privates, at 1 ration,	95,580 do
108,540 do at 8½ cts. per ration,	9,225 90
	<u>24,264 90</u>
	<u>\$38,669 40</u>

H. KNOX, Secretary of War.

*A general estimate of the expenses which would be incurred by an expedition against the Wabash Indians, calculated upon a scale of twelve hundred regulars and twelve hundred levies. The period of the expedition four months. And also the amount of the expenses, for one year, of the proposed augmentation of the regular troops.*

The expense of 2,000 levies, as per estimate B, No. 2,	\$74,770 00
Bounties for 2,000 levies, at 5 dollars per man,	10,000 00
The difference between 3,200 rations per day, on the Ohio, and the proposed places of operation, the one being stated in the contract at 6½ cents, and the other at 15½ cents, calculated at 120 days;	
384,000 rations, at 8½ cents, difference,	32,640 00
Camp equipage of all sorts; boats, horses, tents, &c., and the transportation of the hospital stores, baggage for the army; the cannon and stores of all sorts, to establish a post at the Miami, estimated in gross,	50,000 00
Medicines and hospital stores,	4,000 00
Contingencies,	25,000 00
	<u>\$196,410 00</u>

The amount of the annual expenses for the additional regiment of regulars, as per particular estimate A, amount to \$101,446 40

And, if the bounty of 8 dollars for 2,128 non-commissioned and privates should be added for the whole regular establishment, augmentation included, the following extraordinary expenses would be incurred, 17,024 00

The establishment of a major general for one year, as per estimate B 2, amounts to 2,937 00

One aid-de-camp, with the rank of a captain, and pay and emoluments of a major, as during the late war—

Pay, 40 dollars per month,	\$480 00
Subsistence, 4 rations per day, at 12 cents,	175 20
Forage, 10 dollars per month,	120 00

775 20

Two inspectors, omitted in the general estimate of the War Department, for the year 1791, formed the 7th December 1790, one of whom to act as brigade-major—

Two inspectors—

Pay,	30 dollars per month,	-	-	-	\$720 00
Subsistence,	3 rations per day, at 12 cents,	-	-	-	262 80
Forage,	10 dollars per month,	-	-	-	240 00

The establishment of a quartermaster, as per estimate B,

1,222 80  
1,126 80

124,532 20

Total, to be provided for,

\$320,942 20

H. KNOX,  
*Secretary of War.*

[1st CONGRESS.]

No. 15.

[3d SESSION.]

NORTH WESTERN INDIANS.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, DECEMBER 14, 1790.

*Gentlemen of the Senate*

*and of the House of Representatives:*

Having informed Congress of the expedition which had been directed against certain Indians, northwest of the Ohio, I embrace the earliest opportunity of laying before you the official communications which have been received upon that subject.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, *December 14th, 1790.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *December 14th, 1790.*

SIR:

Lieutenant Denny arrived last evening from fort Washington, on the Ohio, charged with letters from Governor St. Clair and Brigadier General Harmar, copies of which I have the honor herewith to submit, and also extracts from the orders issued during the late expedition; also a return of the killed and wounded.

Lieutenant Denny reports verbally, that, after he left fort Washington, he saw, in Kentucky, several men of the militia of that district, who had been out with Major Whitly, under Major Hamtramck, of the federal troops, who commanded a separate expedition.

The said militiamen informed Lieutenant Denny, that Major Hamtramck had destroyed several of the hostile Indian towns, on the Wabash, and had returned to his garrison, at Post Vincennes, without having met any opposition.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, sir, your most obedient servant,

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

The PRESIDENT of the *United States.*

*Governor St. Clair to the Secretary of War.*

FORT WASHINGTON, *November 6th, 1790.*

SIR:

On the 29th of last month, I had the honor to inform you generally of the success that attended General Harmar. I could not then give you the particulars, as the General's letters had not reached me; (the officer however who had them in charge got in a few days afterwards) it is not now necessary, because he writes himself. One thing, however, is certain, that the savages have got a most terrible stroke, of which nothing can be a greater proof than that they have not attempted to harass the army on its return. They arrived at this place on the 3d instant, in good health and spirits. There is not yet any account from Major Hamtramck; I trust he also has been successful; but this I think is certain, that no great misfortune can have happened to him: for in that case we should certainly have heard of it.

Mr. Denny, the gentleman who takes General Harmar's despatches, I beg leave to mention to you in a particular manner; and if you will be pleased to do so to the President in his favor, you may be assured he will not disappoint any expectations that may be formed. He has every quality that I could wish a young man to possess, that meant to make the army his profession. There are, however, some traits in his character as a man, that are not generally known, that would endear him. Out of the little pittance he receives, he has maintained two aged parents for a long time.

*Brigadier General Harmar to the Secretary of War.*

HEAD QUARTERS, FORT WASHINGTON, *November 4th, 1790.*

SIR:

I have the honor to inform you, that, on the 30th September, I marched with 320 federal troops, and 1,133 militia, total 1,453. After encountering a few difficulties, we gained the Miami village. It was abandoned before we entered it, which I was very sorry for. The villainous traders would have been a principal object of attention. I beg leave to refer you to my orders, which are enclosed. The substance of the work is this, our loss was heavy, but the head quarters of iniquity were broken up. At a moderate computation, not less than 100 or 120 warriors were slain, and 300 log-houses and wigwams burned. Our loss about 180. The remainder of the Indians will be ill off for sustenance; 20,000 bushels of corn, in the ears, were consumed, burned, and destroyed, by the army, with vegetables in abundance. The loss of Major Wyllys and Lieutenant Frothingham, of the Federal troops, and a number of valuable militia officers, I sincerely lament.

The bearer, Lieut. Denny, is my adjutant. It will afford me great satisfaction to know that some mark of honor will be shown to him. His long and faithful services merit it. There is a vast deal of business in this Western world. If there is no impropriety in giving me an aid-de-camp, I wish him to be the person.

In my next despatches I shall enter into the minutiae of business, and give you a particular description of each day's march, with all the occurrences and observations.

N. B. My adjutant is really and truly an officer.



## EXTRACTS FROM THE ORDERS.

NOTE. The orders issued previously to the march of the troops and militia from fort Washington, and until they arrived at the Miami village, relate to the arrangement of the troops, the order of march, of encampment, and of battle, and the discipline necessary to be observed, all of which are particularly detailed.

## GENERAL ORDERS.

*Camp at the Miami Village, about 170 miles from Fort Washington, October 17th, 1790.*

The General is highly pleased with the zeal and alacrity shown by the army, (particularly the corps which was detached under the command of Colonel Hardin) to come up with the savages, although it was impracticable, as they had evacuated their favorite towns before the light corps could possibly reach them.

Leaving behind them such a vast quantity of corn and vegetables, is a certain sign that they decamped in the utmost consternation, and dare not face the enemy.

The army is to remain in its present position until further orders; in the mean time, Quartermaster Pratt is to have the corn brought in and deposited in one place, or in as many houses as he can find, and a guard is to be placed over it for its security. He will receive directions how it is to be distributed.

The superintendent of the horse department (Mr. Caldwell) is to be responsible that his pack saddles are repaired and put in as good order as possible, ready for the next movement of the army.

The General calls upon the commanding officers of battalions not to suffer their men to straggle from the encampment, otherwise they will certainly stand in danger of being scalped.

The guards are to be extremely vigilant; to which the field officer of the day is to pay the most pointed attention.

A detachment, under the command of Lieut. Col. Com. Trotter, consisting of

Federal troops,	-	-	-	-	-	30
Major Fontaine's light horse,	-	-	-	-	-	40
Active riflemen,	-	-	-	-	-	230
Total,	-	-	-	-	-	300, are to march to-

morrow early.

Lieut. Col. Com. Trotter will receive his orders from the General.

JOS. HARMAR, *Brig. General.*

## GENERAL ORDERS.

*Camp at the Miami Village, October 18th, 1790.*

The General is much mortified at the unsoldier-like behavior of many of the men in the army, who make it a practice to straggle from the camp in search of plunder. He, in the most positive terms, forbids this practice in future, and the guards will be answerable to prevent it. No party is to go beyond the line of sentinels without a commissioned officer, who, if of the militia, will apply to Colonel Hardin for his orders. The regular troops will apply to the General. All the plunder that may be hereafter collected, will be equally distributed amongst the army. The kettles, and every other article already taken, are to be collected by the commanding officers of battalions, and to be delivered to-morrow morning to Mr. Belli, the quartermaster, that a fair distribution may take place.

The rolls are to be called at troop and retreat beating, and every man absent is to be reported. The General expects that these orders will be pointedly attended to—they are to be read to the troops this evening.

The army is to march to-morrow morning early for their new encampment at Chillicothe, about two miles from hence.

JOS. HARMAR, *Brig. General.*

## GENERAL ORDERS.

*Camp at Chillicothe, one of the Shawanese towns, on the Omee river, October 20th, 1790.*

The party under command of Captain Strong is ordered to burn and destroy every house and wigwam in this village, together with all the corn, &c. which he can collect.

A party of 100 men (militia) properly officered, under the command of Colonel Hardin, is to burn and destroy effectually, this afternoon, the Pickaway town, with all the corn, &c. which he can find in it and its vicinity.

The cause of the detachment being worsted yesterday, was entirely owing to the shameful cowardly conduct of the militia, who ran away, and threw down their arms, without firing scarcely a single gun. In returning to fort Washington, if any officer or men shall presume to quit their ranks, or not to march in the form that they are ordered, the General will, most assuredly, order the artillery to fire on them. He hopes the check they received yesterday will make them in future obedient to orders.

JOS. HARMAR, *Brig. General.*

## GENERAL ORDERS.

*Camp at Chillicothe, October 21st, 1790.*

The army having completely effected the object for which they were ordered, viz. a total destruction of the Maumee towns, as they are generally called, with the vast abundance of corn and vegetables, &c. in them, and their vicinity, are now to commence their march, and to return to fort Washington.

The General was in fond hopes that he should be able to break up the Wea towns on his return, but the weak state of the pack horses, and several other circumstances, conspire to render it impracticable at present.

The generale is to beat at nine, the assembly at half past nine, and the whole army to take up the line of march precisely at ten this morning.

It is not improbable but the savages will attempt to harass the army, on its return, particularly the rear and flanks; it is therefore incumbent upon every officer to attend to the duties of his station, and, by no means, to quit their ranks, or create the least confusion; but, on the contrary, to keep silence and good order, otherwise the artillery (agreeably to the orders of yesterday) shall certainly be ordered to fire upon such men as are so lost to every principle of honor, as to run away in the time of danger.

The cattle and pack horses are to be kept up in the most compact order, and the officer, commanding the rear battalion, is to be responsible with the field officer of the day, that these orders are strictly carried into execution. Such horses as Mr. Caldwell may absolutely stand in need of, are to be taken from the mounted militia, not attached to Major Fontaine's corps, for public service; if these should be found insufficient, the remainder must come from Major Fontaine's corps.

JOS. HARMAR,  
*Brig. General.*

GENERAL ORDERS.

*Camp, eight miles from the ruins of the Maumee Towns,  
on the return to Fort Washington, October 22, 1790.* }

The army is to remain at the present encampment until further orders.

AFTER ORDERS.

The General is exceedingly pleased with the behavior of the militia in the action of this morning. They have laid very many of the enemy dead upon the spot. Although our loss is great, still it is inconsiderable in comparison of the slaughter made amongst the savages. Every account agrees that upwards of one hundred warriors fell in the battle; it is not more than man for man, and we can afford them two for one. The resolution, and firm determined conduct of the militia this morning, has effectually retrieved their character, in the opinion of the General. He now knows that they can and will fight.

The loss of Major Wyllis (with so many of the federal troops) and Major Fontaine, two gallant officers, he sincerely and deeply laments; but it is the fortune of war.

The General begs Col. Hardin, and Major McMillan, and Major Hall, of Lieutenant Colonel-commandant Trotter's regiment, together with the officers and privates of the militia, under their command, to accept his thanks for the bravery displayed by them upon this occasion.

The army is to march to-morrow morning at eight o'clock, precisely.

JOS. HARMAR,  
Brigadier General.

GENERAL ORDERS.

*Camp, about 24 miles from the ruins of the Maumee Towns,  
on the return to Fort Washington, October 23, 1790.* }

The General did not know, in time last evening, of the good conduct of Brigade Major Ormsby, in rallying a party of the militia and firing upon the savages, whereby he destroyed several of them, otherwise he should then have returned him his thanks. He now begs him to accept them for his cool and gallant behavior at that time.

Although the enemy were so sorely galled, in the action of yesterday, they may still take it into their heads to hover about our encampment. The General, therefore, orders that the same vigilance and caution, which has hitherto taken place with the guards, must constantly be observed, to which the field officer of the day is to pay the strictest attention.

The wounded militia are all to be collected into one place. Dr. Allison and Dr. Carmichael are to attend them, dress them, and give every necessary direction concerning them.

The army is to march to-morrow morning, at eight o'clock, precisely.

JOS. HARMAR, Brigadier General.\*

GENERAL ORDERS.

HEAD QUARTERS, FORT WASHINGTON, 4th November, 1790.

The Kentucky and Pennsylvania militia are to be mustered this afternoon, at 2 o'clock, by Captain Zeigler. The order and regularity which the militia observed on their return to the Ohio river, was highly commendable. Upon the whole, the General is exceedingly pleased with their conduct during the expedition. Notwithstanding our loss was great, yet, when they reflect that the army, in five weeks, not only effected the capital object of destroying the Miami village, and the Maumee towns, as they are generally called, with the vast quantity of corn and vegetables therein, but, also, killed upwards of one hundred of their warriors, it must afford every man the greatest satisfaction. The militia from Kentucky are to receive pay until the 10th instant; provisions are to be drawn for them until that time, and to-morrow morning they are to march to their respective homes.

The General returns his thanks to every officer and private for their good conduct, and hereby discharges them with honor and reputation. The wounded men are to be left under the care of Doctor Allison and his mates, who will take all possible care of them.

JOS. HARMAR, Brigadier General.

*Return of the killed and wounded upon the expedition against the Miami towns, under the command of Brigadier General Harmar.*

HEAD QUARTERS, FORT WASHINGTON, November 4th, 1790.

	KILLED.						WOUNDED.				
	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Rank and file.	Total.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Rank and file.	Total.
Federal Troops,	1	"	1	"	73	75	"	"	"	3	3
Militia,	1	3	2	4	98	108	"	2	1	25	28
Total,	2	3	3	4	171	183	"	2	1	28	31

KILLED.—Major Wyllis, Lieutenant Frothingham, *Federal Troops*; Major Fontaine, Captains Thorp, Scott, McMurtrey; Lieutenants Clark and Rogers; Ensigns Sweet, Bridges, Higgens, Thielkeld, *Militia*.

WOUNDED.—Lieutenants Sanders and Worley; Ensign Arnold, *Militia*.

E. DENNY, Lieut. and Adj. 1st U. S. R.  
JOS. HARMAR, Brigadier General.

\* From the date of the last order of the 23d October, until the return of the troops to fort Washington, the orders exhibit only the common details and business of troops; no enemy having been seen, after the action of the 22d of October.

1st CONGRESS.]

No. 16.

[3d Session.

## INDIAN DEPREDATIONS.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, JANUARY 24, 1791.

*Gentlemen of the Senate**and of the House of Representatives:*

I lay before you a statement relative to the frontiers of the United States, which has been submitted to me by the Secretary for the Department of War.

I rely upon your wisdom to make such arrangements as may be essential for the preservation of good order, and the effectual protection of the frontiers.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, January 24, 1791.

The Secretary of War, to whom the President of the United States was pleased to refer a letter of his Excellency the Governor of Virginia, dated the 10th of December last, enclosing the joint memorial addressed to him, of the delegates of Ohio, Monongalia, Harrison, Randolph, Kenhawa, Greenbriar, Montgomery, and Russell counties, on the Ohio, reports:

That the said memorial states, that the said counties form a line of nearly four hundred miles along the Ohio; exposed to the hostile invasions of their Indian enemies, and destitute of every kind of support.

That, notwithstanding all the regulations of the General Government in that country, the memorialists have reason to lament that they have hitherto been ineffectual.

That the arrangements and regulations for their defence, as declared by the Secretary of War, are impossible to be complied with.

That the old experienced mode of keeping out scouts and rangers, for the information and protection of the inhabitants, is exploded, as the memorialists are informed, because the new plan is less expensive.

That there is reason to fear the defeat of the army on the frontiers will be severely felt, as there is no doubt but the Indians will, in their turn, flushed with victory, invade the settlements.

That the memorialists, therefore, for the reasons assigned, think the only measure which will establish the confidence of the frontier people in the Government, and also bring about the proposed end, to wit, their safety and protection, is to empower the county lieutenants, in each of those counties, to send out a few scouts to watch the passes of the enemy when the winter breaks up, and to place some rangers on the outside of the settlements.

That this arrangement be temporary, until more effectual measures are adopted for the protection of the country.

That the expense of the scouts and rangers be settled by the auditor of Virginia, and the Government debited with the amount thereof.

That, if the Executive Council of Virginia should not possess sufficient power to extend to the memorialists that relief which their necessities require, that the Governor would lay the complaints before the proper tribunal, where they may be redressed.

On the subject of this memorial, the Secretary of War observes, that, on the 26th of February, 1790, a report upon the subject of scouts, and an estimate thereof, was submitted to the President of the United States; who was pleased to lay the same before Congress; a copy of which, with the estimate, is herewith submitted, No. 1.

That, as the danger of some of the frontier counties was imminent, the President of the United States was pleased to permit a certain number of scouts to be called forth, under the regulations described in paper marked No. 2.\*

That, as it did not appear to be the judgment of Congress to authorize the scouts upon any higher rate of pay than the militia, and as offensive measures were directed on the 7th of June, the President of the United States directed that the employment of the scouts should be discontinued, and, in lieu thereof, that the militia should be employed as rangers, under the regulations described in the paper herewith annexed, No. 3.\*

It, however, appears, from the memorials, that the permission has been rendered nugatory by the regulations prescribed, and that the memorialists propose, in lieu of the former arrangement, that the county lieutenants should be invested with discretionary power, on the occasion, to call forth scouts and rangers.

It is to be observed, that no partial measures can be adopted by the Government. That any arrangement for the eight counties to which the memorialists belong, must also comprehend the county of Washington, in Pennsylvania, eight counties in Kentucky, the exposed parts of Cumberland settlements, and the settlements lying upon, and between, the Holston and French Broad rivers; making in all, districts or divisions equal to twenty-two counties.

That it is to be observed, that the scouts, so called, are the most active hunters or woodsmen, well acquainted with the paths by which Indians enter the country; that experience of their utility seems to have stamped an extraordinary value upon their services, in the opinion of the frontier people. They seem, however, from information, to have received an exceeding high pay, and greatly disproportioned to any known compensation for military services.

But, considering the confidence of the frontier people in the said scouts, the Secretary of War is inclined to the opinion, that it might be proper to indulge them therein; provided, their services could be obtained for a reasonable pay, and regulated in such manner as to prevent abuse. The pay allowed by Virginia was five-sixths of a dollar per day, for each person or scout, but no rations.

The Secretary of War is of opinion that pay, at the rate of ten or twelve dollars per month, and one ration per day, to be given for each person acting as a scout, would be as high a sum as ought to be given for any military service; that no greater number than six or eight should be allowed to any county, and, in no instance, a greater number than have heretofore been allowed by Virginia.

That, conformably to these ideas, the estimate is herewith submitted, No. 4, in order to show the greatest aggregate expense of this business.

That this measure be adopted only as a temporary expedient, and be continued no longer than the President of the United States shall judge necessary.

It ought, however, to be observed, that, while the pay of the troops is greatly reduced, and the pay of this species of militia greatly advanced, it may have the effect to prevent the recruiting of the regular troops, on the established pay, and to create discontents in the minds of those already in service on the frontiers. But it is conceived, that, although this objection may occur, yet, perhaps, it is not of sufficient importance to prevent the adoption of such reasonable measures as may conciliate and attach the people of the frontiers to the General Government.

If, therefore, it should be the judgment of the President of the United States, that it would be proper to adopt the scouts, it will be necessary to lay the subject before the Congress, for their consideration and approbation: for, if a species of troops are to be adopted at a higher rate of pay than the rate established by law, it will be necessary to make the provision for that purpose, by a special act.

The rangers are a species of militia, for which a higher rate of pay does not seem to be necessary.

All which is humbly submitted to the President of the United States.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 5th January, 1791.

\* Not on file.

WAR OFFICE, February 26th, 1790.

SIR:

In obedience to your order, I have received the communications of Colonel John Pierce Duvall, Lieutenant of Harrison county in Virginia, the result of which I have the honor to submit to you.

The paper No 1, is a representation from the field officers of the said county, on the subject of their exposed situation.

Colonel Duvall states, that there are five counties of Virginia, lying on the western waters, exposed to the incursions of the Indians; all of which are to the east of the Kentucky line, to wit: Monongalia, Ohio, Randolph, Harrison, Kenhawa.

That these counties have been permitted to keep out, for their own immediate protection, at the expense of Virginia, certain parties of scouts and rangers.

That, during the last year, the Governor of Virginia directed the said scouts and rangers to be discharged, in consequence of a letter from the President of the United States, a copy of which, with the letter from the said Governor, is herewith submitted, marked No. 2.

That, since the discharge of the said scouts and rangers, the said counties have suffered great injury from the Indians; and that Harrison county, in particular, has had fifteen persons killed, besides houses burnt and horses stolen.

That the object of the said Colonel Duvall is, that he should be permitted to call into service again, the said scouts and rangers, at the expense of the United States.

That the expense of the said scouts and rangers would, according to his information, for the ensuing season, and for Harrison county only, amount to three thousand four hundred and forty dollars, agreeably to the estimate herewith submitted, marked No. 3.

That this arrangement would give perfect satisfaction to the inhabitants of said county.

On this information, it may be observed, that an arrangement of this nature for one county, involves a similar arrangement, not only for the other four counties of Virginia, but for the nine counties of the district of Kentucky, all of which are exposed, in greater or less degree, as Harrison county.

That it would be proper, that this representation from Harrison county, together with the memorial of the representatives of the counties of the district of Kentucky, dated the 28th of November, 1789, requesting a post to be established at Great Bonelick, and the petition from the inhabitants of Miro settlement, dated the 30th of November, 1789, should be laid before the Congress, for their information, in addition to other papers of the same nature, which you were pleased to lay before them, on the 4th of January last.

## No. 1.

An estimate of the expense of a guard of one captain and thirty rangers, and eight men, termed scouts, for the period of seven months, required by the Lieutenant of Harrison county, for the protection of the same, against the deprivations of parties of Indians—the estimate being formed from information given the subscriber by Colonel Duvall, the Lieutenant of said county.

40 rations, at 6d. per day,	£214
The pay of 1 captain for 7 months, at 35 dollars per month,	73 10
The pay of 2 sergeants for 7 months, at 6 dollars per month,	25 4
The pay of 28 privates for the same period, at 4½ dollars per month,	264 12
The pay of 8 scouts for 7 months, say 214 days, at 5s. 7d. per day,	428
Powder and lead furnished by Government, suppose	30
	£1,035 6, or \$3,451.

If protection be given to the other four counties of Virginia, and the nine counties of the district of Kentucky, and the same be estimated on the above scale, the expense would amount to 48,314 dollars.

WAR OFFICE, February 26th, 1790.

The Secretary of War, to whom the President of the United States was pleased to refer a letter from his Excellency the Governor of Virginia, of the 4th instant, transmitting certain papers, stating the measures which the Legislature and Executive of Virginia have adopted, for the temporary defence of the western frontier of that State, reports:

That it appears, from the said papers, that, upon the 20th day of December last, the Legislature of Virginia authorized the Executive of said State to direct such temporary defensive operations in the frontier counties of said State, as would secure the citizens thereof from the hostile invasions of the Indian enemy.

That, at the same time, the said Legislature also requested the Executive to transmit to the President of the United States, the memorial from the representatives of the frontier counties, and communicate to him such defensive measures as they may think proper to direct, in consequence of the authority vested in them, for the sole purpose of affording defence to the frontier citizens, until the General Government can enter into full and effectual measures to accomplish the said object.

That the memorial of the representatives of the frontier counties alluded to by the said Legislature, was transmitted by the said Governor to the President of the United States, the 10th day of December last, and the same was reported upon, by the Secretary of War, the fifth instant.

That the measures directed by the Executive of Virginia, in consequence of the before recited power vested in them by the Legislature, are detailed in No. 2, and amount to ten lieutenants, ten ensigns, and five hundred and eighteen non-commissioned and privates, at the same rate of pay allowed by the law of the United States, besides a brigadier general, who shall be allowed the pay and rations of lieutenant colonel when in actual service.

That it does not appear, that any denomination of troops, termed scouts, at a higher rate of pay than the militia, have been ordered out by the Executive of Virginia.

That the expense of the said defensive system, for nine months, would, if the same should be necessary for so long a term, amount to thirty-six thousand seven hundred and forty-seven dollars and sixty cents, as per estimate herewith submitted, No. 5.

That the total of the estimate submitted on the 5th instant, amounts to thirty-eight thousand six hundred and sixty-nine dollars and forty cents. But, about four-twenty-second parts are to be deducted from the said estimate, for the county of Washington in Pennsylvania, and the districts, amounting to about three counties, for the settlements upon Cumberland and between the forks of Holston and French-broad. This would leave about eighteen parts of the said estimate for the expense of the counties of Virginia and the district of Kentucky, amounting to thirty-one thousand six hundred and thirty-eight dollars and sixty cents. Comparing, therefore, the expense of the plan suggested in the report of the 5th instant, with the system directed by the Executive of Virginia, the difference will be five thousand one hundred and nine dollars greater for the latter than the former plan.

But, in the plan suggested in the said report of the 5th instant, only the number of three hundred and fifty-four non-commissioned officers and privates were stated to be employed, besides commissioned officers. The number directed by Virginia, amounts to five hundred and eighteen non-commissioned officers and privates, besides the commissioned officers. The reason that the difference of the expense is not proportioned to the difference of numbers, is, that the species of militia termed scouts, are not ordered in the system directed by Virginia.

From this statement, the following questions arise:

1st. Is the exposed situation of the frontier counties of Virginia such as to require that they should be protected at the expense of the United States?

2d. If so, is the system, directed by the Executive of Virginia, of such a nature as to be confirmed by the General Government and ordered into execution at the expense of the United States?

3d. If not, shall a regular and efficient plan be devised for the same object, and put into execution at the expense of the United States?

On the first question, the Secretary of War is of opinion, that the existing circumstances relative to the Indian hostilities are such as to cause just apprehensions for the safety of the frontier settlers during the approaching season. That principles of sound policy, therefore, as well as of justice, require that the said settlers should be afforded all reasonable protection at the expense of the United States.

On the second question, the Secretary of War is of opinion, that, however proper the system of defence directed by the Executive of Virginia may have been, considering the circumstances under which it was ordered, yet, there are several well founded objections against its being confirmed by the General Government, and ordered into execution at the expense of the United States.

First—Because it is too uncertain as to any material effect to be produced thereby.

Secondly—Because it is destitute of those principles of unity and responsibility, essentially necessary to guard the public from abuse.

Thirdly—Because the detachments ordered out for the other counties besides Kentucky, are evidently designed for local service only, and not to be drawn into one body, however necessary the measure may be.

Fourthly—Because it is evident the Legislature of Virginia considered the arrangement which should be made by the Executive of the said State, as a temporary measure of affording defence to the frontiers, until the General Government could enter into full and effectual measures to accomplish the said object.

On the third question, the Secretary of War is of opinion, that the following plan for defence of the frontiers, in addition to the regular troops, would be the most proper for the ensuing season.

For the defence of the exposed counties of Virginia and Kentucky, and the Cumberland and Holston settlements, one regiment of rangers, to consist of one lieutenant colonel-commandant, two majors, ten captains, and fourteen subalterns, and seven hundred and thirty-eight non-commissioned and privates.

That these rangers be enlisted on the continental establishment of pay, rations, and clothing; to serve from the first day of March next, until the 30th of November, unless sooner discharged.

That a proportion of clothing, equal to the annual allowance to the federal troops, be issued to the said rangers.

That, if an expedition be formed against the Indian towns, the rangers raised for the counties of Virginia and Kentucky should be assembled for that purpose; that, in other cases, they should be employed in ranging the frontiers most liable to inroads.

That the expense of the said corps for nine months would amount to forty-nine thousand four hundred and fifty-four dollars, as per estimate herewith submitted. But the Secretary of War conceives the efficacy and service of said corps would amply compensate for the difference of expense between the same and the system directed by Virginia.

That the expense of defending the frontiers for the ensuing year, seems to be inevitable. But there is a choice in the manner of defence. The regular troops are inadequate to afford that extensive protection required from the county of Washington, in Pennsylvania, down the Ohio, to the settlements on the Cumberland river, and the other settlements in the southwestern territory of the United States. They must be assisted by auxiliaries, in order to defend the frontiers effectually.

The question seems to be reduced to one point: whether the defence shall be afforded in a regular efficient manner, with full proof of the service having been rendered, or whether it shall be performed in a manner less efficient, and neither regular or certain?

The Secretary of War submits the idea, that the whole business of the defensive protection afforded the frontiers, during the last year, by the General Government, the system directed by the Executive of Virginia, and the plan herein proposed, should be laid before the Congress of the United States for their information and decision.

The Secretary of War will, in another report, which he will shortly submit to the President of the United States, take the liberty of suggesting some observations respecting the issue of the late expedition against the Miami towns, and of the circumstances which may require another and more effectual expedition against the Wabash Indians. But, in case of another expedition, it is conceived that the defensive provision should be made: for, although, while the expedition will be in operation, the Indians will not probably make incursions, yet, their predatory parties may be expected on the frontiers both before and after the expedition.

All which is humbly submitted to the President of the United States.

H. KNOX,  
*Secretary of War.*

WAR OFFICE, 15th January, 1791.

No. 1.

*The Governor of Virginia to the President of the United States.*

COUNCIL CHAMBER, January 4th, 1791.

SIR:

In conformity to a resolution of the General Assembly of this State, herewith enclosed, I do myself the honor to transmit a memorial from the representatives of the frontier counties, and the proceedings of the Executive, respecting a temporary system of defence for the western frontier. I beg leave also to lay before you, copies of two other resolutions of the General Assembly, together with the petition of sundry officers of the Virginia line on continental establishment, on the subject of the bounty lands allotted to them on the northwest side of the Ohio.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, your obedient servant,

BEVERLEY RANDOLPH.

The PRESIDENT of the United States.

No. 2.

IN COUNCIL, December 29th, 1790.

The Board resumed the consideration of a resolution of the General Assembly, authorizing the Executive to direct such temporary defensive operations in the frontier counties of this State, as will secure the citizens from the hostile invasions of the Indian enemy.

Whereupon, the Board are of opinion, that the best system of defence which can be established under the present circumstances, will be to order into service in the different western counties, a small number of men, proportioned to the degree in which they are respectively exposed.

That the officers commanding these parties be instructed constantly to range the frontiers most open to invasion, and either to alarm the inhabitants upon the approach of a large body of the enemy, or repel the incursions of predatory parties.

It is, therefore, advised, that a lieutenant, two sergeants, and forty rank and file, be allowed to the county of Harrison; an ensign, two sergeants, and thirty rank and file, to Monongalia; a lieutenant, an ensign, three sergeants, and fifty rank and file, to Ohio; a lieutenant, an ensign, three sergeants, and fifty rank and file, to Kenhawa; an ensign, two sergeants, and twenty rank and file, to Randolph; an ensign, three sergeants, and thirty-two rank and file, to Wythe; and a lieutenant, an ensign, three sergeants, and fifty rank and file, to Russell. The rangers to be ready for service by the first day of March next; to be stationed at such places as in the opinion of the commanding officer of each county, respectively, shall be most convenient, to enable them, by ranging the frontiers, to give effectual protection.

That the commanding officers of the several counties be directed to procure, by voluntary engagements, the complement of men allowed for the defence of their counties, respectively; but, should they be unable to obtain the required number by this means, that they detach them, with the necessary officers, by detail and rotation of duty, agreeable to the act to amend and reduce into one act, the several laws for regulating and disciplining the militia, and guarding against invasions and insurrections.

That, for the defence of Kentucky, it is advised, that a brigadier general be appointed to command the whole militia of the district, who shall be allowed the pay and rations of a lieutenant colonel when in actual service.

That the said brigadier general do immediately endeavor to procure, by voluntary engagements, two hundred and twenty-six men, to range the most exposed parts of the frontiers of the district, to be so stationed as will, in his judgment, afford the best protection to the inhabitants; but, should he be unable to obtain the required number by voluntary engagements, that he direct the commanding officer of the respective counties composing the district, to detach their just proportion, with the necessary officers, by detail and rotation of duty, agreeable to the militia law, to be ready for service by the first day of March next.

That, in the execution of this business, he be not considered as in actual service, nor have authority to appoint the staff and other officers allowed by law, but shall be reimbursed all such reasonable expenses as he may necessarily incur.

That the said rangers be furnished with rations in such manner as the brigadier general of Kentucky, and the officers commanding the several counties without that district shall think proper; six pence to be allowed for each ration; a subaltern to be allowed two, and the non-commissioned and privates one ration, each. The pay and rations of both officers and privates to be the same as is allowed by law to the continental troops.

That the following evidence of the service of the rangers be required:

1st. A return of the names, rank, and time of service, of each of the said rangers.

2d. A pay abstract or account for the number of said rangers, agreeable to the aforesaid return; these papers to be verified by the oath of the officers commanding the several detachments, and by the signature of the brigadier general in Kentucky, or by that of the commanding officers of the several counties without that district.

3d. An abstract of the rations agreeably to the aforesaid return, to be signed by the officer receiving them, and countersigned by the brigadier general in Kentucky, or by the commanding officers of the several counties without that district.

And it is further advised, that Charles Scott, Esquire, be appointed brigadier general of Kentucky.

All which matters, so advised, the Governor orders accordingly.

Extract from the Journal. Attest,

SAM. COLEMAN, *A. C. C.*

No. 3.

*Resolution of the Commonwealth of Virginia.*

VIRGINIA:

IN THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES, *Monday, the 20th of December, 1790.*

*Resolved*, That the Executive be authorized to direct such temporary defensive operations in the frontier counties of this State, as will secure the citizens thereof from the hostile invasions of the Indian enemy.

*Resolved*, That the Executive be requested to transmit to the President of the United States the memorial from the representatives of the frontier counties, and communicate to him such defensive measures as they may think proper to direct, in consequence of the authority vested in them for the sole purpose of affording defence to our frontier citizens, until the General Government can enter into full and effectual measures to accomplish the said object.

1790, December. Agreed to by the Senate.

Attest,

CHARLES HAY, *C. H. D.*  
H. BROOKE, *C. S.*

No. 4.

*To his Excellency Beverley Randolph, Esquire, Governor of Virginia.*

The joint memorial of the Delegates of Ohio, Monongalia, Harrison, Randolph, Kenhawa, Greenbriar, Montgomery, and Russell counties, humbly represents:

That the defenceless condition of those counties, forming a line of nearly four hundred miles along the Ohio river, exposed to the hostile invasions of their Indian enemies, destitute of every kind of support, is truly alarming; for, notwithstanding all the regulations of the General Government in that country, we have reason to lament that they have been hitherto ineffectual for our protection; nor, indeed, could it happen otherwise: for the garrisons kept by the continental troops on the Ohio river, if they are of any use, it must be to the Kentucky settlements, as they immediately cover that country; to us they can be of no service, being from two to four hundred miles below our frontier settlements.

We further beg leave to represent, that, agreeably to the last arrangement for our defence, as declared by the Secretary of War, a subaltern officer, a sergeant, a corporal, and twelve privates, were allotted to some of the above mentioned counties, for their defence, and them only to be continued in service when the continental commanding officer in the Western country may approve of it, they at the same time to be under such regulations as it is impossible for the inhabitants of our country to comply with, the communication betwixt him and us being cut off by a distance of two to four hundred miles, and that through an uninhabited country, exposed to the Indians, having entirely exploded our old experienced mode of defending our frontiers, by keeping out scouts and rangers for their information and protection, owing, as we are informed, that it is supposed that the new plan is less expensive; but surely, if our operations must be on the defensive, a small saving (for a small saving it must be) ought not to be deemed a good reason to alter from a known measure to one that is only supposed to be as good, when the lives of so many of your citizens are exposed to the enemy. We further beg leave to observe, that we have reason to fear that the consequences of the defeat of our army by the Indians on the late expedition, will be severely felt on our frontiers, as there is no doubt but that the Indians will, in their turn, (being flushed with victory) invade our settlements, and exercise all their horrid murder upon the inhabitants thereof, whenever the weather will permit them to travel. Then is it not better to support us where we are, be the expense what it may, than to oblige such a number of your brave citizens, who have so long supported, and still continue to support, a dangerous frontier, (although thousands of their relatives in the flesh have, in the prosecution thereof, fallen a sacrifice to savage inventions) to quit the country, after all they have done and suffered, when you know that a frontier must be supported somewhere?

Permit us, therefore, to assure you, that we think the only measure that will establish the confidence of your frontier people in the Government, and also be the means of bringing about the end proposed, to wit: their safety and protection, will be to empower the county lieutenants in each of those counties to send out a few scouts to watch the passes of the enemy, and when the winter breaks up, to place some rangers on the outside of the settlements. This we mean only as a temporary matter, to continue until more effectual measures are adopted for the protection of that country, the expense of which scouts and rangers, to be settled with your auditor, and paid by Virginia, and the General Government to be debited with the amount thereof, for which the State of Virginia ought to be credited in her accounts with that Government. And we hope and trust that Congress will comply therewith, until they extend to us that protection that we, as citizens of Virginia, have a right to expect. And we further trust and hope that the State of Virginia will never quietly rest inactive until peace is restored to all her citizens, be their situation ever so remote. Under these impressions, we have taken the liberty to address you upon this subject,

praying that, should not the Executive Council of Virginia possess power sufficient to extend to us that relief which our necessities require, you will, in that case, lay our complaints before the proper tribunal, where we may be redressed.

We have the honor to be, with great respect, &c.

BENJAMIN BIGGS, }  
 JOHN HENDERSON, } Ohio.  
 JOHN EVANS, JR. }  
 WM. McCLEERY, } Monongalia.  
 GEO. JACKSON, }  
 JOHN PRUNTY, } Harrison.  
 CORNELIUS BOGARD, }  
 ABRAHAM CLAYPOOL, } Randolph.  
 ANDREW DONNALLY, }  
 GEO. CLENDINEN, } Kanhawa.  
 THOS. EDGAR, }  
 W. H. CAVENDISH, } Greenbriar.  
 H. MONTGOMERY, }  
 R. SAWYERS, } Montgomery.

Attest,

SAM. COLEMAN, A. C. C.

No. 5.

An estimate of pay, subsistence, and forage, for 9 months, from the first day of March to the 30th of November, 1790, according to the arrangement of Virginia.

1 Brigadier General, with the pay, subsistence, and forage of a lieutenant colonel, estimated to be in service 4 months.		
Pay, at 60 dollars per month, is, for 4 months,		\$240 00
Subsistence, 6 rations per day, for 4 months, is 720 rations, a 12½ cts.		86 40
Forage, 12 dollars per month,		36 00
		<u>362 40</u>
10 Lieutenants, for 9 months.		
Pay at 22 dollars per month, is for 9 months,		1,980 00
Subsistence, 2 rations per day, 5,400 rations a 12 cents		648 00
		<u>2,628 00</u>
10 Ensigns for 9 months.		
Pay, at 18 dollars per month, is, for 9 months,		1,620 00
Subsistence, 2 rations per day, 5,400 rations, a 12 cents		648 00
		<u>2,268 00</u>
40 Sergeants, at 5 dollars per month, is, for 9 months		1,800 00
478 privates, at 3 dollars per month, is, for 9 months		12,906 00
		<u>14,706 00</u>
Subsistence for 518 non-commissioned and privates, at one ration per day, is, for 9 months 139,860 rations, a 12 cents		16,783 20
		<u>31,489 20</u>
		<u>\$36,747 60</u>

H. KNOX, Secretary of War.

WAR OFFICE, 15th January, 1791.

No. 6.

An estimate for pay, subsistence, forage, and clothing, for nine months, for one regiment of Rangers, formed as follows:

PAY.		
1 Lieutenant Colonel-commandant, at \$60 per month, is, for 9 months,		\$540 00
2 Majors, - - - - 40		720 00
10 Captains, - - - - 30		2,700 00
10 Lieutenants, - - - - 22		1,980 00
10 Ensigns, - - - - 18		1,620 00
1 Paymaster, additional, - - - - 5		45 00
1 Quartermaster, do. - - - - 5		45 00
1 Adjutant, do. - - - - 10		90
		<u>\$7,740 00</u>
40 Sergeants, - - - - 5		\$1,800 00
40 Corporals, - - - - 4		1,440 00
40 Drummers, - - - - } 3		
40 Fifers, - - - - }		17,766 00
578 Privates, - - - - }		<u>\$21,006 00</u>
Deductions for clothing.		
40 Sergeants, at \$1 40 per month, is, for 9 months,	\$ 504 00	
40 Corporals, 1 15	414 00	
658 Musicians and privates, 90	5,329 80	
	<u>6,247 80</u>	
		<u>14,758 20</u>

Amount of pay, - - - - \$22,498 20  
 SUBSISTENCE.

1 Lieutenant Colonel-commandant, 6 rations per day, is, for 9 months, 1,620 rations,		
2 Majors, - - - - 4		2,160 do.
10 Captains, - - - - 3		8,100 do.
10 Lieutenants, - - - - 2		5,400 do.
10 Ensigns, - - - - 2		5,400 do.
738 Non-commissioned and privates, 1		199,260 do.
		<u>221,940</u>
Amount of Subsistence,	221,940 rations, at 7-100	15,535 80



FORAGE.		
1 Lieutenant Colonel-commandant,	12 dollars per month, is, for 9 months,	\$108 00
2 Majors,	10	180 00
Paymaster, quartermaster, and adjutant; each,	6	162 00
Amount of Forage,		450 00
CLOTHING.		
738 Non-commissioned and privates, at 15 dollars,		11,070 00
		<u>\$49,454 00</u>

H. KNOX,  
Secretary of War.

WAR OFFICE, January 15, 1791.

The Secretary of War, to whom the President of the United States referred the consideration of various papers and information, relative to the frontiers of the United States, respectfully reports:

That the frontiers, from several causes, are, at present, so critically circumstanced, as to claim an immediate consideration, and such arrangements as may, upon investigation, be found indispensably necessary for the preservation of good order, and the protection of the inhabitants exposed to the hostilities of certain Indian tribes.

That, in order to obtain a clear view of the existing circumstances of the frontiers, the following summary statement is submitted; and, also, that a judgment may be formed of the measures necessary to be adopted on the occasion.

That, in the first place, it may be proper to explain the relative situation of the Government of the United States, with the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee nations of Indians. It will appear by the Journals of the late Congress, and the paper herewith submitted, Marked A, No. 1,\* that the United States did, in November, 1785, and in January, 1786, form treaties with the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw nations of Indians, by which their boundaries were defined.

That the State of Georgia claims the right of pre-emption to nearly all the lands belonging to the said Indian nations.

That it will appear by the act of Legislature of the said State, passed the 21st day of December, 1789, a copy of which is herewith submitted, marked A, No. 2, that the said Legislature has granted and sold to three private companies, its said right of pre-emption to almost the whole of the lands of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and part of the Cherokees, amounting in all to 15,500,000 acres.

That, although the right of Georgia to the pre-emption of said lands should be admitted in its full extent, yet, it is conceived, that, should the said State, or any companies or persons, claiming under it, attempt to extinguish the Indian claims, unless authorized thereto by the United States, that the measure would be repugnant to the aforesaid treaties, to the constitution of the United States, and to the law regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes.

That the President of the United States, apprehensive that individuals belonging to said companies might, from ignorance, or otherwise, pursue a line of conduct derogatory to the United States, caused the said treaties, and the law to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, to be published on the 25th day of August, 1790, together with his proclamation, requiring all persons to govern themselves accordingly.

But, notwithstanding this warning, it appears, from the information contained in A, No. 3, that certain persons, claiming under the said companies, are raising troops for the purpose of establishing, by force, one or more settlements on the lands belonging to the aforesaid Indian nations.

The authority of the United States is thus set at defiance; their faith, pledged to the said Indians, and their constitution and laws, violated, and a general Indian war excited; on principles disgraceful to the Government.

But, there is another point of view in which this subject may be placed. It is said, the Spanish officers stationed on the Mississippi, alarmed at the proposed settlements, have decided to prevent them by force. Although the settlements should be made in opposition to the Government of the United States, yet, the interference of the Spaniards, would start a new subject of discussion, which merits some consideration.

Hence arises the following question: Is not the General Government bound, by the indispensable obligations of its own rights and dignity; by the principles of justice and good faith to the aforesaid Indian nations; by the principles of humanity, as it respects the innocent inhabitants of the frontiers, who may fall victims to an unjust Indian war; to interpose its arm, in an effectual manner, to prevent the intended settlements?

That, in the second place, the protection to be afforded the frontiers, during the ensuing year, requires an immediate arrangement.

That it is to be apprehended, the late expedition against the Miami Indians will not be attended with such consequences as to constrain the said Indians to sue for peace; but, on the contrary, that their own opinion of their success, and the number of trophies they possess, will, probably, not only encourage them to a continuance of hostilities, but may be the means of their obtaining considerable assistance from the neighboring tribes. In addition to which, they will, probably, receive all possible assistance in the power of certain malignant whites, who reside among them.

That it, therefore, appears, from the examination of this subject, to be incumbent on the United States to prepare immediately for another expedition against the Wabash Indians, with such a decided force as to impress them strongly with the power of the United States.

That the objects of the expedition will, in a considerable degree, regulate the nature and number of troops to be employed.

That, if the measure of establishing a strong fortification and garrison at the Miami village, should be decided upon as proper and necessary, a considerable increase of the regular force for that and the other objects mentioned in this report, would be requisite.

That a strong post and garrison, at the said Miami village, with proper subordinate posts of communication, have always been regarded as but little inferior to the possession of the post at Detroit. But, while there were existing hopes of obtaining the latter, it did not appear proper to incur the expense of an establishment at the former place. Those hopes, however, having vanished for the present, it seems to be a point of real importance to effect an establishment at the Miami village.

That a post established at the said place, as the consequence of a successful expedition, would curb and overawe not only the Wabash Indians, but the Ottawas and Chippewas, and all others who might be wavering, and disposed to join in the war. The said post would more effectually cover the line of frontier along the Ohio, than by a post at any other place whatever.

That it would, therefore, of consequence, afford more full security to the territory of the United States, north-west of the Ohio. In this point of view, it would assist in the reduction of the national debt, by holding out a security to people to purchase and settle the public lands. The purchasers of land from the Government will have a right of protection, and there will be no doubt of their claiming it forcibly.

The regular force, upon the frontiers, seems utterly inadequate for the essential purposes of the United States.

The frontiers, from the northeast to the southwest, are nearly enclosed by the possessions, garrisons, and claims of two formidable foreign nations, whose interests cannot entirely coincide with those of the United States.

\*Not on file.

Numerous Indian tribes reside in the vicinity, whose hostilities are easily excited by their jealousy of the encroaching settlements and rapid population of the frontiers.

Bold and unprincipled adventurers will arise, from time to time, who, in advancing their own schemes of avarice, or ambition, will be incessantly machinating against the public peace and prosperity.

These several circumstances, and the distance from the seat of Government, require that a wise and vigorous system should be adopted and executed, as well to protect effectually the inhabitants of the frontiers, as to curb the licentious, and prevent the evils of anarchy, and prevent the usurpation of the public lands.

But, besides these considerations, it would appear, from information, that the State of Georgia is desirous that more troops should be placed on its frontiers. There are at present three companies in Georgia, and another is raising there. Those four companies amount to one quarter part of the establishment.

The paper marked B, No. 1, will show the number and stations of the troops, at present in service, and the numbers wanting to complete the establishment of one thousand two hundred and sixteen non-commissioned officers and privates.

If the intended settlements upon the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee lands are to be effectually prevented, and the Government enabled to place troops upon the Tennessee, which would at once awe the Creeks, if turbulent, and thereby comply with the desires of Georgia, and prevent the projected settlement on the Muscle Shoals, and if an establishment should be made at the Miami village, it would require that the establishment should be augmented, so as to form a legionary corps of two thousand one hundred and twenty-eight non-commissioned officers and privates.

If this augmentation should take place, two modes present themselves, by which the object could be effected, both of which, and estimates thereon, are contained in the paper marked B, No. 2, the one amounting to 101,466 40 dollars, and the other to 98,542 40 dollars.

The question, which arises on this subject, is,

Whether the objects, proposed to be accomplished by the troops, will fully compensate for the additional expense?

The United States have come into existence, as a nation, embarrassed with a frontier of immense extent, which is attended with all the peculiar circumstances before enumerated and even with others, which are obvious, but which are unnecessary to recite.

The population of the lands lying on the Western waters is increasing rapidly. The inhabitants request and demand protection; if it be not granted, seeds of disgust will be sown; sentiments of separate interests will arise out of their local situation, which will be cherished, either by insidious, domestic, or foreign emissaries.

It therefore appears to be an important branch of the administration of the General Government, to afford the frontiers all reasonable protection, as well in their just rights as against their enemies; and, at the same time, it is essential to show all lawless adventurers that, notwithstanding the distance, Government possess the power of preserving peace and good order on the frontiers. It is true economy to regulate events instead of being regulated by them.

But, whether the regular establishment be increased or not, it seems indispensable that another expedition be made against the Wabash Indians. Affairs cannot remain where they are. Winter imposes peace for the present; but, unless the attention of the Indians be called to their own country, they will, upon the opening of the spring, spread general desolation on the frontiers by their small parties.

That the said Wabash Indians amount to about eleven hundred warriors; to this number may, perhaps, be added, of other more distant Indians, one thousand.

If this should be the case, the army, for the campaign, ought to consist of three thousand well arranged troops, in order to be superior to all opposition, and to prevent the trouble and expense of being repeated.

That the reports, herewith submitted, marked C, No. 1, will exhibit the species of defensive protection permitted, during the last year, by the General Government; the system directed by the Executive of Virginia, during the month of December, 1790; and the plan of a regiment of rangers, proposed to be raised on the frontiers, to answer the same purpose, and an estimate of the expense thereof.

That, in case the said plan of a regiment of rangers should be adopted, the same would furnish five hundred non-commissioned officers and privates for the proposed expedition.

That the other force, necessary to complete the number of three thousand, might be raised under the term *levies*, to serve for the expedition, which, it is presumed, would not exceed four months.

That, to induce the men to engage voluntarily for the said object, it is respectfully suggested, that it might be proper to appoint the best and most popular officers in Kentucky, and the frontier counties, to superior commands, with delegated authority to appoint their subordinate officers; and the idea is also submitted, how far a bounty of five dollars in money, or clothing, would be proper.

That the result, therefore, of the ideas suggested herein, and in the report marked C, No. 1, are,

1. That the situation of the frontiers requires an additional defensive protection, at least until offensive measures shall be put into operation. The plan of a regiment of rangers is therefore submitted.
2. That the peculiar situation of the frontiers requires the augmentation of one regiment of regular troops, to consist of nine hundred and twelve non-commissioned officers and privates.
3. That another expedition, which shall effectually dispose the Wabash, and other hostile Indians, to peace, seems indispensable.

That the army, for the said expedition, might be thus composed:

<i>Regular troops</i> , if the same should be augmented,	-	-	-	-	1,200
<i>Rangers</i> , if the same should be adopted,	-	-	-	-	500
<i>Levies</i> , so called for the sake of distinction,	-	-	-	-	1,300
					3,000

But, if the regulars should not be augmented, nor the rangers adopted, then the number of levies ought to be proportionably increased.

That a corps of levies, raised for the expedition, whose officers should be selected by the General Government, and who should possess a pride of arrangement and discipline, would be more efficacious, and more economical, than draughting the militia, cannot be well questioned.

It is to be observed, that the engagements of four hundred and twenty of the troops, on the frontiers, expire during the present year; and that, by the last accounts, only sixty of that number had re-enlisted on the new establishment.

As the reduced pay of the late establishment has therefore discouraged the recruiting service, the idea is suggested, that a bounty of eight dollars should be given to all the recruits who have, or shall re-enlist for three years, on the said establishment. Were Congress to authorize this bounty, the subscriber is of opinion, that all the recruits required would be immediately obtained.

That the paper marked B, No. 3, contains an estimate of the expense of the proposed number of levies.

That the paper marked B, No. 4, contains in one view the extraordinary expense, which would be incurred by the rangers, levies, and other objects of the proposed expedition.

All which is humbly submitted.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

## A, No. 2.

*An Act for disposing of certain vacant lands or territory within this State.*

Whereas divers persons from the States of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, have made application for the purchase of certain tracts and parcels of land, lying and bordering on the Tennessee, Tom or Don Bigby, Yazoo, and Mississippi rivers, within this State, and have offered to engage to settle the same, a part of which territory has been already settled, on behalf of some of the applicants, under and by virtue of an act of the General Assembly of this State, bearing date the seventh of February, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, at Savannah, entitled "An act for laying out a district of land situated on the river Mississippi, within the limits of this State, into a county to be called Bourbon:" Now, therefore,

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, in General Assembly met,* That all that tract or part of territory of this State, within the following limits, to wit: Beginning at the mouth of Cole's creek, on the Mississippi, continuing to the head spring or source thereof; from thence a due east course to the Tom or Don Bigby river; thence, continuing along the middle of the said river, up to the latitude thirty-three; thence down along the latitude thirty-three, bounding on the territory of the Virginia Yazoo company, a due west course to the middle of the Mississippi; thence, down the middle of the Mississippi, to the mouth of Cole's creek aforesaid; and containing about five millions of acres; shall be reserved as a pre-emption for the South Carolina Yazoo company, for two years, from and after the passing of this act; and if the said South Carolina Yazoo company shall, within the said term of two years, pay into the public treasury of this State the amount of sixty-six thousand nine hundred and sixty-four dollars, then it shall be lawful for the Governor, at the time being, and he is hereby empowered and directed, to sign and deliver a grant, in the usual form, to Alexander Moultrie, Isaac Huger, William Clay Snipes, and Thomas Washington, Esquires, and the rest of their associates, and to their heirs and assigns forever, in fee simple, as tenants in common, all the tract of land included in the aforesaid boundaries.

*And be it further enacted,* That all that tract or part of territory of this State, included within the following limits, that is to say; beginning at the mouth of Bear creek, on the south side of the Tennessee river, running thence, up the said creek, to the head or source; thence a due west course, to the Tom or Don Bigby, or Twenty-mile creek; thence down the same, to latitude thirty-three; thence, along the said latitude, bounding on the South Carolina Yazoo company's line a due west course, to the middle of the Mississippi; thence, up the said river in the middle thereof, to the northern boundary of this State; thence, along the said boundary line a due east course, to the Tennessee river; thence, up the middle of the said river, to the beginning thereof, and containing seven millions of acres; shall be reserved as a pre-emption for the Virginia Yazoo company, for the term of two years from and after the passing of this act; and if the said company shall cause to be paid into the public treasury of this State, within the said term of two years, the amount of ninety-three thousand seven hundred and forty-one dollars, then it shall be lawful for the Governor, at the time being, and he is hereby empowered and required, to sign and deliver, in the usual form, a grant of the aforesaid tract of land, to Patrick Henry, David Ross, William Cowan, Abraham B. Venable, John B. Scott, William Cock Ellis, Francis Watkins, and John Watts, Esquires, and the rest of their associates, and to their heirs and assigns forever, in fee simple, as tenants in common of all the tract of land included in the aforesaid boundaries.

*And be it further enacted,* That all that tract or part of the territory of this State, included within the limits following, to wit: Beginning at the mouth of Bear creek, on the south side of the Tennessee river, in the latitude of thirty-four degrees forty-three minutes; running thence, up Bear creek, to the head or source; thence a due west course, to the Tom Bigby, or Twenty-mile creek; thence, down the said Bigby, or Twenty mile-creek, to the latitude thirty-four degrees; thence, a due east course one hundred and twenty miles; thence, a due north course, to the northern boundary line of this State; thence, a due west course, along the northern boundary line, to the great Tennessee river; thence, up the middle of the said river Tennessee, to the place of beginning, and containing three millions and a half acres; shall be reserved as a pre-emption for the Tennessee company, for the term of two years, from and after the passing this act; and if the said company shall cause to be paid into the public treasury of this State, within the said term of two years, the amount of forty-six thousand eight hundred and seventy-five dollars, then it shall be lawful for the Governor, for the time being, and he is hereby empowered and required, to sign and deliver, in the usual form, a grant of the aforesaid tract of land to Zachariah Cox, Thomas Gilbert, and John Strother, Esquires, and to the rest of their associates, and to their heirs and assigns forever, as tenants in common of all the tract of land included in the aforesaid boundaries: *Provided,* That the said grantees of each separate grant, shall forbear all hostile attacks on any of the Indian hordes, which may be found on or near the said territory, if any such there be, and keep this State free from all charge and expenses which may attend the preserving of peace between the said Indians and grantees, and extinguishing the claims of the said Indians under the authority of this State: *And provided further, and it is hereby expressly conditioned,* That this State, and the government thereof, shall at no time hereafter be subject to any suit at law or in equity, or claim or pretension whatever, for, or on account of, any deduction in the quantity of the said territory, by any recovery which may or shall be had on any former claim or claims.

And, for the better direction of the Governor, *Be it enacted,* That the treasurer of this State shall, on application of any agent of either of the said companies, within the said term of two years, receive the sum or sums of money, which they are hereby respectively directed to advance; a certificate or certificates of which payments, under the hand of the treasurer, shall be a sufficient voucher for the Governor to issue the grants to the respective companies as aforesaid.

*And be it further enacted,* That all the remaining vacant territory belonging to this State, shall be disposed of as this or a future General Assembly shall direct, and in no other manner whatever.

SEABORN JONES, *Speaker of the House of Representatives.*  
N. BROWNSON, *President of the Senate.*

Concurred, December 21, 1789.

EDWARD TELFAIR, *Governor.*

GEORGIA, *Secretary's Office, 12th January, 1790.*

The foregoing is a true copy, taken from the original, deposited in this office.

D. LONGSTREET, for JOHN MILTON, *Secretary.*

## A, No. 3.

*Extract of a letter from Lieutenant John Armstrong to the Secretary of War, dated*

PHILADELPHIA, January 20, 1791.

SIR:

Being a public officer, I shall take the liberty of communicating to you some conversation that passed between a Doctor O'Fallon and myself a few days before I left Kentucky, with some other circumstances relative to a settlement about to take place at the Yazoo, on the Mississippi, under the direction of that gentleman. Having seen a proclamation published by the President of the United States, I observed to Doctor O'Fallon that I thought the sanction of Government was necessary in order to give the color of success to his undertaking. He replied, it was immaterial; that Congress were concerned with him; offered to read a letter from one of that honorable body, but who he was I don't recollect. In the course of conversation, he assured me that many of the gentlemen of Congress were concerned in the business. I was also informed that a Mr. Mitchell had raised a company of adventurers in the

district of Kentucky. I saw a Mr. Christy, who informed me that he had an appointment, and expected in a little time to fill a company also.

I understood from him that the business of those men was to protect the settlement; they were to be fed, and have a bounty of land. O'Fallon had also contracted with a Mr. Kirby, at the rapids of Ohio, to frame several houses, and have them ready to raft down the river early in the spring.

On my way to this place, travelling through a part of North Carolina, I was there informed that an extensive settlement would be formed at the Big Bend of the Tennessee. This was the general subject of conversation in the back parts of Virginia also, and, from an advertisement, a copy of which I gave you, a number of families were to, and I doubt not but they did, meet on the 10th instant, on French Broad river, in order to proceed to the place above mentioned.

*Advertisement of the proprietors of the Tennessee Company.*

AUGUSTA, Geo. September 2, 1790.

This is to inform those who wish to become adventurers to the Tennessee Company's purchase, that the said company will embark, from the confluence of Holston and French Broad rivers, on the tenth day of January next, for the purpose of forming a settlement on the said purchase at or near the Muscle Shoals. And, for the encouragement of migration to the aforesaid intended settlement, the said Tennessee Company have thought proper to set apart four hundred and eighty thousand acres of land in the said purchase, to lie in a true square, on the south side of the Tennessee river; which said tract of country, so set apart for the encouragement of migration, will be first laid off into bounties of five hundred acres of land each: and to every family who may become adventurers to the aforesaid settlement will be allowed a bounty, as aforesaid, of five hundred acres each, and to every single man, half a bounty; that is to say, two hundred and fifty acres each, until the whole of the land so set apart is appropriated.

Preference to the adventurers will be given by ballot. It is desired that those who wish to become adventurers will rendezvous, at the place appointed for setting out, time enough previous to the tenth of January to have their boats and necessary provisions prepared to embark.

ZACHARIAH COX,  
THOMAS CARR,  
*Agents to the Tennessee Company.*

Those who wish to be further interested in land on the Tennessee river may be supplied on reasonable terms, by applying at the abovementioned place of rendezvous, on the first of January next, at which time and place the proprietors of the Tennessee Company purchase (as holding the land on the north side of the Tennessee river, commonly called the Bent) will open an office for the sale of the same. The said office will continue at the confluence of Holston and French Broad rivers until the tenth of January, and after, at the intended settlement of the Tennessee, until the whole of the land, or that part of the Bent (included by the Tennessee Company purchase) is sold, amounting, in the whole, to about six hundred thousand acres of the most valuable part of the said Bent.

Undoubted titles, in fee simple, to adventurers and purchasers, for land in the Tennessee Company, will be given. Given under our hands, as proprietors to the Tennessee Company, this second day of September, 1790.

ZACHARIAH COX,  
THOMAS GILBERT,  
JOHN STROTHER,  
*Proprietors Tennessee Company.*

*James O'Fallon's letter to the President of the United States.*

LEXINGTON, September 25, 1790.

SIR:

Having, since the sealing up of the despatches herein enclosed to your Excellency, noticed a clause in the late Creek treaty, and another in an act of the Legislature of the United States, of Monday, January (the 4th, of this year, and a third in the same act, respecting persons passing into Indian nations, holding treaties on the subject of *lands*, and trade with them; and as, in my present agency, I may occasionally have from the Spanish and Indian borders intelligence of vital import to transmit to your Excellency, to the Governor of Georgia, to the Company, to the new ally of the States, Mr. McGillivray, through the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and may likewise have to determine on the trading intercourse between these nations and the people of my colony, so remote from your Excellency, or your Excellency's Indian superintendent, and may further have to purchase *more lands* within the company's State charter, from the Choctaws, I, in consequence, submit it to your Excellency, whether or not it would comport with your Excellency's arrangement and official plans to extend to me, as the agent general of the company, sufficient authority in the premises, and to transmit it as speedily as may be. Your Excellency may depend on my discretion in the uses of such authority, and that your confidence will, in no one instance, be abused; without such trust, evils may happen.

In regard to *trade and purchases of the Choctaw tribes*, it would perhaps be better to place this authority in the hands of the company; but the power of passing expresses from *one*, in the directions just mentioned, ought, I should presume, to be speedily invested in the acting general agent of the colony. These are submitted to your Excellency's better judgment, with becoming diffidence, and am, your Excellency's most devoted and respectful humble servant,

JAMES O'FALLON,

*Agent General for, and proprietor with, the South Carolina Yazoo Company.*

P. S. By persons just now arrived from General Harmar's army, it is handed about, very confidently, that the expedition against the Northern Indians *must* prove abortive. The militia (then about half ways to the Indian towns) began to mutiny for want of *meat*. They had not at the time more beeves than would last the army five days, *nor were any ordered on*. They lost near one hundred in the woods. This disgusts the people here, because they think it will inspire the savages to greater hostility. The expedition, it is said, has been, by General St. Clair, too *precipitately* taken up, and hastily provided for. The country abounds with every supply, and the people, if called on, are willing to support the expedition. But, *they are not called on*. If it fails, a new uproar, I foresee, will be set up against the Governor.

*Military Articles of contract, &c. entered into between the South Carolina Yazoo Company and their troops, of the Yazoo Battalion.*

Military articles, proposals, and terms of contract, hereby offered, made, and solemnly entered into, for and on behalf of the South Carolina Yazoo Company, (as proprietors of that extensive territory on the Mississippi, and adjoining to the Natchez district, now proposed for populous colonization, by them, under a grant from the State of Georgia, and a deed of gift from the Choctaw nation) by the underwritten, who himself is a co-proprietor, and

likewise the said company's general agent in and over their affairs, throughout the whole of the Western territory of the United States, and in New Orleans and Pensacola, on the one part, and the officers and privates, as undersigned, on the other. And this for the sole purpose of raising, recruiting, and enlisting, and for that of placing on the spot of settlement, a well appointed, well armed, and well accoutred military corps, in full form and organization of a regular battalion, aptly detailed and apportioned into one troop of cavalry, one company of artillery, and eight companies of infantry riflemen, as in order arranged, at foot; enlisted, or to be enlisted for the space of eighteen months certain; to be computed from the time of the battalion's arrival at the place destined and appointed by the company, or their agent general, for the first establishment of the colony, capital, and fort; or for a shorter time, if the said company shall have thought proper: these troops being intended, although no danger is, at present, apprehended, to ensure the greater security of the company's rights, and their own; as well as to the rest of their fellow settlers' lives, liberties, and properties.

*Detail of officers and privates in this battalion, with their apportionments of stipendiary lands, respectively.*

1 Colonel-commandant.		16 Sergeants of infantry, 300 acres each,	- 4,800
1 Lieutenant Colonel,	- - - - 6,000	2 Sergeants of artillery, 350 acres,	- 700
1 Lieutenant of horse,	- - - - 2,400	8 Lieutenants of infantry, 2,000 acres each,	- 16,000
1 Cornet of do.	- - - - 2,400	8 Ensigns of do. do. do.	- 16,000
1 Captain of artillery,	- - - - 3,600	1 Adjutant of the battalion,	- 2,000
First Lieutenant of do.	- - - - 2,400	1 Surgeon of do.	- 2,000
Second Lieutenant of do.	- - - - 2,400	1 Quartermaster	- 2,000
8 Captains of infantry, 3,000 acres each,	- 24,000	1 Sergeant-major,	- 400
1 Major,	- - - - 5,000	47 Privates of horse, each 250 acres,	- 11,750
1 Captain of horse,	- - - - 3,600	46 Do. of artillery, 250 each,	- 11,550
1 Quartermaster-sergeant,	- - - - 400	400 Do. of infantry, 200 each,	- 80,000
1 Adjutant of horse,	- - - - 400	2 Gunners for the artillery, 400 each,-	- 800
2 Sergeants of horse, 350 each,	- - - - 700		
		Total of acres,	201,300

In addition to the stipendiary allotments of plantation rights, as above mentioned, each private as well as officer is to have one town lot of half an acre, and one out lot of five acres, adjoining to the capital.

The plantation lands are to be laid out and drawn for, consonant to rank, in enumerated sections of 400, 350, 300, 250, and 200 acres; all in the vicinage of the said capital, where, it is presumed, the land must, in quality, be excellent. The town lots are, likewise, to be enumerated and drawn for, in half acre sections, and the out lots in sections of five acres, the company drawing lot for lot, alternately, with each officer and private, so that the troops (with respect to the quantity of their lands) will be on an equal footing with the company. These military lots within the town, may exist in any of the streets thereof, saving one; which the agent, in behalf of the company, shall reserve for such uses as the said company may, hereafter, have them applied to.

The battalion is still additionally to be maintained by the company, in the subsistence of daily rations, so long as the troops shall have been retained in the service of the said company.

OFFICERS' AND PRIVATES' DAILY RATIONS.

Colonel-commandant,	- - - - -	5 per day.
Lieutenant Colonel,	- - - - -	5 do.
Major,	- - - - -	4 do.
Captains,	- - - - -	3 do.
Lieutenants and Ensigns,	- - - - -	2 do.
Adjutant of the battalion,	- - - - -	2 do.
Surgeon,	- - - - -	2 do.
Quartermaster,	- - - - -	2 do.
All others,	- - - - -	1 do.

RATIONS TO CONSIST OF—

Bacon, salted pork, flour, or Indian corn meal,	- - - - -	$\frac{3}{4}$ of a lb.
Or, if Bread, instead of flour,	- - - - -	1 lb.
Corn, instead of these,	- - - - -	1 quart,
Salted beef, instead of bacon, or salted pork,	- - - - -	1 lb.
Fresh meat or fish, instead of either of these,	- - - - -	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb.

One gill of whiskey, or half a gill of taffia, per day, shall accompany each ration.

The company engages to receive of the hunters and fishermen, all the fresh meat, fish, and peltry, which they shall bring into the garrison, at the customary price. The troops are to have their plantation lots and lands laid out for them, as soon after their arrival as may be; but not to receive their grants or final titles for the same, before they shall have been honorably discharged, at or before the expiration of eighteen months, as the company shall optionally determine on. The time of enlistment, then, is to be for eighteen months certain; or for so long (within that period) as the company shall judge this military establishment of defensive force absolutely necessary. The company is to exact no other services of the troops, but such as shall be purely military. Should a soldier labor for the company in any other respect, it shall be voluntarily, and for a stipulated compensation. No soldier whatsoever is, in any wise, to be punished, as such, for any crime, under a military tribunal, but by a forfeiture of his stipendiary lands and lots, for the greater crimes, and this by the solemn trial of a court martial; or, for the lesser ones, by an abridgment of his rations of whiskey or taffia, as his proper captain shall adjudge, in conjunction with the subalterns of the same company, or a majority of them.

The greater crimes are, *murder, or any act tending to the same; disobedience; desertion; cowardice; mutiny; neglect of appointed duty; drunkenness, while on duty; striking an officer; insult to his authority; and theft.*

The lesser crimes are, all else beside the above, which tend to *unmilitary or immoral* examples.

The colonel-commandant (or, in his absence, the next to him in command) shall, with his corps of commissioned officers, possess the exclusive authority of arranging the system of discipline, and of directing that of duty, as well of the officers as of the private men; and of adjusting the mode and the manner of holding courts martial. They shall, likewise, be invested with a similar authority respecting the regulation, inspection, and issuing military stores and provisions.

The — is to have the command of the battalion. The lieutenant colonel shall command under him; and in the absence of these, the command of the battalion shall devolve upon the senior officer in rank, then present. The captain of the cavalry is to hold precedence of him of the artillery; and he, of those of the infantry-riflemen. The same preference in rank is to hold good in regard to the lieutenants of horse and artillery, as well with respect to each other, as to those two, and those also of the infantry. The cornet of dragoons is to rank above the oldest lieutenant of infantry. All the infantry officers are to rank, in their respective grades, by priority, consonant to the priority of the dates of their commissions. Forfeiture of lands and lots (for the *greater* crimes) shall equally affect the officers as the soldiers, with the superadded ignominy of cashierment, by sentence of court martial. No officer, however, shall be put under arrest, but by a senior one, who shall not be the complainant; and all such complaints shall be in writing.

The troops, whether of the horse, artillery, or infantry, shall procure their respective manual arms and accoutrements. The cavalry are to have themselves furnished with good horses, and with competent equipment for the same; and all are to find their own uniform and habiliments. The arms of the horse are, swords, or cutlasses, pistols, or carbines. Their uniforms are to consist of a light-horseman's cap, covered with bearskin; a short skirted coat of blue, faced with buff, and yellow metal buttons. The arms of the artillery are to be swords, or cutlasses, and their uniforms are to consist of yellow hunting-shirts, bound about the waist with broad, black, leathern belts; of a hat, with its leaf flapped up behind, and the crown thereof covered with a piece of bearskin; with overalls of blue. The infantry-riflemen are to wear the same uniform with the artillery: and their arms are to be, each, a good rifle, or musket, shot or bullet-pouch, and powder-horn. All military stores and ammunition, *for duty*, are to be furnished by the company.

Should any person demise, while in service, his stipendiary lands are to revert to his heirs, or to pass over to his assigns, as fully, absolutely, and legally, as if he had duly served out the whole period of his enlistment.

The company will grant (as a bounty of encouragement to female adventurers, who shall have enterprised into this territory, at the time the battalion moves to it) five hundred acres of land to the first woman who shall land there; and five hundred more to her who shall bring forth in it the first live child, bastard or legitimate.

All those, of whatever class or rank, who shall take provisions of *solid* food, or whiskey, down with them to this settlement, shall be paid for the same in cash, or in goods, on the delivery of these provisions to the agent's orders. Every woman, married or marriageable, who shall accompany the troops to the place of settlement, shall have one hundred acres of land.

The articles being obligatory on the company, and on their troops, the one to the other, are to be signed, for the company, by the agent general, and, for the battalion, by the officers and privates thereof; as hereinafter specified by their signatures, respectively.

*Officers of the Yazoo battalion, commissioned as well as warranted; their names and grades, respectively.*

Battalion filled, mustered, and enrolled, on the 16th day of September, 1790.

Colonel commandant,	John Holder, Esq.
Lieutenant Colonel,	Thomas Kennedy, Esq.
Major,	Henry Owen, Esq.
HORSE.	
Captain,	Ebenezer Platt, gentleman.
Lieutenant,	Charles Scott, jun. gentleman.
Cornet,	Sherwood Harris, gentleman.
ARTILLERY.	
Captain,	Thomas Reynolds, gentleman.
Lieutenant,	James Noland, gentleman.
2d Lieutenant,	Andrew McCrosbie, gentleman.
INFANTRY.	
Captains,	1st. John McIntire, gentleman.
RIFLEMEN.	
	2d. Martin Nall, gentleman.
	3d. John Sappington, gentleman.
	4th. Charles Hazlewrigg, gentleman.
	5th. Francis Jones, gentleman.
	6th. Philip Alston, gentleman.
	7th. James Dromgold, gentleman.
	8th. Joseph Blackburn, gentleman.
Lieutenants,	1st. Gabriel Hardin, gentleman.
	2d. John Price, gentleman.
	3d. William Briscoe, gentleman.
	4th. Martin Johnson, gentleman.
	5th. Robert Knox, gentleman.
	6th. John Alston, gentleman.
	7th. Daniel Scott, gentleman.
	8th. George Logan, gentleman.
Ensigns,	1st. Francis McDowell, gentleman.
	2d. William Boyd, gentleman.
	3d. Asa Seafroy, gentleman.
	4th. John Holden, gentleman.
	5th. Philip Bush, gentleman.
	6th. Anthony McGuire, gentleman.
	7th. Tobias Talmash, gentleman.
	8th. Nath'l Howard, gentleman.
WARRANTED OFFICERS.	
Quartermaster,	William Kennan.
Quartermaster sergeant,	John Drake.
Adjutant of the battalion,	James Mitchel.
Surgeon of the battalion,	William Sappington.
Sergeant-major,	Patrick Irwin.
Adjutant of horse,	Charles Davis.

B, No. 1.

*Statement of the Troops in the service of the United States.*

		IN GEORGIA.		
At St. Mary's,	Burbeck's company, consisting of	-	69	non-commissioned and privates.
Rock Landing,	Savage's,	-	55	
Beard's Bluff,	J. Smith's,	-	51	
Augusta,	Rudolph's,	-	20	

WESTERN FRONTIERS.	
Fort Washington,	Six companies, - - - - 295 non-commissioned and privates.
Fort Knox, St. Vincennes,	Two ditto, - - - - 142
Fort Franklin,	Detachment, - - - - 18
Fort Harmar,	Two companies, - - - - 87
Halifax, N. C. recruiting,	Montfort's company, - - - - 50
Kentucky, recruiting,	B. Smith's - - - - 12
West Point,	Detachment, - - - - 21
	<hr/>
	In service, 820
	Wanting to complete, 396
	<hr/>
	Establishment, <u>1,216</u>

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

WAR OFFICE, 22d January, 1791.

B, No. 2.

*Estimate of the modes of augmentation of the Troops.*

The present military establishment of the United States consists of one regiment of infantry and one battalion of artillery; the whole number of non-commissioned and privates amount to 1216.

*The Regiment of Infantry is composed as follows:*

## REGIMENTAL STAFF.

- 1 Lieutenant Colonel-commandant,
- 1 Paymaster,
- 1 Surgeon,
- 2 Surgeon's mates;

And three battalions, each of which consists of

- 1 Major,
- 1 Adjutant,
- 1 Quartermaster;

And four companies, each of

- 1 Captain,
- 1 Lieutenant,
- 1 Ensign,
- 4 Sergeants,
- 4 Corporals,
- 2 Musicians,
- 66 Privates.

The battalion of artillery is of the same formation as the battalions of infantry, excepting having a paymaster. If it should be thought proper to augment the establishment with another regiment of infantry of the same proportions, the establishment would consist of 2,128 non-commissioned and privates, formed as follows:

*Infantry*, 1,824 non-commissioned and privates—2 regiments, each of 3 battalions; each battalion of four companies, each company of 76 non-commissioned and privates.

*Artillery*, 304 non-commissioned and privates—1 battalion of four companies each, 76 non-commissioned and privates.

In this case the following would be an estimate of the expenses for one year:

PAY.	
1 Lieutenant Colonel-commandant, at \$60 per month,	\$720 00
3 Majors, - - - - at 40 do	1,440 00
12 Captains, - - - - at 30 do	4,320 00
12 Lieutenants, - - - - at 22 do	3,168 00
12 Ensigns, - - - - at 18 do	2,592 00
3 Surgeon's mates, - - - - at 24 do	864 00
1 Adjutant, - - - - at 10 do	120 00
1 Paymaster, - - - - at 5 do	60 00
1 Quartermaster, - - - - at 5 do	60 00
3 Sergeant-majors, - - - - at 6 do	216 00
3 Quartermaster sergeants, - - - - at 6 do	216 00
48 Sergeants, - - - - at 5 do	2,880 00
48 Corporals, - - - - at 4 do	2,504 00
24 Musicians, } - - - - at 3 do	29,088 00
784 Privates, }	
	<hr/>
	\$48,048 00

*Deductions.*

54 Sergeants, - - - - \$1 40 per month,	\$907 20
48 Corporals, - - - - 1 15 do	662 40
808 Musicians and Privates, - - - - 90 do	8,726 40
	<hr/>
	10,296 00
	<hr/>
Amount of pay,	\$37,742 00

## SUBSISTENCE.

1 Lieut. Col. Commandant, - - - - 6 rations,	2,190
3 Majors, - - - - 4 do	4,380
12 Captains, - - - - 3 do	13,140
12 Lieutenants, - - - - 2 do	8,760
12 Ensigns, - - - - 2 do	8,760
3 Surgeon's mates, - - - - 2 do	2,190
910 Non-commissioned and privates, - - - - 1 do	332,150
	<hr/>
	371,570
At 12 cents per ration,	<hr/>
	44,588 40



FORAGE.						
1 Lieut. Col. Commandant,	-	-	\$12 per month,	-	-	\$144 00
3 Majors,	-	-	10 do	-	-	360 00
1 Adjutant, 1 Paymaster, 1 Quartermaster,	-	-	6 do	-	-	216 00
3 Surgeon's mates,	-	-	6 do	-	-	216 00
						936 00

CLOTHING.	
910 Non-commissioned and privates, at 20 dollars.	18,200 00
	<u>\$101,466 40</u>

But if the principle of the augmentation should be agreed to, but not the foregoing mode, then the following plan is submitted:

The whole establishment of infantry and artillery to consist of 20 companies, each company of 108 non-commissioned, and privates, amounting in total, to 2,160.

Each company, in consideration of the augmentation from 76 to 108, to have an additional lieutenant, 2 sergeants, and 2 corporals, and to be formed as follows:

1 Captain,	6 Corporals,
2 Lieutenants,	2 Musicians,
1 Ensign,	94 Privates.
6 Sergeants,	

The infantry to be formed into two regiments, each of two battalions of four companies.

The artillery to remain formed into one battalion of four companies.

In this case, the following statement would be the precise number of the augmentation, and an estimate of the expenses thereof:

PAY.						
1 Lieutenant Colonel-commandant, at \$60 per month,	-	-	-	\$ 720 00		
One battalion complete.						
1 Major,	-	-	at 40 per month,	-	480 00	
4 Captains,	-	-	at 30 do	-	1,440 00	
8 Lieutenants,	-	-	at 22 do	-	2,112 00	
4 Ensigns,	-	-	at 18 do	-	864 00	
1 Adjutant,	-	-	at 10 do	-	120 00	
1 Quartermaster,	-	-	at 5 do	-	60 00	
1 Paymaster,	-	-	at 5 do	-	60 00	
1 Sergeant-major,	-	-	at 6 do	-	72 00	
1 Quartermaster sergeant,	-	-	at 6 do	-	72 00	
24 Sergeants,	-	-	at 5 do	-	1,440 00	
24 Corporals,	-	-	at 4 do	-	1,152 00	
8 Musicians,	-	-	-	-	-	
376 Privates,	-	-	at 3 do	-	12,624 00	
						<u>\$21,216 00</u>

Deductions.						
26 Sergeants,	-	-	at \$1 40 per month,	-	\$436 80	
24 Corporals,	-	-	at 1 15 do	-	331 20	
384 Musicians and privates,	-	-	at 90 do	-	4,147 20	
						4,915 20
Amount of pay,				-	-	\$16,300 80

SUBSISTENCE.						
1 Lieut. Col. Commandant,	-	-	6 rations,	-	2,190	
1 Major,	-	-	4 do	-	1,460	
4 Captains,	-	-	3 do	-	4,380	
8 Lieutenants,	-	-	2 do	-	5,840	
4 Ensigns,	-	-	2 do	-	2,920	
434 Non-commissioned and privates,	-	-	1 do	-	158,410	
						175,200
At 12 cents per ration,				-	-	21,024 00

FORAGE.						
1 Lieutenant Colonel-commandant,	-	-	at \$12 per month,	-	144 00	
1 Major,	-	-	at 10 do	-	120 00	
1 Adjutant, 1 Quartermaster, 1 Paymaster, each	-	-	6	-	216 00	
						480 00

CLOTHING.						
434 Non-commissioned and privates, at \$20	-	-	-	8,680 00		
16 Additional lieutenants to the sixteen existing companies of infantry and artillery, at \$22 per month,	-	-	-	4,224 00		
32 Additional sergeants, at 5 do	-	-	-	1,920 00		
32 Corporals, at 4 do	-	-	-	1,536 00		
448 Privates, being 28 additional to each of the aforesaid companies of artillery and infantry, at \$3 per month,	-	-	-	16,128 00		
						<u>23,808 00</u>

Deductions.						
32 Sergeants,	-	-	\$1 40	-	\$537 60	
32 Corporals,	-	-	1 15	-	441 60	
448 Privates,	-	-	0 90	-	4,838 40	
						5,817 60
						<u>17,990 40</u>
						<u>\$64,475 20</u>

SUBSISTENCE.			
16 Lieutenants, - - - - -	2 rations, - - - - -	11,680	
512 Non-commissioned and privates, 1 do - - - - -		186,880	
		198,560	
	At 12 cents per ration, - - - - -		23,827 20
CLOTHING.			
512 Non-commissioned and privates, at \$20 - - - - -			10,240 00
			98,542 40
By this plan the additional non-commissioned officers and privates would amount to 944			
By the first mode, to - - - - -		912	
	Difference, - - - - -	32	

It appears that the difference of expense would be greater for the former than the latter mode, by the sum of \$2,924. But the Secretary of War submits it as his opinion, that the additional regiment of three battalions would be the best formation, considering the nature of the service to be performed on the frontiers.

But if the augmentation should take place in either mode, or, indeed, if it should not take place, it seems essential for the public interests, that an officer of high rank and responsibility should command on the frontiers: the public interest in that quarter requires the best security to be obtained. The idea is, therefore, hereby suggested, that a Major General should be appointed to the command of the troops on the frontiers. In this case, the following expense would be incurred:

The pay of a major general, \$166 per month, - - - - -		\$1,992 00
Subsistence, 15 rations, per day, - - - - -	5,475 rations, at 12 cents, - - - - -	657 00
Forage, \$24 per month - - - - -		288 00
		2,937 00
QUARTERMASTER.		
Pay, \$60 per month, - - - - -		720 00
Subsistence, 6 rations is 2,190, at 12 cents, - - - - -		262 80
Forage, \$12 per month, - - - - -		144 00
		\$1,126 80

The articles in the quartermaster's department are at present supplied by the contractors. But, it is apprehended, that a quartermaster to the troops would be more economical. The idea is, therefore, submitted, that a quartermaster should be appointed, who should govern himself by such regulations, respecting his said duty, as the President of the United States should, from time to time, direct. It is proposed that the quartermaster should have the pay, rations, and forage, of a lieutenant colonel-commandant.

### B, No. 3.

*An estimate of the expense of the corps of Levies, consisting of 1,500 non-commissioned and privates, for four months.*

PAY.			
1 Brigadier General, at \$100 per month, - - - - -		\$ 400 00	
2 Lieutenant Colonels, 60 do - - - - -		480 00	
5 Majors, - - - - -	40 do - - - - -	800 00	
20 Captains, - - - - -	30 do - - - - -	2,400 00	
20 Lieutenants, - - - - -	22 do - - - - -	1,760 00	
20 Ensigns, - - - - -	18 do - - - - -	1,440 00	
1 Adjutant, - - - - -	10 do - - - - -	40 00	
1 Quartermaster, - - - - -	5 do - - - - -	20 00	
1 Paymaster, - - - - -	5 do - - - - -	20 00	
5 Surgeon's mates, - - - - -	24 do - - - - -	480 00	
80 Sergeants, - - - - -	5 do - - - - -	1,600 00	
80 Corporals, - - - - -	4 do - - - - -	1,280 00	
40 Musicians, and } - - - - -	3 do - - - - -	16,080 00	
1,300 Privates, }			
	Amount of pay, - - - - -		\$26,800 00
SUBSISTENCE.			
1 Brigadier General, - - - - -	8 rations, - - - - -	960	
2 Lieutenant Colonels, - - - - -	6 do - - - - -	1,440	
5 Majors, - - - - -	4 do - - - - -	2,400	
20 Captains, - - - - -	3 do - - - - -	7,200	
20 Lieutenants, - - - - -	2 do - - - - -	4,800	
20 Ensigns, - - - - -	2 do - - - - -	4,800	
5 Surgeon's mates, - - - - -	2 do - - - - -	1,200	
1500 Non-commissioned and privates, - - - - -	1 do - - - - -	180,000	
		202,800	
	At 12 cents, - - - - -		24,336
FORAGE.			
1 Brigadier General, \$18 - - - - -		\$ 72 00	
2 Lieutenant Colonels, 12 - - - - -		96 00	
5 Majors, - - - - -	10 - - - - -	200 00	
1 Adjutant, - - - - -	6 - - - - -	24 00	
1 Quartermaster, - - - - -	6 - - - - -	24 00	
1 Paymaster, - - - - -	6 - - - - -	24 00	
5 Surgeon's mates, - - - - -	6 - - - - -	120 00	
		560 00	
			\$51,696 00

In order that the levies should be on a footing with the regular troops, they ought to have, for the four months' service, one-third part of the clothing of the said regulars, but subject to a proportional deduction. The clothing, so given, should be of the most useful kind, so as to enable the levies to render the most service. It is to be observed, that many of the militia are soon rendered unfit for service by want of clothing.

The clothing, therefore, for the aforesaid 1,500 non-commissioned and privates, amount, at \$6 2-3, to \$10,000

From which the following deductions are to be made, agreeably to law:

80 Sergeants,	46 2-3 cents per month,	\$ 149 34	
80 Corporals,	38 1-3 do do	122 66	
1340 Musicians and privates,	30 do do	1,608 00	
			1,880 00
			8,120 00
			\$59,816 00

If only 1,300 levies should be raised, then 2-15th parts of the above sum would be deducted. On the contrary, if the levies should be augmented to 2,000, then the aforesaid estimate to be increased one-fourth part, viz.

If 1,300, there is to be deducted,	7,962 00
If 2,000, there is to be added,	14,954 00

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

WAR OFFICE, *January 22, 1791.*

B, No. 4.

*A general estimate of the extraordinary expenses which would be incurred by an expedition against the Wabash Indians, calculated for four months, and the expense of a proposed regiment of Rangers for nine months.*

The rangers, as per estimate, marked C, No. 6,	\$49,454 00
The levies, as per estimate, marked —, the greatest sum being taken,	74,770 00
The difference between the price of 2,500 rations per day on the Ohio, and the proposed place of operation, the one being stated 6½ cents, and the other 15½ cents, calculated at 120 days, 300,000 rations, at 8½ cents difference,	25,500 00
The same difference for 600 continental troops,	6,120 00

QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT.

Camp equipage of all sorts, boats, horses, tents, &c. and the transportation, including hospital stores and baggage for the army, and cannon and stores to establish a post at the Miami, estimated in the gross,	50,000 00
Medical and hospital stores,	4,000 00
Arms and ammunition are not estimated, the principal articles being in the public stores.	
Contingencies,	25,000 00
	\$234,844 00

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

WAR OFFICE, *22d January, 1791.*

1st CONGRESS.]

No. 17.

[3d SESSION.

INDIAN DEPREDACTIONS.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, JANUARY, 27, 1791.

*Gentlemen of the Senate  
and House of Representatives:*

In order that you may be fully informed of the situation of the frontiers, and the prospects of hostility in that quarter, I lay before you the intelligence of some recent depredations, received since my message to you upon this subject, of the 24th instant.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, *January 27, 1791.*

*Rufus Putnam, Esq. to the President of the United States.*

MARIETTA, *January 8, 1791.*

SIR:

The mischief which I feared, has overtaken us much sooner than I expected. On the evening of the 2d instant, between sunset and daylight-in, the Indians surprised a new settlement of our people, at a place on the Muskingum, called the Big-bottom, nearly forty miles up the river, in which disaster eleven men, one woman, and two children, were killed: three men are missing, and four others made their escape. Thus, sir, the war, which was partial before the campaign of last year, is, in all probability, become general: for I think there is no reason to suppose that we are the only people on whom the savages will wreak their vengeance, or that the number of hostile Indians have not increased since the late expedition. Our situation is truly critical: the Governor and Secretary both being absent, no assistance from Virginia or Pennsylvania can be had. The garrison at fort Harmar, consisting at this time of little more than twenty men, can afford no protection to our settlements, and the whole number of men, in all our settlements, capable of bearing arms, including all civil and military officers, do not exceed two hundred and eighty seven, and these, many of them, badly armed. We are in the utmost danger of being swallowed up, should the enemy push the war with vigor during the winter; this I believe will fully appear, by taking a short view of our several settlements, and I hope justify the extraordinary measures we have adopted, for want of a legal authority in the territory to apply for aid in the business. The situation of our people is nearly as follows:.

At Marietta are about eighty houses, in the distance of one mile, with scattering houses about three miles up the Ohio. A set of mills at Duckcreek, four miles distant, and another mill two miles up the Muskingum. Twenty two miles up this river is a settlement, consisting of about twenty families; about two miles from them, on Wolf Creek, are five families and a set of mills. Down the Ohio, and opposite the little Kenhawa, commences the settlement called Belle Prairie, which extends down the river, with little interruption, about twelve miles, and contains between thirty and forty houses. Before the late disaster, we had several other settlements, which are already broken up. I have taken the liberty to enclose the proceedings of the Ohio company and justices of the sessions on this occasion, and beg leave, with the greatest deference, to observe, that, unless Government speedily send a body of troops for our protection, we are a ruined people. The removal of the women and children, &c. will reduce many of the poorer sort to the greatest straits; but if we add to this the destruction of their corn, forage, and cattle, by the enemy, which is very probable to ensue, I know of no way they can be supported; but, if this should not happen, where these people are to raise bread another year, is not easy to conjecture, and most of them have nothing left to buy with. But my fears do not stop here; we are a people so far detached from all others, in point of situation, that we can hope for no timely relief, in case of emergency, from any of our neighbors; and, among the number that compose our present military strength, almost one half are young men, hired into the country, intending to settle by and by; these, under present circumstances, will probably leave us soon, unless prospects should brighten; and, as to new settlers, we can expect none in our present situation; so that, instead of increasing in strength, we are like to diminish daily; and, if we do not fall a prey to the savages, we shall be so reduced and discouraged as to give up the settlement, unless Government shall give us timely protection. It has been a mystery with some, why the troops have been withdrawn from this quarter, and collected at the Miami; that settlement is, I believe, within three or four days' march of a very populous part of Kentucky, from whence, in a few days, they might be reinforced with several thousand men, whereas, we are not within two hundred miles of any settlement, that can probably more than protect themselves.

But, I forbear suggestions of this sort, and will only observe further, that our present situation is truly distressing; and I do, therefore, most earnestly implore the protection of Government, for myself and friends inhabiting these wilds of America: To this we conceive ourselves justly entitled; and so far as you, sir, have the means in your power, we rest assured that we shall receive it in due time.

I have the honor to be, with the highest possible respect, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

RUFUS PUTNAM.

To the PRESIDENT of the United States of America.

*Rufus Putnam, Esq. to the Secretary of War.*

MARIETTA, January 8th, 1791.

DEAR SIR:

I snatch a moment's time, to tell you, that, on the 2d instant, the Indians surprised a block-house of ours, about 40 miles up the Muskingum, killed 14 persons, and carried off three others; these last lodged in a hut, about 50 rods from the block-house; 4 others, who also lodged a distance from the block-house, made their escape. This event clearly proves that the expedition against the Shawanese will not produce peace, but, on the contrary, a more general and outrageous war; in which case there is with us but one alternative; Government must either give us some troops, or we must eventually be obliged to quit the country; our numbers are too small to make head against a host of savages, without aid from the General Government. Being confident that we deserve, we endeavor to believe that we shall obtain their protection; and, in the mean time, are taking all possible measures in our power for our own preservation, and shall endeavor not only to defend the town of Marietta, but the most considerable out-settlements that remain, till such time as Congress shall take their measures respecting the war, which has been blown into a flame by the expedition against the Shawanese. I hope Government will not be long in deciding what part to take: for, if we are not to be protected, the sooner we know it the better—better for us and better for Government; better that we withdraw ourselves at once, than remain to be destroyed by piecemeal; and better that Government disband their troops now in the country, and give it up altogether, than be wasting the public money in supporting a few troops, altogether inadequate to the purpose of giving peace to the territory.

I have the honor to be, with very great respect, sir, your very humble servant,

RUFUS PUTNAM,

Hon. H. Knox, Esq.

*Captain David Zeigler to Governor St. Clair.*

FORT HARMAR, January 8, 1791.

SIR:

I have the mortification to inform your Excellency, that, on the 2d instant, in the evening, the settlements called Big Bottom, consisting of 16 men, one woman, and two children, were destroyed by the savages, and only two men escaped, and three supposed taken prisoners, as the bodies were not found. As soon as I got acquainted, assisted Colonel Sprout to make a detachment with as many men as I possibly could spare, towards that settlement; the Indians were gone before the party arrived.

Since your departure, no Indians had made their appearance here, and they are, to a great number, at the Great Rock, and White Woman's creek, and do not seem to be inclined to come in. The 4th instant was the day I had appointed for George White-Eyes, the old, which is amongst us, to go as far as said place, but now he is apprehensive of danger, not only from them, but, also, from his own people, which obliged me to save him from trouble. Polly, the Wyandot woman, is also here, and informed me, the 1st instant, in a crying manner, that she apprehended all the savages were hostile inclined; when being in their town, numbers of the Chippewas and Ottawas have passed to join those *banditti*; with their usual mode of singing, by giving farewell to their nation for some time. To give credit to all that, I let your Excellency judge.

Since this unhappy affair happened, the Ohio company voted troops to be raised for their defence, and for such time, until more troops will be sent on to this post. They also voted three block-houses to be erected; the troops so raised, to have the same pay and rations (but no clothing), as the troops got last war in the service of the United States; this I am afraid will hurt the establishment.

Upon application from the directors of the Ohio, in giving them assistance, shall order Ensign Morgan, with fifteen men, on his return, to guard one of those block-houses, and any other aid possible on my part, they shall have. All our settlements must become more careful, otherwise they may meet with the same fate.

The French families, I expect, will take shelter in this garrison, so quartered at Campus Martius, as by their law made. The women and children in the different settlements will repair to said place.

No new commissary has made his appearance as yet, and of course no provision.

I have the honor to be, with the highest esteem, your Excellency's most ob't. and most humble serv't,

DAVID ZEIGLER, Capt. 1st United States' regt.

His Excellency ARTHUR ST. CLAIR, Governor Western Territory.

1st CONGRESS.]

No. 18.

[3d Session.

## ONEIDAS AND TUSCARORAS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 8, 1791.

WAR OFFICE, February 26th, 1791.

The Secretary for the Department of War, to whom was referred the petitions of several Oneida and Tuscarora Indians, by their attorney, Cornelius Vanslyck, reports:

That, on the 3d of April, 1779, Congress resolved, "That twelve blank commissions be transmitted to the Commissioners of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department, and that they, or any two of them, be empowered to fill them up with the names of faithful chiefs of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, giving them such rank as the said commissioners shall judge they merit; the names and ranks to be by the commissioners reported to the Board of War."

That, in pursuance of the said resolve, the following named chiefs or Indians, of said nations, were commissioned, and returns transmitted to the Board of War, viz:

Hansjurie Tewahongrahkon, Tewaghtahkotte, James Wakarontharan, John Otaawighton,	} Captains.	
Christian Thonigwenghsoharie, John Sagoharasic, Joseph Banaghsatirhon, Cornelius Okenyota, Cornelius Kakiktoton, Hansjoost Thaosagwat, Totyaneahani, Nicholas Kayhnatho,		} Lieutenants.

That the commissions granted as aforesaid, appear in the usual form of commissions granted to officers of the line of the army, and specify that the individuals beforementioned should take rank from the 6th June, 1779.

That, on the 5th of June, 1779, Congress resolved, "That one more blank commission be sent to the Commissioners of Indian Affairs in the Northern Department, to be filled up with the name of such faithful chief, as they shall deem worthy of that honor."

In pursuance of this act, it appears a like commission of Lieutenant Colonel in the Army of the United States was granted to Louis Atayataronghta, giving the said Louis rank from the 15th June, 1779.

That, on the 11th of February, 1785, Congress resolved, "That it be, and it is hereby, recommended to the State of New York, to settle with Captains Hansjurie Tewahangahtan, John Olaawighton, James Wakarontharan, and Lieutenants Nicholas Kayhnatho, Cornelius Kakiktoton, Cornelius Okenyota, Indians of the Oneida and Tuscarora nations, late officers in the service of the United States, and pay their accounts in like manner as other officers in the line of that State."

In consequence of said act, the State of New York made good the depreciation of pay of the said Indians to the 1st August, 1780, and settled with them for their pay to the 1st January, 1782.

That, of the Indians who were commissioned by the acts of Congress of the 3d April and 5th June, 1779, the following now appear, by their attorney, to claim the benefits arising from the said commissions, viz:

Louis Atayataronghta,	Lieutenant Colonel.	
Hansjurie Tewahongrahkon, James Wakarontharan, John Otaawighton,	} Captains.	
John Sagoharasic, by his widow Margaret Oginghtronte, Cornelius Hakiktoton, Hansjost Thaosagwat, by his widow Elizabeth Shentijo.		} Lieutenants.

It appears by the evidence of Edward Johnson, that Hansjost Thaosagwat, was killed on the western expedition under General Sullivan, and from verbal information obtained from Captain Michael Connolly, of the late New York line, it appears that John Sagoharasic died some time in 1781, and that Lieutenants Christian Thonigwenghsoharie, Joseph Banaghsatirhon, and Totyaneahani, deserted to, and exchanged their commissions with, the British.

That Lieutenant Colonel Louis Atayataronghta, has been settled with by the United States for his commutation, and for pay, to the same period that the State of New York settled with those under the act aforesaid.

On this statement, the Secretary of War remarks, that, however it may be supposed to have been the intention of Congress that the aforesaid Indians should receive the half-pay and the same rewards as the officers of the late army, that the claim is now precluded by the resolves of limitation, excepting as to the lands to which it appears they are entitled, and which it is conceived they may receive without any act of Congress.

All which is humbly submitted to the House of Representatives.

H. KNOX, Secretary of War.

2d CONGRESS.]

No. 19.

[1st Session.

## CHEROKEES, SIX NATIONS, AND CREEKS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, OCTOBER 26, 1791.

Gentlemen of the Senate:

I have directed the Secretary of War to lay before you, for your consideration, all the papers\* relative to the late negotiations with the Cherokee Indians, and the treaty concluded with that tribe, on the 2d day of July last, by the superintendent of the Southern district; and I request your advice, whether I shall ratify the same.

\* These papers are not on file.

I also lay before you the instructions to Colonel Pickering, and his conferences with the Six Nations of Indians. These conferences were for the purpose of conciliation, and at a critical period to withdraw those Indians to a greater distance from the theatre of war, in order to prevent their being involved therein. (1)

It might not have been necessary to request your opinion on this business, had not the commissioner, with good intentions, but incautiously, made certain ratifications of lands, unauthorized by his instructions, and unsupported by the constitution.

It, therefore, became necessary to disavow the transaction explicitly, in a letter written by my orders to the Governor of New York, on the 17th of August last.

The speeches to the Cornplanter, and other Seneca Chiefs, the instructions to Colonel Proctor, and his report, and other messages and directions, (2) are laid before you for your information; and, as evidences that all proper lenient measures preceded the exercise of coercion.

The letters to the Chief of the Creeks are also laid before you, to evince that the requisite steps have been taken to produce a full compliance with the treaty made with that nation, on the 7th of August, 1790.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, 26th October, 1791.

*A Treaty of peace and friendship, made and concluded between the President of the United States of America, on the part and behalf of the said States, and the undersigned chiefs and warriors, of the Cherokee nation of Indians, on the part and behalf of the said nation.*

The parties being desirous of establishing permanent peace and friendship between the United States and the said Cherokee nation, and the citizens and members thereof, and to remove the causes of war by ascertaining their limits, and making other necessary, just, and friendly arrangements: the President of the United States, by William Blount, Governor of the territory of the United States of America south of the river Ohio, and superintendent of Indian affairs for the Southern district, who is vested with full powers for these purposes, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States; and the Cherokee nation, by the undersigned chiefs and warriors, representing the said nation, have agreed to the following articles, namely:

ARTICLE 1. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between all the citizens of the United States of America and all the individuals composing the whole Cherokee nation of Indians.

ART. 2. The undersigned chiefs and warriors, for themselves, and all parts of the Cherokee nation, do acknowledge themselves and the said Cherokee nation to be under the protection of the United States of America, and of no other sovereign whosoever; and they also stipulate that the said Cherokee nation will not hold any treaty with any foreign Power, individual State, or with individuals of any State.

ART. 3. The Cherokee nation shall deliver to the Governor of the territory of the United States of America, south of the river Ohio, on or before the first day of April next, at this place, all persons who are now prisoners, captured by them from any part of the United States; and the United States shall, on or before the same day, and at the same place, restore to the Cherokees, all the prisoners now in captivity, which the citizens of the United States have captured from them.

ART. 4. The boundary between the citizens of the United States and the Cherokee nation is, and shall be, as follows: Beginning at the top of the Currahee mountain, where the Creek line passes it; thence a direct line to Tugelo river; thence northeast to the Occunna mountain, and over the same, along the South Carolina Indian boundary, to the North Carolina boundary; thence north, to a point from which a line is to be extended to the river Clinch, that shall pass the Holston at the ridge which divides the waters running into Little river from those running into the Tennessee; thence, up the river Clinch, to Campbell's line, and along the same to the top of Cumberland mountain; thence a direct line to the Cumberland river, where the Kentucky road crosses it; thence, down the Cumberland river, to a point from which a southwest line will strike the ridge which divides the waters of Cumberland from those of Duck river, forty miles above Nashville; thence, down the said ridge, to a point from whence a southwest line will strike the mouth of Duck river.

And in order to preclude forever all disputes relative to the said boundary, the same shall be ascertained, and marked plainly, by three persons appointed on the part of the United States, and three Cherokees on the part of their nation.

And in order to extinguish forever all claims of the Cherokee nation, or any part thereof, to any of the land lying to the right of the line above described, beginning as aforesaid at the Currahee mountain, it is hereby agreed, that, in addition to the consideration heretofore made for the said land, the United States will cause certain valuable goods to be immediately delivered to the undersigned chiefs and warriors, for the use of their nation; and the said United States will also cause the sum of one thousand dollars to be paid annually to the said Cherokee nation. And the undersigned chiefs and warriors do hereby, for themselves and the whole Cherokee nation, their heirs and descendants, for the considerations abovementioned, release, quit claim, relinquish, and cede, all the land to the right of the line described, and beginning as aforesaid.

ART. 5. It is stipulated and agreed, that the citizens and inhabitants of the United States shall have a free and unmolested use of a road from Washington district to Mero district, and of the navigation of the Tennessee river.

ART. 6. It is agreed, on the part of the Cherokees, that the United States shall have the sole and exclusive right of regulating their trade.

ART. 7. The United States solemnly guaranty to the Cherokee nation, all their lands not hereby ceded.

ART. 8. If any citizen of the United States, or other person, not being an Indian, shall settle on any of the Cherokees' lands, such person shall forfeit the protection of the United States; and the Cherokees may punish him or not, as they please.

ART. 9. No citizen or inhabitant of the United States shall attempt to hunt or destroy the game on the lands of the Cherokees; nor shall any citizen or inhabitant go into the Cherokee country, without a passport first obtained from the Governor of some one of the United States, or territorial districts, or such other person as the President of the United States may, from time to time, authorize to grant the same.

ART. 10. If any Cherokee Indian or Indians, or person residing among them, or who shall take refuge in their nation, shall steal a horse from, or commit a robbery or murder, or other capital crime, on, any citizens, or inhabitants of the United States, the Cherokee nation shall be bound to deliver him or them up, to be punished according to the laws of the United States.

ART. 11. If any citizen or inhabitant of the United States, or of either of the territorial districts of the United States, shall go into any town, settlement, or territory, belonging to the Cherokees, and shall there commit any crime upon, or trespass against, the person or property of any peaceable and friendly Indian or Indians, which, if committed within the jurisdiction of any State, or within the jurisdiction of either of the said districts, against a citizen or white inhabitant thereof, would be punishable by the laws of such State or district, such offender or offenders shall be subject to the same punishment, and shall be proceeded against in the same manner, as if the offence had been committed within the jurisdiction of the State or district to which he or they may belong, against a citizen or white inhabitant thereof.

ART. 12. In case of violence on the persons or property of the individuals of either party, neither retaliation nor reprisal shall be committed by the other, until satisfaction shall have been demanded of the party of which the aggressor is, and shall have been refused.

ART. 13. The Cherokees shall give notice to the citizens of the United States of any designs which they may know or suspect to be formed in any neighboring tribe, or by any person whatever, against the peace and interest of the United States.

(1 & 2) These, with other papers, were transmitted to Congress, on the 11th January, 1792. Vide No. 23.

ART. 14. That the Cherokee nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will, from time to time, furnish gratuitously the said nation with useful implements of husbandry. And further, to assist the said nation in so desirable a pursuit, and at the same time to establish a certain mode of communication, the United States will send such, and so many, persons to reside in said nation, as they may judge proper, and not exceeding four in number, who shall qualify themselves to act as interpreters. These persons shall have lands assigned them by the Cherokees for cultivation, for themselves and their successors in office; but they shall be precluded exercising any kind of traffic.

ART. 15. All animosities for past grievances shall henceforth cease; and the contracting parties will carry the foregoing treaty into full execution, with all good faith and sincerity.

ART. 16. This treaty shall take effect and be obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall have been ratified by the President of the United States with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.

In witness of all and every thing herein determined, between the United States of America and the whole Cherokee nation, the parties have hereunto set their hands and seals, at the treaty ground on the bank of the Holston, near the mouth of the French Broad, within the United States, this second day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

WILLIAM BLOUNT,

Governor in and over the territory of the United States of America, south of the river Ohio, and Superintendent of Indian affairs for the Southern district.

[Signed by forty-one of the chiefs and warriors of the Cherokee nation of Indians.]

*Extracts from a letter from the Secretary of War to Major Richard Call, commanding officer of the troops of the United States posted in the State of Georgia, dated the 25th of May, 1791.*

SIR:

I request that you will immediately take the proper arrangements for transporting such parts of Burbeck's and Savage's companies as are fit for the service, and can with propriety be detached from their respective stations, to the Rock Landing, or such other place of the Oconee as shall be healthy and proper to collect the troops at, for the purpose of marking the line, next October, mentioned in the treaty of the Creeks.

The contractors must furnish the provisions, and they must also furnish the wagons to transport the baggage of Smith and Burbeck's companies to the Rock Landing, and thence, with a detachment of Savage's, and all Rudolph's recruits, along the line described in the treaty.

You will notify his Excellency the Governor of Georgia of the time the troops will be assembled, and the purpose for which they are designed, and request him, if he shall judge proper, to notify three of the citizens of Georgia to attend the running of the line according to the treaty; and you will, also, in due season, transmit the same information to Mr. McGillivray, and request him to send the three Creek Chiefs to attend the running the line as stipulated by the treaty.

*Extracts from a letter to the same officer, dated the 13th of July, 1791.*

It is a circumstance of great importance, that the force of the United States, in Georgia, should be directed with the highest prudence and circumspection.

The great object of their continuance in that State, since the treaty with the Creeks, is to preserve the peace by conciliating to each other the Creeks and the frontier citizens of that State, and by being posted so as to afford a real security to those settlers, who had been driven by hostilities from their possessions.

While, therefore, every effectual measure should be adopted for the entire security of the troops beyond the possibility of surprise or contingency, and also for the protection of the country, all hostile parade or threatening appearances are to be avoided. On the contrary, the most cordial conduct is to be observed to all well-behaved and friendly Indians. And as on this head some expenses will be necessarily incurred, an account is to be kept thereof, and all that is reasonable and just shall be paid, on being previously audited in this department.

You will also transmit to this office regular information, with the returns of all occurrences to the troops under your command; and upon any extraordinary cases, you are to take such measures as shall relate to the defence of the troops, or the immediate protection of the country. But you are carefully to avoid every step which may involve the Union in hostilities with the Indians.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 31st May, 1791.

*Instructions to John Heth, an Ensign in the first American regiment.*

SIR:

Reposing special trust and confidence in your prudence, fidelity, and industry, I hereby authorize and instruct you in the objects herein specified, in pursuance of powers vested in me for that purpose, by the President of the United States.

You have herewith delivered to you, a letter to Brigadier General McGillivray, the beloved chief of the Creek nation of Indians, and also, the sum of two thousand nine hundred dollars, with which you are to proceed to the said Creek nation of Indians.

The letter addressed to Brigadier General McGillivray, which you have perused, will point out the objects of your mission, which are—

1st. To be the bearer of the sums, which, by treaty, the United States are annually to pay to the Creek nation and its chiefs.

2dly. To impress upon Mr. McGillivray, by the most conciliating methods, the necessity of the Creeks delivering up all prisoners, whether whites or negroes, agreeably to the treaty.

3dly. To impress upon him the necessity of his appointing the three old Creek chiefs, agreeably to the treaty, to attend at the Rock Landing, on the Oconee, on the first day of October, in order to run the boundary line agreeably to the treaty, an authentic copy of which you have herewith delivered to you.

And, in order that you may have sufficient time to render yourself acceptable to Brigadier General McGillivray, so as to accomplish the objects of your mission, you are hereby directed to stay in the Creek nation with him until the first of October next, at which time you will take your departure, and return to this city.

As your objects will be conciliation, you will embrace every opportunity or means which may present itself, for that purpose. You will of course avoid every thing of an irritating nature.

You will soon perceive that Brigadier General McGillivray is the soul of the Creek nation, and that, by cultivating his esteem, you will succeed with the rest.

Omit no opportunity of speaking of the cordial views of the General Government towards the Indians, and how much it desires to impart to them the blessings of civilization.

Consult Mr. McGillivray on this point, and obtain from him, in writing, his opinion, how this important object can be best effected.



Let him know the preparations that are making for the campaign; but that they are solely destined for the object of peace. That the Government has taken every measure to place before the Wabash, and other hostile Indians, their true situation, and that the United States require nothing of the Indians inconsistent with justice and humanity. That, if they will be quiet, the General Government will protect them in their just rights against all lawless white adventurers.

That the United States disapprove entirely of the projected settlements upon the Mississippi and Tennessee lands, by a number of adventurers under the Yazoo companies, who purchased of the State of Georgia the pre-emptive right.

You have herewith delivered the evidence of this disapprobation, being two proclamations of the President of the United States upon the subject.

Assure Mr. McGillivray, that, if the said companies proceed, in defiance of the said proclamations, to make their threatened settlements, they will be considered, to all intents and purposes, entirely without the protection of the United States.

You will obtain the money in gold at Baltimore, by virtue of treasury warrants which the paymaster has delivered to you. This money you will deliver to Mr. McGillivray, taking triplicate receipts on the accounts herewith given you, all of which you are, upon your return, to deliver to the paymaster.

You will proceed, by the way of Richmond, to the territory of the United States south of the Ohio. I herewith deliver you a letter to Governor Blount, who will provide you a guide and an escort of some faithful Cherokees, to Brigadier General McGillivray.

The paymaster has also delivered you the further sum of five hundred dollars. This sum is to defray your necessary expenses during your absence. You will keep an exact account of such expenses, supported in all practicable cases with accurate vouchers.

And in order that you should explicitly understand the compensation you shall receive for the services herein specified, it is hereby stipulated that your reasonable expenses shall be borne during your absence, and that the compensation for your services shall be at the rate of two dollars per day, including your pay and subsistence as an ensign, and that your rank shall be preserved to you.

The business with which you are charged, is confidential and honorable. Upon the due execution of it, will, in some degree, depend your future political expectations.

You will keep your business a secret, and communicate it only to Governor Blount.

You will write me on all safe occasions, and inform me of your progress. Besides the letter to Governor Blount, I deliver you one for General Sevier, which it is important he should receive.

You may return the way you think most proper, either by the Holston or Georgia, and from thence by water.

Wishing you a pleasant journey, and all prosperity, I am, sir, with esteem, your humble servant,

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

Ensign JOHN HETH.

*Letter from the Secretary of War to Brigadier General McGillivray.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 31st May, 1791.

Sir:

I received your letter by Mr. Swan, who arrived here in March last. I should have replied to it immediately, had a safe opportunity occurred. I have been seeking for a proper character to send to you upon the business mentioned in this letter, but I have not been able to procure one until this time.

The bearer, Ensign John Heth, I introduce to you as a gentleman well worthy of your confidence and esteem, and I am persuaded you will show him all the kindness which his situation may require, and yours admits.

The treaty made between the United States and the Creek nation, being founded on principles of mutual advantage, ought to be inviolably observed on both sides. It is, therefore, unfortunate, that any events should happen to cloud or interrupt that harmony which ought to prevail. The murder of the Cussetah, by some lawless whites, before your return, and the revenge taken for the same, after your return, were both wrong, and circumstances from which excessive evil might have arisen.

Whenever parties assume to be judges and executioners in their own cause, the justice of the decision may be justly questioned, independent of the political evils flowing from the measure.

For any mischiefs committed against the treaty by the whites, complaint ought to be made to the President of the United States, whose power is competent to render satisfaction for the injury. If revenge shall be taken for any real or supposed injury by the Indians, unless the previous necessary statements are made to the supreme authority, all the arrangements for peace which have been made, may be broken up, and unlimited confusion ensue.

That you are fully impressed with the immense benefits to the Creeks, from an entire pacification and friendship with the United States, there can be no doubt. This conviction brought you from your own country to New York, influenced your conduct there, and, I am persuaded, pervades your reflections at this time.

Your perceptions are too good for you not to see the ruinous effects of suffering the Creeks to exercise an indiscriminate revenge. As, therefore, you value the preservation of the treaty, and friendship of the United States, prevent every conduct on the part of the Creeks which would tend to interrupt the system of cordial intercourse, the foundations of which were so happily laid in the treaty.

Inculcate on all the chiefs, the purity, humanity, and justice, of the system towards the Indians, adopted by the President of the United States and the General Government.

Remember that the time has arrived that all the prisoners in the nation are to be given up, and that it is of the highest importance that this measure be faithfully fulfilled in all respects, and that there be no cause of complaint.

I have forwarded by Mr. Heth, the sum of two thousand nine hundred dollars, which will complete the sums stipulated by the treaty of the seventh of August, agreeably to the enclosed schedule. You will receipt for these sums in the manner pointed out in the enclosed.

A proper distribution of this money will enable you to recover all the prisoners, whether whites or negroes. On a punctual and entire compliance with the treaty, in the restoration of the prisoners, every thing will depend. I know they are not many. But, if a single person, black or white, should be kept back, it will be considered as a violation of the treaty, and a germ productive of abundant evil.

You will remember that, on the first of October, the boundary is to be marked according to the treaty. The President of the United States has made choice of an able and impartial surveyor to execute this business, and I have directed the troops to be in readiness at the Rock Landing to accompany him, and to run the line as specified in the treaty.

I earnestly request that you will have three discreet chiefs, whom you shall have previously and perfectly instructed upon the subject of the boundary, so that there be neither delay or mistake in the affair.

I have instructed Major Call, the commanding officer of the troops, to write to the Governor of Georgia to choose and direct three surveyors of their State to be present at running the boundary, besides which, I shall, upon the return of the President of the United States, write particularly to the Governor upon the subject.

I am, &c.

H. KNOX.

*The United States of America in account current with Alexander McGillivray, and the Creek nation, from the 7th of August, 1790, to the 7th of August, 1791.*

Dr.	Cr.
1791,	1790,
Aug. 7th. To an annuity to the Creek nation, agreeably to the fourth article of the treaty of peace, dated the 7th Aug. 1790, and ratified by the President of the United States of America, the 13th day of August, 1790, - - -	Aug. 18th. By so much paid A. McGillivray, agreeably to his receipt, - - -
	By so much to Joseph Connell, interpreter, agreeably to his receipt, - - -
To an annual allowance, at 100 dollars, to each of the following chiefs:	
The chief of Oakfuskees, - - -	100
The chief of the Tuckabatches, - - -	100
The present Tallasse. King of the Halfway-house, - - -	100
The chief of the Cussetahs, - - -	100
The chief of the Cowetas, - - -	100
The chief of the Micasukee, - - -	100
To Brigadier General A. McGillivray, his salary as agent of the United States, at the rate of \$1,200 per annum, - - -	1,200
To salary of two Interpreters, at the rate of \$200 per annum, - - -	400
\$3,700	\$3,700

Received from the United States of America, by the hands of John Heth, the sum of two thousand nine hundred dollars, being the balance of the above account, for which I have signed triplicate receipts of one tenor.

*Extract of a letter from the Secretary of War to Governor Blount, dated 31st May, 1791.*

This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. John Heth, who is sent to the Creeks for the purposes contained in his instructions, which he will communicate to you.

I request that you would provide Mr. Heth guides, and a party of friendly and faithful Cherokees, to escort him to Mr. McGillivray.

*The Secretary of War to the Governor of Georgia.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 13th July, 1791.

Sir:

Yesterday I received your Excellency's letter of the sixth of the last month, containing four papers, from No. 1 to 4, relative to some recent discussions with the Creeks, all of which have been submitted to the President of the United States.

I am commanded to inform you that the President of the United States, judging from the information which you have transmitted, conceives that it would have been improper to have complied with the request of the four Creeks, as expressed in their message of the eighteenth of May last.

But, at the same time, it is his earnest desire that every possible measure should be taken to avert the evil consequences which may arise from this refusal.

The President of the United States considers it unnecessary to reiterate the considerations which press for a full and entire pacification with the Creeks, and all the other Southern Indians; he is persuaded that your Excellency, and all the citizens of Georgia, will concur in promoting the general interests of the United States in this respect.

I am further commanded to inform you, that Mr. Heth, a military officer of the United States, is now, probably, with Mr. McGillivray, to urge the delivery of the prisoners, and the marking the boundary, next October, agreeably to the treaty with the Creeks. I have also the honor to transmit you a copy of a letter to Mr. McGillivray, on the late event; duplicates of which are forwarded by Governor Blount, and the other by the Rock Landing.

Your Excellency will please to observe, by adverting to the Creek treaty, that the boundaries therein described, were to be ascertained by an able surveyor, on the part of the United States, assisted by three old citizens of Georgia, who may be appointed by the Governor of the said State, and three old Creek chiefs, to be appointed by the said nation.

Mr. Andrew Ellicott has been appointed surveyor for this purpose, and the President of the United States has directed me to request your Excellency to appoint three citizens of the State of Georgia, of the description before mentioned, to assist in ascertaining said boundary.

I have directed the commanding officer in Georgia to assemble the troops duly for the above purpose, and to notify your Excellency thereof.

I have the honor, &c.

H. KNOX, Secretary of War.

*Letter from the Secretary of War to Brigadier General McGillivray.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 13th July, 1791.

Sir:

His Excellency the Governor of Georgia has transmitted to the President of the United States, the papers herein enclosed, relative to some recent discussions with part of the Creeks.

The message of the Lower Creeks, of the eighteenth of May, to the Governor, appears to have been formed and transmitted without any agency of yours.

The President of the United States persuades himself, that, had you been consulted on this occasion, the message would have been of a different aspect. But, as the affair stands, that you will exercise your influence to prevent every measure, on the part of the Creeks, which would have the complexion of retaliation.

While the stealing of horses from the citizens of the United States must be reprobated by you and every other well intentioned member of the Creek nation, you cannot be uninformed that an act so atrocious merits high and prompt punishment, when committed by one white against another, and that, therefore, the Creek who was killed, must be considered as bringing his own punishment upon himself.

It is of the utmost consequence that so nefarious a practice should be discountenanced by all the well-disposed part of the Creeks; and that, when punishment is inflicted, as in the case herein alluded to, such characters should openly and avowedly approve thereof.

The President of the United States is most sincerely desirous, that the treaty with the Creeks should not only be fully executed in all its parts, but that it should be the ground work of a more intimate union, and the means of farther happiness to the Indians. He therefore views, with concern, any event which has a tendency to a breach of the peace so happily established.

Notwithstanding it may be concluded that the death of the Indian was the consequence of his own unjustifiable conduct, yet, perhaps, it may be proper, in a degree, to pay regard to the habits of the Indians, on such an event.

It has been understood, that, among the Indian nations, when one Indian kills another, the offence is not considered so much a public as a private evil, for which the family of the deceased is bound to obtain satisfaction. That this satisfaction is various, sometimes by blood, and at others, by pecuniary considerations; if this idea is just, the family of the Indian who was killed may perhaps be satisfied with some pecuniary compensation.

In this case, therefore, to prevent the personal and national evils arising from indiscriminate retaliation, the President of the United States desires that you would make such reasonable compensation to said family, as you may judge proper, and to inform me thereof; and immediate disbursement shall be made to your order.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Heth, who was sent to you on the thirty-first of May, has safely arrived. But, lest it should be otherwise, I enclose a copy of the letter of which he was the bearer.

Brigadier General ALEX. MCGILLIVRAY.

I am, sir, &c.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

*Instructions to Joseph Ellicott, Esq.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 8th September, 1791.

SIR:

Your brother, Andrew Ellicott, having been appointed by the President of the United States to run the boundary line between the United States and the Creek nation of Indians, agreeably to the treaty made at New York, August 7th, 1790, but he being prevented setting out on this, by other public employment, and you having been deputed by him to commence this business, and the same having been approved by the President of the United States, you will accordingly depart hence, with all expedition, to Richmond, in Virginia, and from thence, by the most direct route, to Augusta, and the Rock Landing, in the State of Georgia.

When you shall arrive at the Rock Landing, you will immediately proceed to run the line up the south branch of the Oconee; by the time you shall have finished which, it is presumed your brother will have joined you; but, if he should be prevented, you will proceed to run the line to the Currahee mountain, and the continuance thereof, as stated in the treaty.

You will endeavor to obtain the best documents and maps of the old surveys, and the fullest information from oral testimony, whether from whites or Indians, in order that the business may be well and truly executed.

You will mark the line by means of the troops, as described in the treaty, and report to me, from time to time, your progress. If there should be any impediment in the prosecution of this service, you will, without delay, let me know the nature thereof, and the means of removing the objections.

You have, herewith, delivered to you, letters for Governor Telfair, Brigadier General McGillivray, Major Call, commanding officer at the Rock Landing, and the contractors who are to furnish the supplies of provisions.

The paymaster, Mr. Howell, has furnished you with one thousand dollars in advance, to defray the expenses of this business, for which you are held accountable.

I am, sir, &c.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

MR. JOSEPH ELLICOTT.

*Letter from the Secretary of War to Messrs. Spear and McLeod, Contractors.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 8, 1791.

GENTLEMEN:

I request that you will furnish Mr. Ellicott, the surveyor, and his attendants, with provisions, to enable him to run the boundary line between the United States and the Creek nation, agreeably to the treaty. You will keep a separate account of the supplies with which you shall furnish him, and procure regular vouchers of their delivery.

MESSRS. SPEAR and McLEOD.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

*Letter from the Secretary of War to Major Richard Call.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 8, 1791.

SIR:

The bearer, Mr. Joseph Ellicott, brother to Andrew Ellicott, Esq. who is appointed by the President of the United States to run the boundary line between the United States and the Creek Indians, agreeably to the treaty, is deputed, with the approbation of the President, to commence the running of the line up the south branch of the Oconee, and from thence to the Currahee mountain; and to continue the survey until the arrival of his brother, who is detained a few days on public business.

As it is contemplated that the troops should run and mark the line, you are hereby directed to afford Mr. Ellicott every aid of which you and the troops are capable.

I am, sir, &c.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

Major RICHARD CALL, *Georgia.*

*Letter from the Secretary of War to the Governor of Georgia.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 8, 1791.

SIR:

I have the honor to inform you, that Andrew Ellicott, Esq. has been appointed, by the President of the United States, to run the boundary line between the United States and the Creek nation of Indians, agreeably to the treaty of the 7th of August, 1790, but that he is prevented by other public business from attending this duty immediately. But he has, with the approbation of the President of the United States, appointed his brother, Joseph Ellicott, the bearer, to commence the business, and proceed to run the line up the south branch of the Oconee, and to continue the business until his brother shall join him, who is detained a few days on public service.

I wrote to your Excellency on the 13th of July, duplicates of which were transmitted, informing, that the troops in Georgia had been ordered to assemble for this object.

I am persuaded your Excellency will have directed such citizens of Georgia as are mentioned in the treaty to be in readiness to accompany the surveyor; and it is much desired that there be no sort of impediment to the immediate establishment of the boundary.

I have the honor to be, your Excellency's, &c. &c.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

To the Governor of Georgia.

*Letter from the Secretary of War to Brigadier General McGillivray.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *September 8, 1791.*

SIR:

Agreeably to my letter by Mr. Héth, of the 31st May last, duplicates of which were transmitted, I have the honor to inform you, that Andrew Ellicott, Esq. has been appointed by the President of the United States, to run the boundary line between the United States and the Creek nation of Indians, agreeably to the treaty of the 7th of August, 1790; but being prevented from setting out on this business in the first instance, he has appointed his brother, Joseph Ellicott, the bearer, with the express approbation of the President, to commence the operation, and to run the line up the south branch of the Oconee, and thence to continue the line to the Currahee mountain, until his brother shall join him, who is detained a few weeks on public service.

As the establishment of the line, according to the treaty, is a matter of the highest importance to prevent future dissensions, it is relied upon with confidence, that you, and all the well-disposed part of the Creeks, will give every facility to the measure.

The President of the United States directs me to express his firm expectations, that the Creek nation will take every opportunity to carry the treaty into effect—a measure with which their happiness, and the tranquillity of the southwestern frontiers are intimately blended.

Brigadier General MCGILLIVRAY.

I am, sir, &c.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

2d CONGRESS.]

No. 20.

[1st Session.]

WABASH INDIANS.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, OCTOBER 27, 1791.

*Gentlemen of the Senate*

*and of the House of Representatives:*

I have directed the Secretary of War to lay before you, for your information, the reports of Brigadier General Scott and Lieutenant Colonel-commandant Wilkinson, the officers who commanded the two expeditions against the Wabash Indians, in the months of June and August last; together with the instructions, by virtue of which the said expeditions were undertaken. When the operations now depending shall be terminated, the reports relative thereto shall also be laid before you.

UNITED STATES, *27th October, 1791.*

GEO. WASHINGTON.

*Instructions to Brigadier General Charles Scott, dated 9th March, 1791.*

SIR:

The issue and consequent effect of the expedition against the Miami towns, and the situation of affairs between the United States and the Wabash, and other hostile Indians, northwest of the Ohio, are well known to you, and the inhabitants of Kentucky, generally.

The President of the United States, in order that provision should be made for the protection of the frontiers, adequate to the occasion, laid before the Legislature a full statement of the recent Indian depredations.

The result of the deliberations of Congress will be communicated to you by the honorable Mr. Brown.

It would afford high satisfaction to the President of the United States, could a firm peace be established, without further effusion of blood; and, although he conceives the sacred principles of humanity, and a regard to the welfare of the country, dictate that he should take every proper arrangement to bring the deluded Indians to a just sense of their situation, yet he is apprehensive that all lenient endeavors will be fruitless.

He is, therefore, constrained to calculate his ultimate measures, to impress the Indians with a strong conviction of the power of the United States, to inflict that degree of punishment which justice may require.

That, for this purpose, he avails the public of the offers which you and the delegates of Kentucky, and the other frontier counties of Virginia, made, by your memorial of the fourth of December last, to combat the Indians according to your own modes of warfare.

It is the result of information, from men of reputation in Indian affairs, that a body of five hundred picked men, mounted on good horses, by rapid incursions, would be equal to the assault of any of the Indian towns lying on the Wabash river, and that the probability would be highly in favor of surprising and capturing at least a considerable number of women and children.

In this view of the object, and also estimating the consequent impressions such a successful operation would make upon the Indians, by demonstrating to them that they were within our reach, and lying at our mercy; and also, considering from the before recited memorial and other information, that such an opportunity of acting by themselves in an Indian expedition, would be highly gratifying to the hardy and brave yeomanry of Kentucky; the President of the United States hereby authorizes an expedition of the magnitude, and upon the conditions, hereinafter described.

First. The troops for the said expedition to be choice men, voluntarily engaged for the purpose, whose bravery and skill could be entirely relied upon; to consist of such numbers, as you, and the persons hereinafter named, may think proper; provided the number should not exceed seven hundred and fifty, officers included. But if the whole number could not be voluntarily completed with said characters, for the time hereinafter mentioned, then you are to obtain the deficiency by draughts of the militia or otherwise, in the manner that you and the persons hereinafter named may direct.

Secondly. The officers of the said expedition to be selected and appointed in the manner that you, Harry Innes, the honorable John Brown, Benjamin Logan, and Isaac Shelby, may judge proper.

Thirdly. The said volunteers or militia are to be mounted on horses, and armed and equipped in all respects as you, in conjunction aforesaid, may direct; and they are, during the period of their engagements, to be subject to the rules and articles of war of the United States.

Fourthly. That the sole conducting of the said expedition, excepting as hereinafter mentioned, shall be under your immediate orders, as brigadier general, provided you accept the same. But if you should decline the command, then you and the before mentioned persons are to appoint the commander in the manner you, jointly, or the majority of you, may judge proper.

Fifthly. That the pay to be allowed to the said mounted volunteers or militia, for themselves, horses, provisions, arms, and accoutrements, all risks included, (excepting for disability by wounds, in which case the commissioned officers,

non-commissioned officers, and privates, will receive such compensation, in their respective grades, as the law provides) will be, for the privates, *sixty-six cents and two-thirds of a cent* per day, and the pay of the commissioned officers added thereto, according to the schedule of the rates herewith enclosed. The principle of this schedule involves in the said sixty-six and two-thirds cents, the pay of the privates at three dollars per month, which three dollars are deducted from the grades, as they proceed from the privates to the highest officer.

Sixthly. The said mounted volunteers are to be engaged as soon as possible, after receiving these instructions, so that the expedition may commence from the Ohio by the tenth day of May next. Secrecy in forming, despatch in obtaining the men, and celerity in the movement, are indispensable; without which the Indians may be apprised of the design, and the consequences may be fatal. The particular point of departure from the Ohio, to be agreed upon with the commanding general or officer at Fort Washington; and the said mounted volunteers, of all descriptions, are to be mustered by an officer of the regular troops previously to their marching for the Ohio; provided, however, that if the commanding general of the troops on the Ohio should, previously to the said tenth day of May, think proper for public service to suspend the further operation of the said mounted volunteers, you and they are hereby directed to obey him accordingly.

Seventhly. But, in case no such order should be received from the said commanding officer by the tenth of May next, then the said mounted volunteers, or militia, are to proceed to the Wea, or Ouatanon towns of Indians, there to assault the said towns, and the Indians therein, either by surprise, or otherwise, as the nature of the circumstances may admit, sparing all who may cease to resist, and capturing as many as possible, particularly women and children. And on this point it is the positive orders of the President of the United States, that all such captives be treated with humanity; and that they be carried and delivered to the commanding officer of some post of the United States upon the Ohio.

Whether the assault upon the said Wea, or Ouatanon towns, should succeed or fail, the commanding officer will proceed to such other Indian towns or villages, upon the Wabash, or other place, to the destruction of which, he shall judge his force adequate.

Eighthly. After having effected by surprise, rapid marches, and attacks, all the injury to the Indian enemy to which the force shall be equal, the said mounted volunteers, or militia, will return either by the way of Post Vincennes, or some other post or place on the Ohio, which shall be agreed upon with the commanding officer of the troops of the United States. At this post, the troops of the said expedition will be again mustered, by an officer of the regular troops, in the same manner as when the troops of the said expedition commenced their march from the Ohio. It is expressly stipulated, that any volunteer or militia man, who shall desert, shall be precluded from all claims for pay or emoluments for any services upon the expedition, performed prior to his desertion. That four copies of each muster be made out, one to be retained by the mustering officer, another by the commanding officer of each company, the third to be delivered to the commanding officer of the party, and a fourth transmitted by the paymaster of the said mounted volunteers, to the War Office of the United States.

Ninthly. The officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, of said expedition, shall be allowed the pay of three days to repair to the Ohio, and three to return from thence, which six days shall be added to the number of days actually employed in the expedition, northwest of the Ohio; and the pay abstracts are to be made out accordingly.

The commanding officer will, upon his return, make a full report to the commanding general, of all the occurrences of the expedition, and also state his opinion at large, and the reasons on which it is founded, of the proper mode of chastising the Indians on future occasions.

As surprise and sudden attacks will be the objects of the expedition, it is presumed that all proper precautions will be taken; that each man carry with him a due quantity of provisions.

Tenthly. Without limiting or impeding the effectual operations which may be found practicable, it is presumed, from information and the nature of the supplies, that the mounted volunteers may be employed northwest of the Ohio, for a time not exceeding from twenty to thirty days. This intimation is clearly to be understood not to prevent the execution of any considerable object, should it require an extension of time. You must make an effectual arrangement with the commanding officer at Fort Washington, for an adequate supply of powder and lead, which is to be furnished at the expense of the United States.

Eleventhly. That the said corps of mounted volunteers, being left entirely free from any restrictions in the manner of its executing the objects proposed, its reputation, and the reputation of all concerned, will be involved in its being perfectly conducted, and in its ultimate success.

Twelfthly. In order that the preparations essential to the said expedition should not languish for a want of proper provisions, or other essential means, the sum of two thousand dollars has been delivered to the honorable John Brown, for the purposes of said expedition.

This sum is to be placed by you, and the before mentioned persons, or any three of you, in the hands of some person of character and known integrity, as paymaster of the said expedition, he giving bonds, with sufficient securities, for the faithful appropriation thereof, and all other sums he may receive for the purposes of the said mounted volunteers or militia.

Thirteenthly. But it is to be expressly understood, and it is hereby stipulated, that the said sum, or any part thereof, is not to be distributed, until it shall be certain the said expedition is to proceed and be carried into effect, according to the orders herein mentioned. In this case, the money is to be distributed in the manner you and the before mentioned persons may direct, under your signatures, or any three of you, on the sole and express condition, that the amount thereof shall be deducted from the pay abstracts for the services of the troops upon the said expedition.

But if circumstances should prevent the expedition from proceeding as herein suggested, then the said honorable John Brown will cause the said sum of two thousand dollars, without any let or hindrance whatever, to be delivered to the orders of the commanding officer of the troops of the United States.

And it is hereby understood, that the President of the United States authorizes a second operation of the same nature as the foregoing, provided the major general, or commanding officer of the troops on the Ohio, should judge the public interests should require the measure, and should direct the same under his hand and seal, directed to you and the persons aforesaid. The said second operation to be directed against such objects on the Wabash, and at such time, as the commanding general may direct. It is to be understood, that the first of the said operations may take place about the tenth day of May next, and that the second may take place on, or before, the tenth day of June; provided, however, that the said second operation shall not exceed five hundred non-commissioned officers and privates.

And if the said commanding general should direct a third expedition, either before or at the time proposed for the main expedition, the President of the United States will authorize the expenses thereof, under the restrictions contained in the rules for the first and second.

And in case of a second or third expedition, of the nature herein specified, you and the persons beforementioned, or the majority of you, are to appoint the commanding officer and the other officers thereof, in the manner before pointed out.

And if the said three expeditions should take effect, or any of them, and you should command all, or any of them, you will be allowed the pay and emoluments of a brigadier general during your actual services. And any other officer who may be appointed to the command shall be allowed the pay and emoluments of a lieutenant colonel-commandant.

The President of the United States is well aware of the high trust committed to you, in conjunction with the gentlemen aforesaid; but the confidence he reposes in your characters, persuades him you will use the said powers for the public benefit at large, without regard to local prejudices or local affections.

[L. s.] Given under my hand, and the seal of the War Office of the United States, this ninth day of March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

Brigadier General CHARLES SCOTT.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

*A Schedule of the expenses of a corps of 760 non-commissioned and privates, mounted volunteers, calculated on a scale of thirty days from the point of departure, and allowing three days for repairing to the rendezvous, and three days for returning home.*

1 Brigadier General,	\$4 00	per day, is, for 36 days,	-	-	\$ 144 00
1 Lieutenant Colonel-commandant,	2 56 $\frac{2}{3}$	-	-	-	92 40
2 Majors,	1 90	-	-	-	136 80
10 Captains,	1 56 $\frac{2}{3}$	-	-	-	564 00
10 Lieutenants,	1 80	-	-	-	468 00
10 Ensigns,	1 16 $\frac{2}{3}$	-	-	-	220 00
40 Sergeants,	73 $\frac{2}{3}$	-	-	-	1,056 00
720 Privates,	66 $\frac{2}{3}$	-	-	-	17,260 00
					\$19,941 20

WAR DEPARTMENT, *March 9th, 1791.*

*Report of Brigadier General Scott.*

LEXINGTON, *28th June, 1791.*

SIR:

I have the honor to inform you that the detachment of mounted volunteers under my command, authorized to be raised by your letter of the 9th of March last, arrived at the mouth of Kentucky on the morning of the 19th of May, from which time to the 23d, I was employed in transporting the troops across the Ohio river, in having them mustered, and in issuing to them provisions and ammunition. The delay at the river was greater than I wished, yet, I trust, justifiable, as it was, in part, occasioned by the request of General St. Clair, which you will find by referring to the extract of his letter, contained in No. 1.

In prosecution of the enterprise, I marched four miles from the banks of the Ohio, on the 23d; and on the 24th, I resumed my march, and pushed forward with the utmost industry, directing my route to Ouiatanon, in the best manner my guides and information enabled me, though I found myself greatly deficient in both.

By the 31st I had marched one hundred and thirty-five miles, over a country cut by four large branches of White river, and many smaller streams, with steep muddy banks; during this march, I traversed a country alternately interspersed with the most luxuriant soil and deep clayey bogs, from one to five miles in width, rendered almost impervious by brush and briars.

Rain fell in torrents every day, with frequent blasts of wind and thunder storms. These obstacles impeded my progress, wore down my horses, and destroyed my provisions.

On the morning of the 1st instant, as the army entered an extensive prairie, I perceived an Indian on horse-back, a few miles to the right; I immediately made a detachment to intercept him, but he escaped; finding myself discovered, I determined to advance with all the rapidity my circumstances would permit, rather with the hope than the expectation of reaching the object sought that day: for my guides were strangers to the country which I occupied. At one o'clock, having marched, by computation, one hundred and fifty-five miles to the Ohio, as I penetrated a grove which bordered on an extensive prairie, I discovered two small villages to my left, at two and four miles distance.

My guides now recognised the ground, and informed me, that the main town was four or five miles in my front, behind a point of woods, which jutted into the prairie. I immediately detached Col. John Hardin, with sixty mounted infantry, and a troop of light horse under Capt. McCoy, to attack the villages to the left, and moved on briskly with my main body in order of battle, towards the town, the smoke from which was discernible. My guides were deceived with respect to the situation of the town: for, instead of standing at the edge of the plain, through which I marched, I found it in the low ground, bordering on the Wabash; on turning the point of woods, one house presented in my front; Capt. Price was ordered to assault that, with 40 men. He executed the command with great gallantry, and killed two warriors.

When I gained the summit of the eminence which overlooks the villages on the banks of the Wabash, I discovered the enemy in great confusion, endeavoring to make their escape over the river in canoes; I instantly ordered Lieutenant Colonel-commandant Wilkinson to rush forward with the first battalion; the order was executed with promptitude, and this detachment gained the bank of the river just as the rear of the enemy had embarked, and, regardless of a brisk fire kept up from a Kickapoo town, on the opposite bank, they, in a few minutes, by a well directed fire from their rifles, destroyed all the savages with which five canoes were crowded.

To my great mortification, the Wabash was many feet beyond fording at this place; I therefore detached Colonel Wilkinson to a ford two miles above, which my guides informed me was more practicable; in No. 2, you will find his report on that occasion.

The enemy still kept possession of the Kickapoo town; I determined to dislodge them, and for that purpose ordered Captain King's and Logsdon's companies to march down the river below the town, and cross, under the conduct of Major Barbee; several of the men swam the river, and others passed in a small canoe. This movement was unobserved, and my men had taken post on the bank, before they were discovered by the enemy, who immediately abandoned the village. About this time word was brought me, that Col. Hardin was incumbered with prisoners, and had discovered a stronger village, further to my left, than those I had observed, which he was proceeding to attack. I immediately detached Captain Brown, with his company, to support the Colonel; but the distance being six miles, before the Captain arrived, the business was done, and Colonel Hardin joined me a little before sunset, having killed six warriors, and taken fifty-two prisoners. Captain Bull, the warrior who discovered me in the morning, had gained the main town, and given the alarm a short time before me; but the villages to my left were uninformed of my approach, and had no retreat. The next morning, I determined to detach my Lieutenant Colonel-commandant, with five hundred men, to destroy the important town of Kethipecanunk, at the mouth of Eel river, eighteen miles from my camp, and on the west side of the Wabash; but, on examination; I discovered my men and horses to be crippled, and worn down by a long laborious march, and the active exertions of the preceding day; that three hundred and sixty men only, could be found in a capacity to undertake the enterprise, and they prepared to march on foot. Colonel Wilkinson marched with this detachment at half after five in the evening, and returned to my camp the next day at one o'clock, having marched thirty-six miles in twelve hours, and destroyed the most important settlement of the enemy in that quarter of the federal territory. In No. 3, you will find the Colonel's report respecting the enterprise.

Many of the inhabitants of this village were French, and lived in a state of civilization; by the books, letters, and other documents, found there, it is evident that place was in close connexion with, and dependent on, Detroit: a large quantity of corn, a variety of household goods, peltry, and other articles, were burned with this village, which consisted of about seventy houses, many of them well finished.

Misunderstanding the object of a white flag, which appeared on an eminence opposite to me, in the afternoon of the first, I liberated an aged squaw, and sent with her a message to the savages, that, if they would come in and surrender, their towns should be spared, and they should receive good treatment. It was afterwards found, that this white flag was not intended as a signal of parley, but was placed there to mark the spot where a person of distinction among the Indians, who had died some time before, was interred. On the 4th, I determined to discharge sixteen of the weakest and most infirm of my prisoners, with a talk to the Wabash tribes, a copy of which you will find enclosed in No. 4. My motives to this measure were, to rid the army of a heavy incumbrance, to gratify the

impulsions of humanity, to increase the panic my operations had produced, and, by distracting the councils of the enemy, to favor the views of Government; and I flatter myself these objects will justify my conduct, and secure the approbation of my country.

On the same day, after having burned the towns and adjacent villages, and destroyed the growing corn and pulse, I began my march for the rapids of Ohio, where I arrived the 14th inst. without the loss of a single man by the enemy, and five only wounded, having killed thirty-two, chiefly warriors of size and figure, and taken fifty eight prisoners.

It is with much pride and pleasure I mention, that no act of inhumanity has marked the conduct of the volunteers of Kentucky on this occasion; even the inveterate habit of scalping the dead, ceased to influence.

I have delivered forty-one prisoners to Captain Asheton, of the 1st United States' regiment, at Fort Steuben, for which I have his receipt, as per the enclosed copy in No. 5.

I sincerely lament that the weather, and the consequences it produced, rendered it impossible for me to carry terror and desolation to the head of the Wabash. The corps I had the honor to command was equal to the object, but the condition of my horses, and state of my provisions, were insuperable obstacles to my own intentions and the wishes of all.

It would be invidious to make distinctions in a corps which appeared to be animated with one soul, and where a competition for danger and for glory inspired all ranks.

I, however, consider it my duty to mention Colonel John Hardin, who, in the character of a volunteer without commission, had command of my advanced party, and the direction of my guides from the Ohio river, for the discernment, courage, and activity, with which he fulfilled the trust I reposed in him. And I cannot close this letter, in justice to the merits of General Wilkinson, who went out my lieutenant colonel-commandant, without acknowledging my obligations for the faithful discharge of the several duties depending on him, and the able support which he gave me in every exigency.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your most obedient servant,

CHARLES SCOTT, *B. G.*

The Honorable HENRY KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

No. 1.

*Extract of a letter from Major General St. Clair to Brigadier General Scott, dated*

FORT WASHINGTON, *May 18th, 1791.*

I mentioned to you, that I did not wish, at that moment, to press the commencement of your march, but rather that a few days should be whiled away, provided it could be done without its being discovered that the delay was an affected one. I am sensible that it is a delicate point, and that, if it was discovered, the effect would be either to increase, in your troops, an impatience for moving, or to discourage them. The same reasons, however, exist now, as at the time I had the pleasure to communicate them, and as you are sensible of the weight of those reasons; I am sure of your managing it so as to avoid both these consequences. Without detailing them to Colonel Mentges, I have requested him not to press the muster, until a distribution has been made of your provisions and ammunition, and have mentioned that it was my wish your march should not be taken up before the 24th instant.

No. 2.

OULATANON, *June 2d, 1791—4 o'clock P. M.*

SIR:

Agreeable to your order; I moved the first battalion up to the ford above this place, but unfortunately found it impassable—the low grounds being overflowed three feet, a strong current running among the timber, and the bed of the river not in view. Under these circumstances, I considered the attempt unwarantable, because it would expose both the men and horses to be drowned, without the smallest probability of succeeding. I have, therefore, marched the detachment back to this place, and have the honor to be,

Sir, your most obedient servant,

JAMES WILKINSON

Brigadier General Scott.

No. 3.

CAMP OULATANON, *June 3d, 1791—1 o'clock P. M.*

SIR:

The detachment under my command, destined to attack the village Kethipecaunuk, was put in motion at half after five o'clock last evening. Knowing that an enemy, whose chief dependence is in his dexterity as a marksman, and alertness in covering himself behind trees, stumps, and other impediments to fair fight, would not hazard an action in the light, I determined to push my march until I approached the vicinity of the villages, where I knew the country to be champaigned. I gained my point without a halt, 20 minutes before 11 o'clock; lay upon my arms until 4 o'clock, and half an hour after, assaulted the town at all quarters. The enemy was vigilant; gave way on my approach, and, in canoes, crossed Eel creek, which washed the northeast part of the town; that creek was not fordable; my corps dashed forward with the impetuosity becoming volunteers, and were saluted by the enemy with a brisk fire from the opposite side of the creek. Dauntless, they rushed on to the water's edge, uncovered to the moccason, and finding it impassable, returned a volley, which so galled and disconcerted their antagonists, that they threw away their fire without effect. In five minutes, the savages were driven from the covering, and fled with precipitation. I have three men slightly wounded. At half past five the town was in flames, and at six o'clock I commenced my retreat. I want language to do justice to the courage and good conduct of the gentlemen who composed my detachment. In neither could they be exceeded by veteran troops.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

JAMES WILKINSON.

Brigadier General Scott.

No. 4.

*To the various tribes of the Piankeshaws, and all the nations of Red People, lying on the waters of the Wabash river.*

The sovereign council of the thirteen United States have long patiently borne your depredations against their settlements on this side of the great mountains, in the hope that you would see your error, and correct it, by entering with them into the bonds of amity and lasting peace. Moved by compassion, and pitying your misguided councils, they have frequently addressed you on this subject, but without effect; at length, their patience is exhausted, and they have stretched forth the arm of power against you; their mighty sons and chief warriors have at length taken up the hatchet; they have penetrated far into your country, to meet your warriors, and punish them for their transgressions. But you fled before them, and declined the battle, leaving your wives and children to their mercy; they



have destroyed your old town Ouiatanon and the neighboring villages, and have taken many prisoners. Resting here two days, to give you time to collect your strength, they have proceeded to your town of Kethipiconuck, but you again fled before them, and that great town has been destroyed. After giving you this evidence of their power, they have stopped their hands, because they are merciful as strong, and they again indulge the hope, that you will come to a sense of your true interest, and determine to make a lasting peace with them and all their children, forever. The United States have no desire to destroy the red people, although they have the power; but, should you decline this invitation, and pursue your unprovoked hostilities, their strength will again be exerted against you; your warriors will be slaughtered, your towns and villages ransacked and destroyed, your wives and children carried into captivity, and you may be assured that those who escape the fury of our mighty chiefs, shall find no resting place on this side the great lakes. The warriors of the United States wish not to distress or destroy women and children, or old men, and, although policy obliges them to retain some in captivity, yet compassion and humanity have induced them to set others at liberty, who will deliver you this talk. Those who are carried off will be left in the care of our great chief and warrior, General St. Clair, near the mouth of Miami and opposite the Licking river, where they will be treated with humanity and tenderness. If you wish to recover them, repair to that place by the first day of July next, determined, with true hearts, to bury the hatchet, and smoke the pipe of peace; they will then be restored to you, and you may again set down in security at your old towns, and live in peace and happiness, unmolested by the children of the United States, who will become your friends and protectors, and will be ready to furnish you with all the necessaries you may require. But, should you foolishly persist in your warfare, the sons of war will be let loose against you, and the hatchet will never be buried until your country is desolated, and your people humbled to the dust.

Given under my hand and seal, at the Ouiatanon town, this 4th day of June, 1791.

CHARLES SCOTT, *Brigadier General.*

No. 5.

*List of the Indian prisoners taken by the army under the command of Brigadier General Scott, on the Wabash river, at the Ouiatanon town and neighboring villages, June 1st, 1791.*

Mass-wockcomwoh, Queen in English,  
Wonong-apate, her daughter, seventeen years old,  
Kenchestonoquah, 2d daughter,  
Keshequamas-anongwah, prince, 7,  
Cotohemongoquah, 3d daughter,  
Keshockcotoquah, 4th do.  
Puckcontomwoh, cousin to the queen,  
Collobwoh, her son,  
Kechemataquah, warrior, about 32,  
Katankellocaset, his wife,  
Nephehequah, his child, a girl, 4,  
Mekhequah, his daughter,  
Wanpingivet, squaw.  
Pegewoh, her daughter,  
Mataquah, son to the last,  
Nokingwahmenah, do.  
Packcockcoset do.  
Equahcong, squaw,  
Cateweah,  
Kenonesanc,  
Waughpochke,  
Kanketoquah, squaw,  
Huntechelapelo,  
Pamenkishlopelo,  
Nepahkaquah,  
Cataholoquah,  
Wecawpeminche,  
Kechewanpaume,  
Kchemetaquah,  
Mossoolocasat,  
Puckcontomwoh,  
Pakakenong,  
Wahpequagh,  
Kehenackashwoh,  
Onsiogwet, squaw,  
Wecawpeminah,  
Mecah-cats,  
Pacomequah,  
Taqualanah,  
Packosequah,  
Machonsackquah,

Thunderstruck.  
Speckled Loon.  
Swift Waves.  
Clear Sky.  
Mermaid.  
Cook Wife.  
Crack Nuts.

Short Grove.  
Speckled over.  
Green Willows.  
Old Mother.  
White Face.  
Cat.  
Grove.  
Soft Corn.  
Proper and Tall.  
Short Neck.  
What's Here?  
Deep Moss.  
White Stalk.

Look Yonder.  
High-look.  
Green Willows.  
Striped Huzzy.  
Lynn Tree.  
Close Look.  
Bushy Grove.  
Dear Nothing.  
Crack Nuts.  
Trod Ground.  
White Huzzy.  
Gash Hand.  
Yellow Face.  
Roasting Ears.  
Eat All.  
Muddy Water.  
Grove Man.  
Pretty Girl.  
Beaver Girl.

FORT STEUBEN, June 15th, 1791.

Received of Brigadier General Charles Scott, the above named Indian prisoners, in number forty-one.

JOS. ASHETON, *Captain 1st U. S. Reg't.*

*Lieut. Colonel-commandant Wilkinson's Report.*

FRANKFORT ON KENTUCKY, August 24, 1791.

SIR:

Having carried into complete effect the enterprise which you were pleased to direct against a l'Anguille, and having done the savages every other damage on the Wabash, to which I conceived my force adequate, I embrace the first moment's recess from active duty, to detail to your Excellency the operations of the expedition entrusted to my conduct.

I left the neighborhood of fort Washington, on the 1st instant, at one o'clock, and agreeably to my original plan, feinted boldly at the Miami villages, by the most direct course the nature of the ground, over which I had to march, would permit; I persevered in this plan, until the morning of the 4th inst. and thereby avoided the hunting ground of the enemy, and the paths which lead direct from White river to the Wabash, leaving the head waters of the first to my left; I then being about 70 miles advanced of Fort Washington, turned northwest; I made no discovery until the 5th, about nine o'clock A. M. when I crossed three much frequented paths, within two miles of

each other, and all bearing east of north; my guides were urgent for me to follow these paths, which betrayed their ignorance of the country, and convinced me I had to depend on my own judgment only. In the afternoon of that day I was obliged to cross a deep bog, which injured several of my horses exceedingly, and a few miles beyond, I struck a path bearing north by west, marked by the recent footsteps of five or six savages. My guides renewed their application to me to follow this path, but I pursued my course, which had been north 60 west, since 2 o'clock. I had not got clear of my encampment next morning, before my advance reported an impassable bog in my front, extending several miles on either hand, and the guides asserted that the whole country, to the Wabash, was cut by such bogs, and that it would be impossible for me to proceed, unless I followed the Indian paths, which avoided these bogs, or led through them at places where they were least difficult. Although I paid little regard to this information, as delay was dangerous, and every thing depended on the preservation of my horses, I determined to turn to the right, and fall into the path I had passed the evening before, which varied in its course from north by west to northeast. The country had now become poney in every direction; I therefore resolved to pursue this path until noon, in the hope that it would conduct me to better ground, or to some devious trace, which might lead to the object sought. At seven o'clock I crossed an east branch of Calumet river, about 40 yards wide, and about noon my advanced guard fired on a small party of warriors, and took a prisoner; the rest ran off to the eastward. I halted about a mile beyond the spot where this affair happened, and on examining the prisoner, found him to be a Delaware, living near the site of the late Miami village, which he informed me was about 30 miles distant; I immediately retrograded four miles, and filed off by the right over some rising ground, which I had observed between the east branch of Calumet river, and a creek four or five miles advance of it, taking my course north 60 west. This measure fortunately extricated me from the bogs and ponds, and soon placed me on firm ground; late in the afternoon, I crossed one path running from north to south, and shortly after fell into another, varying from northwest to north by west; I pursued this about two miles, when I encamped; but finding it still inclined northward, I determined to abandon it in the morning. I resumed my march on the 6th, at 4 o'clock, the Calumet being to the westward of me; I was fearful I should strike the Wabash too high up, and perhaps fall in with the small town which you mentioned to me, at the mouth of the former river; I therefore steered a due west course, and at 6 o'clock A. M. crossed a road much used, both by horse and foot, bearing due north. I now knew that I was near a Shawanese village, generally supposed to be on the waters of White river, but actually on those of the Calumet, and was sensible that every thing depended on the celerity and silence of my movements, as my real object had become manifest. I therefore pushed my march vigorously, leaving an officer and 20 men in ambush, to watch the road, in order to intercept or beat off any party of the enemy which might be casually passing that way, and thereby prevent, as long as possible, the discovery of my real intentions. At eight o'clock I recrossed Calumet river, now eighty yards wide, and running down N. N. W. and pursuing my course, I crossed one path near the western bank of the river, taking the same course, and at six miles distance another, bearing to the northeast. I was now sensible, from my reckoning, compared with my own observations during the late expedition under General Scott, and the information received from your Excellency and others, that I could not be very distant from *à l'Anguille*. The party left at the road soon fell in with four warriors encamped half a mile from the right of my line of march; killed one, and drove the others to the northward. My situation had now become extremely critical, the whole country to the north being in alarm, which made me greatly anxious to continue my march during the night; but I had no path to direct me, and it was impossible to keep my course, or for horsemen to march through a thick swampy country in utter darkness. I quitted my camp on the 7th, as soon as I could see my way, crossed one path at three miles distance, bearing northeast, and at seven miles I fell into another, very much used, bearing northwest by north, which I at once adopted, as the direct route to my object, and pushed forward with the utmost despatch; I halted at twelve o'clock to refresh the horses, and examine the men's arms and ammunition, marched again at half after one, and at fifteen minutes before five I struck the Wabash, about one and a half leagues above the mouth of Eel river, being the very spot for which I had aimed from the commencement of my march. I crossed the river, and following the path a north by east course, at the distance of two and a half miles, my reconnoitering party announced Eel river in front, and the town on the opposite bank. I dismounted, ran forward, and examined the situation of the town as far as was practicable, without exposing myself; but the whole face of the country, from the Wabash to the margin of Eel river, being a continued thicket of brambles, black jacks, weeds and shrubs of different kinds, it was impossible for me to get a satisfactory view, without endangering a discovery. I immediately determined to post two companies on the bank of the river, opposite to the town, and above the ground I then occupied, to make a detour with Major Caldwell and the second battalion, until I fell into the Miami trace, and by that route to cross the river above, and gain the rear of the town, and to leave directions with major McDowell, who commanded the first battalion, to lie perdué until I commenced the attack, then to dash through the river with his corps and the advanced guard, and assault the houses in front, and upon the left. In the moment I was about to put this arrangement into execution, word was brought me that the enemy had taken the alarm, and were flying; I instantly ordered a general charge, which was obeyed with alacrity; the men, forcing their way over every obstacle, plunged through the river with vast intrepidity. The enemy was unable to make the smallest resistance. Six warriors, (and in the hurry and confusion of the charge) two squaws, and a child, were killed, thirty-four prisoners were taken, and an unfortunate captive released, with the loss of two men killed and one wounded. I found this town scattered along Eel river for full three miles, on an uneven, scrubby oak barren, intersected alternately by bogs almost impassable, and impervious thickets of plum, hazle, and black jacks; notwithstanding these difficulties, if I may credit the report of the prisoners, very few who were in town escaped. Expecting a second expedition, their goods were generally packed up and buried. Sixty warriors had crossed the Wabash, to watch the paths leading from the Ohio. The head chief, with all the prisoners and a number of families, was out digging a root which they substitute in the place of the potato; and about one hour before my arrival, all the warriors, except eight, had mounted their horses, and rode up the river, to a French store, to purchase ammunition; this ammunition had arrived from the Miami village that very day, and the squaws informed me was stored about two miles from the town. I detached Major Caldwell in quest of it, but he failed to make any discovery, although he scoured the country for seven or eight miles up the river. I encamped in the town that night, and the next morning I cut up the corn, scarcely in the milk, burnt the cabins, mounted my young warriors, squaws, and children, in the best manner in my power, and leaving two infirm squaws and a child, with a short talk (a copy of which I have the honor to enclose you) I commenced my march for the Kickapoo town in the prairie. I felt my prisoners a vast incumbrance, but I was not in force to justify a detachment, having barely 523 rank and file, and being then in the bosom of the Ouia-tonon country, one hundred and eighty miles removed from succor, and not more than one and a half day's march from the Pattawatamies, Shawanese, and Delawares.

Not being able to discover any path in the direct course to the Kickapoo town, I marched by the road leading to Tippecanoe, in the hope of finding some diverging trace which might favor my design. I encamped, that evening, about six miles from Kenapacomaqua, the Indian name of the town I had destroyed, and marched next morning at 4 o'clock; my course continued west, till nine o'clock, when I turned to the northwest, on a small hunting path, and, at a short distance, I launched into the boundless prairies of the West, with the intention to pursue that course until I could strike a road, which leads from the Pattawatamies of lake Michigan, immediately to the town I sought; with this view I pushed forward, through bog after bog, to the saddle-skirts, in mud and water; and after persevering, for eight hours, I found myself environed, on all sides, with morasses, which forbade my advancing, and, at the same time, rendered it difficult for me to extricate my little army. The way by which we had entered was so much beat and softened by the horses, that it was almost impossible to return by that route, and my guides pronounced the morass, in front, impassable. A chain of thin groves, extending in the direction of the Wabash, at this time presented itself to my left; it was necessary I should gain these groves, and, for this purpose, I dismounted, went forward, and leading my horse through a bog, to the arm-pits in mud and water, with great difficulty and fatigue I accomplished my object; and, changing my course to south by west, I regained the Tippecanoe road at 5 o'clock, and encamped on it at 7 o'clock, after a march of 30 miles, which broke down several of my horses. I am the more minute, in detailing the occurrences of this day, because they produced the most unfavorable effects. I was in motion at 4 o'clock next morning, and at 8 o'clock my advanced guard made some

discoveries, which induced me to believe we were near an Indian village. I immediately pushed that body forward in a trot, and followed with Major Caldwell and the 2d battalion, leaving Major McDowell to take the charge of the prisoners. I reached Tippecanoe at 12 o'clock, which had been occupied by the enemy, who watched my motions and abandoned the place that morning. After the destruction of this town, in June last, the enemy had returned, and cultivated their corn and pulse, which I found in high perfection, and in much greater quantity than at P'Anquille. To refresh my horses, and give time to cut down the corn, I determined to halt till the next morning, and then to resume my march to the Kickapoo town, on the prairie, by the road which leads from Ouiatanon to that place. In the course of the day, I had discovered some murmurings and discontent amongst the men, which I found, on inquiry, to proceed from their reluctance to advance farther into the enemy's country; this induced me to call for a state of the horses and provisions, when, to my great mortification, 270 horses were returned lame and tired, with barely five days' provisions for the men. Under these circumstances, I was compelled to abandon my designs upon the Kickapoo of the prairies, and, with a degree of anguish not to be comprehended but by those who have experienced similar disappointments, I marched forward to a town of the same nation, situate about three leagues west of Ouiatanon; as I advanced to that town, the enemy made some show of fighting me, but vanished at my approach. I destroyed this town, consisting of thirty houses, with a considerable quantity of corn in the milk, and the same day I moved on to Ouiatanon, where I forded the Wabash, and proceeded to the site of the villages, on the margin of the prairie, where I encamped, at 7 o'clock. At this town, and the villages destroyed by General Scott, in June, we found the corn had been replanted, and was now in high cultivation, several fields being well ploughed, all which was destroyed. On the 12th I resumed my march, and, falling into General Scott's return trace, I arrived, without any material incident, at the rapids of the Ohio, on the 21st instant, after a march, by accurate computation, of 451 miles from fort Washington.

The volunteers of Kentucky have on this occasion acquitted themselves with their usual good conduct; but, as no opportunity offered for individual distinction, it would be unjust to give to one the plaudits to which all have an equal title. I cannot, however, in propriety, forbear to express my warm approbation of the good conduct of my Majors, McDowell and Caldwell; and of Colonel Russel, who, in the character of a volunteer, without commission, led my advance; and I feel myself under obligations to Major Adair and Captain Parker, who acted immediately about my person, for the services they rendered me, by the most prompt, active, and energetic exertions.

The services which I have been able to render, fall short of my wishes, my intention, and my expectation; but, sir, when you reflect on the causes which checked my career and blasted my designs, I flatter myself you will believe every thing has been done which could be done in my circumstances. I have destroyed the chief town of the Ouiatanon nation, and made prisoners of the sons and sisters of the king. I have burnt a respectable Kickapoo village, and cut down at least 430 acres of corn, chiefly in the milk. The Ouiatanons, left without houses, home, or provision, must cease to war, and will find active employ to subsist their squaws and children during the impending winter. Should these services secure to the country which I immediately represented, and the corps which I had the honor to command, the favorable consideration of Government, I shall infer the approbation of my own conduct, which, added to a consciousness of having done my duty, will constitute the richest reward I can enjoy.

Mr. Charles Vancouver will have the honor to deliver this letter to your Excellency, who attended me as quartermaster to the expedition, and rendered me important services. He is able to give you a satisfactory idea of the situation of the country over which I passed, and can ascertain with precision the course and distance to any point of my route. I recommend him to you as a gentleman of worth.

With the warmest and most perfect respect, I have the honor to be, your Excellency's obliged, obedient, and most faithful servant,

JAS. WILKINSON.

His Exc'y Maj. Gen. St. CLAIR, *Fort Washington.*

*To the Indian nations living on the river Wabash, and its waters:*

The arms of the United States are again exerted against you, and again your towns are in flames, and your wives and children made captives; again you are cautioned to listen to the voice of reason, to sue for peace, and submit to the protection of the United States, who are willing to become your friends and fathers, but, at the same time, are determined to punish you for every injury you may offer to their children. Regard not those evil counsellors who, to secure to themselves the benefits of your trade, advise you to measures which involve you, your women and children, in trouble and distress. The United States wish to give you peace, because it is good in the eyes of the Great Spirit that all his children should unite and live like brothers; but, if you foolishly prefer war, their warriors are ready to meet you in battle, and will not be the first to lay down the hatchet. You may find your squaws and your children under the protection of our great chief and warrior General St. Clair, at fort Washington. To him you will make all applications for an exchange of prisoners or for peace.

Given under my hand and seal, at Kenapacomaqua, the 9th day of August, 1791.

JAS. WILKINSON, *Lt. Col. Com'dt*

THE CHEROKEES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, NOVEMBER 9, 1791.

Mr. HAWKINS, from the committee to whom was referred the message of the President of the United States, of the 26th of October last, transmitting a treaty recently made with the Cherokee Indians, reported:

That they have examined the said treaty, and find it strictly conformable to the instructions given by the President of the United States;

That these instructions were founded on the advice and consent of the Senate, of the 11th of August, 1790;

That the stipulations in the 14th article are similar to those gratuitously promised to the Creeks; and, although they form an excess to the sum limited in the resolution aforesaid, yet, from the beneficial effects likely to be produced thereby, cannot be objectionable.

That a new boundary has been arranged, which embraces the people settled to the south of French Broad, and between the same and the ridge which divides the waters running into Little river, and from those running into the Tennessee. That the boundary, in other respects, is nearly the same as that established at Hopewell.

The committee are therefore of opinion, that the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of said treaty.

2d CONGRESS.]

No. 22.

[1st SESSION.]

## ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT BY THE INDIANS.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS,] DECEMBER 12, 1791.

*Gentlemen of the Senate**and of the House of Representatives:*

It is with great concern that I communicate to you the information received from Major General St. Clair, of the misfortune which has befallen the troops under his command.

Although the national loss is considerable according to the scale of the event, yet it may be repaired without great difficulty, excepting as to the brave men who have fallen on the occasion, and who are a subject of public as well as private regret.

A further communication will shortly be made of all such matters as shall be necessary to enable the Legislature to judge of the future measures which it may be proper to pursue.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, December 12th, 1791.

*Copy of a letter from General St. Clair to the Secretary of War.*

FORT WASHINGTON, October 6th, 1791.

SIR:

I have now the satisfaction to inform you, that the army moved from fort Hamilton, the name I have given to the fort on the Miami, on the 4th, at eight in the morning, under the command of General Butler. The order of march and encampment I had regulated before, and on the 3d returned to this place to get up the militia; they marched yesterday, and consist of but about three hundred men, as you will see by the enclosed abstract of the muster. I have reason to believe, however, that at least an equal number will be up here by the 10th, and I have left orders for their following us. The monthly return should have accompanied this letter, but it was not ready when I left camp, and has not been forwarded since. I have hitherto found it impossible to reduce the officers commanding corps to punctuality with respect to their returns, but they are mending; our numbers, after deducting the garrisons of this place and fort Hamilton, are about two thousand, exclusive of the militia. I trust I shall find them sufficient, and should the rest of the militia come on, it will make the matter pretty certain; but the season is now so far advanced, that I fear the intermediate posts, which would indeed have been highly necessary, it will be impossible to establish. In that, however, I must be governed by circumstances, of which I will take care that you shall be apprised in due time. Should the enemy come to meet us, which seems to be expected, and be discomfited, there will be no difficulties; but if they expect us at the Miami villages, the business will wear another face, and the intermediate posts become more essential. Since the quartermaster has been here, and got into his gears, which it took him a little time to do, I am very well satisfied with him, and do believe that he will answer the description you were pleased to give me of him. His business seems now to be well arranged.

In order to communicate with some degree of certainty with your office, I have directed Captain Buell, when he arrives, to send a sergeant and twelve men to a house that has been newly erected half way between this place and Lexington, to each of which two men are to be sent off on every Monday morning to carry despatches; those for the War Office, or any other public letters, to be put into the hands of Mr. Charles Wilkins, merchant of Lexington, who has engaged to forward all I have occasion to send, regularly once a fortnight; and should you, sir, think proper to use the same route for any of yours, if they are sent to his care he will forward them to me. I have been led to prefer this channel of communication to that of the river, because it appears to be rather the more certain of the two, though it may be a little more tedious, and because desertion continues to prevail among the troops, and the sending small parties to such a distance gives great opportunity to effect it. General Butler informs me that no less than twenty-one went off the night before the army moved from fort Hamilton. I am this moment setting out for the army, which I hope to overtake to-morrow evening, and will write to you again as soon after as may be.

With great regard and respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your very humble servant,

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

The Hon. Major General KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

P. S. The officers have it in their power to receive a part of their rations, or the whole, and where they take a part only, to be paid for what is retained, at the contract price. The contractor's agents say they have no money to pay for retained rations, and where they have given certificates, or what they call due bills, refuse to discharge them, unless what they think proper to give, and at what price they think proper, is taken in place of them. Some means to prevent this abuse should be fallen upon. The whole rations are made up in the abstracts; were those to be accompanied with a list of the certificates given in the period of the abstract, which they should be obliged to give, the money might be stopped at the treasury, and the officers would be sure of it. At present, it is very hard upon them. This instant I hear of two hundred men, militia, about fifteen miles off.

*Copy of a letter from General St. Clair to the Secretary of War.*Camp, eighty-one miles advanced of Fort Washington, }  
November 1st, 1791. }

SIR:

Since I had the honor to write to you on the 21st instant, nothing very material has happened; and, indeed, I am at present so unwell (and have been so for some time past) that I could ill detail it, if it had happened. Not that that space of time has been entirely barren of incidents, but, as few of them have been of the agreeable kind, I beg you to accept a sort of journal account of them, which will be the easiest for me.

On the 22d, the indisposition that had hung about me for some time, sometimes appearing as a bilious cholic, and sometimes as a rheumatic asthma, to my great satisfaction changed to a gout in the left arm and hand, leaving the breast and stomach perfectly relieved, and the cough, which had been excessive, entirely gone. This day, Mr. Ellis, with sixty militia from Kentucky, joined the army, and brought up a quantity of flour and beef.

23d.—Two men taken in the act of deserting to the enemy, and one for shooting another soldier and threatening to kill an officer, were hanged upon the grand parade, the whole army being drawn out. Since the army has halted, the country around this and ahead for fifteen miles, has been well examined; it is a country which, had we arrived a month sooner in it, and with three times the number of animals, they would have been all fat now.

24th.—Named the fort *Jefferson*, (it lies in lat. 40° 4' 22" north,) and marched, the same Indian path serving to conduct us about six miles, and encamped on good ground and an excellent position—a rivulet in front, and a very large prairie, which would, at the proper season, afford forage for a thousand horses on the left. So ill this day, that I had much difficulty in keeping with the army.

25th.—Very hard rains last night; obliged to halt to-day, on account of provision: for though the soldiers may be kept pretty easy in camp, under the expectation of provision arriving, they cannot bear to march in advance, and

take none along with them. I received a letter from Mr. Hodgdon by express; thirteen thousand pounds of flour will arrive on the 27th.

26th.—A party of militia, sent to reconnoitre, fell in with five Indians, and suffered them to slip through their fingers; in their camp, articles to the value of twenty-five dollars were found and divided. The Virginia battalion is melting down very fast, notwithstanding the promises of the men to the officers; thirteen have been discharged by Colonel Dark to-day.

27th.—Gave orders for enlisting the levies, with the condition of serving out their time in their present corps. Piomingo arrived in camp with his warriors; I was so unwell, I could only see him and bid him welcome, but entered on no business; considerable dissatisfaction among the levies about their enlistments.

28th.—Some clothing sent for to fort Washington, for the recruits, arrived; was begun to be distributed, and will have a good effect; but the enlisting the levies does not meet with the encouragement that might have been expected. It is not openly complained of by the officers, but it is certainly, privately, by some of high rank, and the measure of tempting them with warm clothing condemned. Mr. Hodgdon writes me that he is sending forward a quantity of woollen overalls and socks, by General Butler's orders. I have ordered them to be deposited at fort Jefferson. Some few Indians about us, probably those the militia fell in with a day or two ago. Two of the levies were fired upon about three miles off: one killed, two of the militia likewise, one of them got in, the other missing, supposed to be taken.

29th.—Piomingo and his people, accompanied by Captain Sparks and four good riflemen, gone on a scout; they do not propose to return under ten days, unless they sooner succeed in taking prisoners and scalps.

30th.—The army moved about nine o'clock, and, with much difficulty, made seven miles, having left a considerable part of the tents by the way; the provision made by the quartermaster for that purpose was not adequate; three days' flour issued to the men, to add the horses that carried it to his arrangements; the Indian road still with us, the course this day north 25° west.

31st.—This morning about sixty of the militia deserted; it was at first reported that one half of them had gone off, and that their design was to plunder the convoys which were upon the roads; detached the first regiment in pursuit of them, with orders to Major Hamtramck to send a sufficient guard back with Benham, whenever he met with him, and follow them about twenty-five miles below fort Jefferson, or until he met the second convoy, and then return and join the army.

Benham arrived last night, and to-day, November 1st, the army is halted to give the road-cutters an opportunity of getting some distance ahead, and that I might write to you. I am this day considerably recovered, and hope that it will turn out what I at first expected it would be, a friendly fit of the gout, come to relieve me from every other complaint.

Yesterday I was favored with yours of the 28th and 29th September. I have enclosed my communications with the old and new contractors, and their answers. My orders for the posts to them are not yet definite, but they will be very soon; in the mean time, I expect they are both at work.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, &c.

AR. ST. CLAIR.

The Hon. Major General Knox, *Secretary of War*.

Your letters for General Wilkinson and General Scott, Mr. Innes and Mr. Brown, are sent back, and the public thanks, in the name of the President, presented to General Wilkinson, agreeably to your directions.

*Copy of a letter from Major General St. Clair to the Secretary for the Department of War.*

FORT WASHINGTON, November 9th, 1791.

SIR:

Yesterday afternoon, the remains of the army under my command got back to this place, and I have now the painful task to give you an account of as warm and as unfortunate an action as almost any that has been fought, in which every corps was engaged and worsted, except the first regiment. That had been detached upon a service I had the honor to inform you of in my last despatch, and had not joined me.

On the 3d instant, the army had reached a creek about twelve yards wide, running to the southward of west, which I believe to have been the river St. Mary, that empties itself into the Miami of the lake at Miami village, about four o'clock in the afternoon, having marched near nine miles, and were immediately encamped upon a very commanding piece of ground, in two lines, having the above mentioned creek in front. The right wing, composed of Butler's, Clarke's, and Paterson's battalions, commanded by Major General Butler, formed the first line, and the left wing, consisting of Bedinger's and Gaither's battalions, and the second regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Dark, formed the second line, with an interval between them of about seventy yards, which was all the ground would allow. The right flank was pretty well secured by the creek; a steep bank, and Faulkner's corps, some of the cavalry, and their picquets, covered the left flank. The militia were thrown over the creek, and advanced about one quarter of a mile, and encamped in the same order. There were a few Indians who appeared on the opposite side of the creek, but fled with the utmost precipitation, on the advance of the militia. At this place, which I judged to be about fifteen miles from the Miami village, I had determined to throw a slight work, the plan of which was concerted that evening with Major Ferguson, wherein to have deposited the men's knapsacks, and every thing else that was not of absolute necessity, and to have moved on to attack the enemy as soon as the first regiment was come up. But they did not permit me to execute either: for, on the fourth, about half an hour before sun-rise, and when the men had been just dismissed from the parade, (for it was a constant practice to have them all under arms a considerable time before day-light) an attack was made upon the militia. Those gave way in a very little time, and rushed into camp through Major Butler's battalion, which, together with part of Clark's, they threw into considerable disorder, and which, notwithstanding the exertions of both those officers, was never altogether remedied, the Indians following close at their heels. The fire, however, of the front line, checked them, but almost instantly a very heavy attack began upon that line, and in a few minutes it was extended to the second likewise. The great weight of it was directed against the centre of each, where the artillery was placed, and from which the men were repeatedly driven with great slaughter. Finding no great effect from our fire, and confusion beginning to spread from the great number of men who were falling in all quarters, it became necessary to try what could be done by the bayonet. Lieutenant Colonel Dark was accordingly ordered to make a charge with part of the second line, and to turn the left flank of the enemy. This was executed with great spirit. The Indians instantly gave way, and were driven back three or four hundred yards; but for want of a sufficient number of riflemen to pursue this advantage, they soon returned, and the troops were obliged to give back in their turn. At this moment they had entered our camp by the left flank, having pushed back the troops that were posted there. Another charge was made here by the second regiment, Butler's and Clarke's battalions, with equal effect, and it was repeated several times, and always with success; but in all of them, many men were lost, and particularly the officers, which, with so raw troops, was a loss altogether irremediable. In that I just spoke of, made by the second regiment and Butler's battalion, Major Butler was dangerously wounded, and every officer of the second regiment fell except three, one of which, Mr. Groaton, was shot through the body. Our artillery being now silenced, and all the officers killed except Captain Ford, who was very badly wounded, and more than half of the army fallen, being cut off from the road, it became necessary to attempt the regaining it, and to make a retreat, if possible. To this purpose, the remains of the army was formed as well as circumstances would admit, towards the right of the encampment, from which, by the way of the second line, another charge was made upon the enemy, as if with the design to turn their right flank, but in fact, to gain the road. This was effected, and as soon as it was open, the militia took along it, followed by the troops; Major Clarke, with his battalion, covering the rear. The retreat, in those circumstances, was, you may be sure, a very precipitate one. It was, in fact, a flight. The camp and the artillery were abandoned; but that was

unavoidable: for not a horse was left alive to have drawn it off, had it otherwise been practicable. But the most disgraceful part of the business is, that the greatest part of the men threw away their arms and accoutrements, even after the pursuit, which continued about four miles, had ceased. I found the road strewn with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it: for, having had all my horses killed, and being mounted upon one that could not be pricked out of a walk, I could not get forward myself; and the orders I sent forward, either to halt the front, or to prevent the men from parting with their arms, were unattended to. The rout continued quite to fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles, which was reached a little after sun-setting. The action began about half an hour before sunrise, and the retreat was attempted at a half an hour after nine o'clock. I have not yet been able to get returns of the killed and wounded; but Major General Butler, Lieutenant Colonel Oldham, of the militia, Major Ferguson, Major Heart, and Major Clarke, are among the former; Colonel Sargent, my Adjutant General, Lieutenant Colonel Dark, Lieutenant Colonel Gibson, Major Butler, and the Viscount Malartie, who served me as an aid-de-camp, are among the latter, and a great number of captains and subalterns in both.

I have now, sir, finished my melancholy tale—a tale that will be felt sensibly by every one that has sympathy for private distress, or for public misfortune. I have nothing, sir, to lay to the charge of the troops, but their want of discipline, which, from the short time they had been in service, it was impossible they should have acquired, and which rendered it very difficult, when they were thrown into confusion, to reduce them again to order, and is one reason why the loss has fallen so heavy upon the officers, who did every thing in their power to effect it. Neither were my own exertions wanting; but, worn down with illness, and suffering under a painful disease, unable either to mount or dismount a horse without assistance, they were not so great as they otherwise would, and perhaps ought to have been. We were overpowered by numbers; but it is no more than justice to observe, that, though composed of so many different species of troops, the utmost harmony prevailed through the whole army during the campaign.

At fort Jefferson, I found the first regiment, which had returned from the service they had been sent upon, without either overtaking the deserters, or meeting the convoy of provisions. I am not certain, sir, whether I ought to consider the absence of this regiment from the field of action, as fortunate or otherwise. I incline to think it was fortunate: for, I very much doubt whether, had it been in the action, the fortune of the day had been turned; and if it had not, the triumph of the enemy would have been more complete, and the country would have been destitute of every means of defence.

Taking a view of the situation of our broken troops at fort Jefferson, and that there was no provision in the fort, I called upon the field officers, viz. Lieutenant Colonel Dark, Major Hamtramck, Major Zeigler, and Major Gaither, together with the adjutant general, for their advice what would be proper further to be done; and it was their unanimous opinion, that the addition of the first regiment, unbroken as it was, did not put the army on so respectable a foot as it was in the morning, because a great part of it was now unarmed; that it had been then found unequal to the enemy, and should they come on, which was probable, would be found so again. That the troops could not be thrown into the fort, both because it was too small, and that there were no provisions in it. That provisions were known to be upon the road, at the distance of one, or at most two marches; that, therefore, it would be proper to move, without loss of time, to meet the provisions, when the men might have the sooner an opportunity of some refreshment, and that a proper detachment might be sent back with it, to have it safely deposited in the fort. This advice was accepted, and the army was put in motion again at ten o'clock, and marched all night, and the succeeding day met with a quantity of flour. Part of it was distributed immediately, part taken back to supply the army on the march to fort Hamilton, and the remainder, about fifty horse loads, sent forward to fort Jefferson. The next day, a drove of cattle was met with for the same place, and I have information that both got in. The wounded who had been left at that place, were ordered to be brought here by the return horses.

I have said, sir, in a former part of this letter, that we were overpowered by numbers. Of that, however, I have no other evidence but the weight of the fire, which was always a most deadly one, and generally delivered from the ground—few of the enemy shewing themselves afoot, except when they were charged; and that, in a few minutes, our whole camp, which extended above three hundred and fifty yards in length, was entirely surrounded, and attacked on all quarters.

The loss, sir, the public has sustained by the fall of so many officers, particularly General Butler and Major Ferguson, cannot be too much regretted; but it is a circumstance that will alleviate the misfortune in some measure, that all of them fell most gallantly doing their duty. I have had very particular obligations to many of them, as well as to the survivors, but to none more than to Colonel Sargent. He has discharged the various duties of his office with zeal, with exactness, and with intelligence, and on all occasions, afforded me every assistance in his power, which I have also experienced from my aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Denny, and the Viscount Malartie, who served with me in the station as a volunteer.

With every sentiment of respect and regard, I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,  
AR. ST. CLAIR.

The Honorable Major General KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

P. S. Some orders that had been given to Colonel Oldham over night, and which were of much consequence, were not executed; and some very material intelligence was communicated by Captain Hough to General Butler, in the course of the night, before the action, which was never imparted to me, nor did I hear of it until after my arrival here.

*List of the killed and wounded Officers in the battle of the 4th of November, 1791.*

KILLED.		
Major General Richard Butler.	Captains . . . Piatt,	Lieutenant . . . Lickins.
Lieut. Colonel Oldham, K <sup>y</sup> militia.	Guthrie,	Ensigns . . . Cobb,
Majors . . . . Ferguson,	Cribbs, and	Balch,
Clarke, and	Newman.	Chace,
Hart.	Lieutenants . . Spear,	Turner,
Captains . . . . Bradford,	Warren,	Wilson,
Phelon,	Boyd,	Brooks,
Kirkwood,	McMath,	Beatty,
Price,	Burgess,	Purdy.
Van Swearingen,	Kelso,	Quartermasters Reynolds,
Tipton,	Read,	Ward.
Smith,	Little,	Adjutant . . . Anderson.
Purdy,	Hopper, and	Doctor . . . . Grasson.
WOUNDED.		
Lieut. Colonels Gibson,	Captain . . . . Hough.	Adjutants . . . Whistler,
Darke,	Lieutenants . . Greaton,	Crawford.
Sargent, Adj. Gen.	Davidson,	Ensign . . . . Bines.
Major . . . . . Butler,	De Butts,	The Viscount Malartie, volunteer
Captains . . . Doyle,	Price,	Aid-de-camp to
Trueman,	Morgan,	Maj. Gen. St.
Ford,	M'Crea,	Clair.
Buchannen,	Lysle,	
Dark,	Thomson.	

2d CONGRESS.]

No. 23.

[1st SESSION.

## NORTHWESTERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, JANUARY 11, 1792.

*Gentlemen of the Senate  
and of the House of Representatives:*

I lay before you, in confidence, two reports made to me by the Secretary for the Department of War, relatively to the present state of affairs on the Western frontiers of the United States.

In these reports the causes of the present war with the Indians; the measures taken by the Executive to terminate it amicably; and the military preparations for the late campaign, are stated and explained; and also a plan suggested of such further measures on the occasion as appear just and expedient.

I am persuaded, gentlemen, that you will take this important subject into your immediate and serious consideration, and that the result of your deliberations will be the adoption of such wise and efficient measures as will reflect honor on our national councils, and promote the welfare of our country.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, *January 11th, 1792.*WAR DEPARTMENT, *26th December, 1791.*

SIR:

I have the honor to submit to your consideration, two reports, relatively to the Western frontiers of the United States.

The report A is accompanied by official documents, and is intended to exhibit the measures taken by the Executive to induce the hostile Indians to peace, without the necessity of using force against them; and also the measures of the Executive relative to the objects and preparations of the campaign of 1791, and in some degree an explanation of the causes of its failure.

The report B contains a general, but summary review of the conduct of the United States towards the Indians northwest of the Ohio, since our separation from Great Britain.

And it also contains an opinion, delivered with great diffidence, of such further measures as the nature of the case, and the public interests, seem to require.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*The PRESIDENT of the *United States.*

A.

*A summary statement of facts, relatively to the measures taken, in behalf of the United States, to induce the hostile Indians, northwest of the Ohio, to peace, previously to the exercise of coercion against them; and also a statement of the arrangements for the campaign of 1791.*

That the measures of the Executive of the United States, relatively to Indian affairs, since the operation of the General Government, have been calculated to produce a peace with all the Indian tribes, upon the terms of justice and humanity, may be evinced by having recourse to the records of the Indian department.

That, as the former proceedings have generally been laid before the Legislature, the present statement commences with the close of the campaign of the year 1790.

That the Cornplanter, a war-captain of the Senecas, and other Indians of the same tribe, being in Philadelphia, December, 1790, measures were taken to impress them with the moderation of the United States, as it respected the war with the Western Indians; that the coercive measures against them had been the consequence of their refusal to listen to the invitations of peace, and a continuance of their depredations on the frontiers.

That, at the same time, the Senecas were warned to restrain their young men from taking part with the hostile Indians; upon which point, assurances were made by the Cornplanter, that he, and the Indians under his influence, would not only be friends to the United States, but that they would endeavor to prevent the further hostilities of the Western Indians. Arrangements were accordingly made, that the Cornplanter, with other friendly Indians, should proceed to the Western tribes, and endeavor to influence them to peace.

That, in addition to this measure, Colonel Thomas Procter, on the 10th of March, was sent to the Cornplanter to hasten his departure, to accompany him to the Miami villages; and messages were sent to the Indians, declaratory of the sentiments of the United States towards them.

That both the Cornplanter and Colonel Procter met with difficulties, in the due execution of their orders, which were insurmountable.

That further measures were taken, in the month of April, to draw the Six Nations to a conference, at a distance from the theatre of war, in order not only to prevent their joining therein, but, also, if necessary, to obtain some of their young men to join our army, in case of hostilities being inevitable.

That the said conference was accordingly held at the Painted Post, in the month of June, by Colonel Pickering.

That, besides these, measures were taken for holding a treaty with the Cherokees, which was concluded on the second of July; and also other pacific measures were pursued with the Chickasaws and Creeks.

That Major General St. Clair was instructed, in addition to the measures immediately taken by the Executive, to devise and execute further expedients to endeavor to quiet the hostile Indians, without a further effusion of blood. That he accordingly forwarded messages to the Delawares and Wyandots, and through them, to the hostile Indians, expressive of the pacific and humane dispositions of the United States towards them.

That he also endeavored to tranquilize the Wyandots and Delawares, relative to some of their members having been killed in March, who had been trading at a block-house at Big Beaver creek.

That, although the Governor of Pennsylvania, at the request of the Secretary of War, issued his proclamation to bring the offenders to justice, yet it does not appear to have been done.

That the preparations of the campaign commenced while the subject was under the consideration of Congress.

That two thousand arms and accoutrements, and a proportional quantity of ammunition, were transported to fort Pitt, during the months of February, March and April.

That eight pieces of artillery, and stores, were also arranged, repaired, and transported to fort Pitt.

That the corps of two thousand levies, authorized by the act of Congress of the 3d of March, were organized into two regiments, each of three battalions; that one battalion was raised in New Jersey, two in Pennsylvania, one in Maryland, one in Virginia, and one in the territory of the United States, south of the Ohio; the latter being intended to be armed entirely with rifles.

That each battalion consisted of four companies, and each company of eighty-three non-commissioned officers and privates, amounting, in all, to the number of one thousand nine hundred and ninety-two.

That of the levies, there were raised and marched, from their respective rendezvous, during the months of April, May, June, and the beginning of July, one thousand six hundred and seventy-four non-commissioned and privates.



That of the first and second regiments of the more permanent troops of the United States, there were recruited, and marched to the frontiers, during the months of April, May, June, and the beginning of July, seven hundred and eighteen; and of the battalion of artillery, forty-five, making, in the whole, seven hundred and sixty-three non-commissioned and privates.

That the total of the regulars and levies, who actually marched from their respective rendezvous, appear to have been two thousand four hundred and thirty-seven; and to which is to be added, two hundred and sixty-two of the first regiment and artillery, previously at fort Washington, which will make the whole to amount to two thousand six hundred and ninety-nine, non-commissioned and privates.

That, of these, there appear to have been at fort Washington, and different parts of the Ohio, in the month of September last, as per abstract of musters, two thousand five hundred and eighty-seven privates.

That the continental troops, consisting of regulars and levies, artillery, and cavalry, for the expedition, as appears by Major General St. Clair's letter of 6th of October, amount to about two thousand.

That, besides the aforesaid number of two thousand six hundred and ninety-nine troops on the Ohio, there have been enlisted and marched, of the second regiment, three hundred and seventy-three non-commissioned and privates, of whom two companies, consisting of one hundred and fifty-six, have been at fort Pitt until lately, when they descended the Ohio to Fort Washington. Another company, of fifty-nine, have been detached to Georgia, which, with the troops already there, and a company recruited in South-Carolina, which is also ordered there, will amount to five hundred and ninety-two non-commissioned and privates; besides which, there is a small detachment at West Point, of seventeen men.

That thus it will appear, that, of the troops authorized by the acts of Congress, amounting to four thousand one hundred and twenty-eight non-commissioned and privates, only the number of three thousand three hundred and eight, are, and have been raised.

That the deficiency, of eight hundred and twenty, have not been enlisted, appears to have been in consequence of the low pay, and perhaps the nature of the service.

That, previously to the enlistment of the levies, to-wit: on the tenth day of March, in consequence of irruptions of the Indians on the frontiers, the county lieutenants of the frontiers, lying along the Ohio, and in the southwestern parts of Virginia, and in the territory of the United States south of the Ohio, were empowered to call forth the militia for the defensive protection of said counties, respectively.

That this measure was dictated by the necessity of the case, and under the laws authorizing the President of the United States for the purpose.

That, besides this species of defensive protection afforded the frontiers, during the preparing the army for a forward movement, two desultory operations were directed, at the expense of the United States, from the district of Kentucky, and both of which succeeded in a considerable degree. These expeditions were intended as well to prevent the Indians from spreading themselves on the frontiers, by calling their attention to their own safety, as to shew our power to chastise them.

That Major General St. Clair, besides his troops of regulars and levies, had authority to call for militia from Kentucky, to supply any deficiencies of new levies, and that such militia should be of such species as he should judge proper. That the said Major General St. Clair called for one thousand one hundred and fifty militia, but of these, only the number of four hundred and eighteen joined him, as appears by the abstract of the musters; but, by his letter of the first of November, there appears sixty to have joined him on the march, and about as many deserted.

That the detention of his troops in the upper parts of the Ohio, and afterwards the lowness of the waters in that river, were considered by him as truly unfortunate circumstances.

That the instructions of Major General St. Clair contain the plan of the campaign. That the said instructions, and the other papers on which this statement is formed, whether relative to the Indian department, or the preparations for the campaign, are hereunto annexed.

All which is humbly submitted to the President of the United States.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *December 26th, 1791.*

*The speech of the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and the Great-Tree, Chiefs and Councillors of the Seneca nation, to the Great Councillor of the Thirteen Fires.*

FATHER:

The voice of the Seneca nation speaks to you, the great councillor, in whose heart the wise men of all the Thirteen Fires have placed their wisdom. It may be very small in your ears, and we therefore entreat you to hearken with attention: for we are about to speak of things which are to us very great. When your army entered the country of the Six Nations, we called you the town destroyer; and to this day, when that name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the necks of their mothers. Our councillors and warriors are men, and cannot be afraid; but their hearts are grieved with the fears of our women and children, and desire it may be buried so deep as to be heard no more.

When you gave us peace, we called you father, because you promised to secure us in the possession of our lands. Do this, and, so long as the lands shall remain, that beloved name will live in the heart of every Seneca.

FATHER: We mean to open our hearts before you, and we earnestly desire that you will let us clearly understand what you resolve to do. When our chiefs returned from the treaty at fort Stanwix, and laid before our council what had been done there, our nation was surprised to hear how great a country you had compelled them to give up to you, without your paying to us any thing for it. Every one said that your hearts were yet swelled with resentment against us for what had happened during the war, but that one day you would reconsider it with more kindness. We asked each other, What have we done to deserve such severe chastisement?

FATHER: When you kindled your thirteen fires separately, the wise men that assembled at them told us, that you were all brothers, the children of one great father, who regarded, also, the red people as his children. They called us brothers, and invited us to his protection; they told us that he resided beyond the great water, where the sun first rises; that he was a king whose power no people could resist, and that his goodness was bright as that sun. What they said went to our hearts; we accepted the invitation, and promised to obey him. What the Seneca nation promise, they faithfully perform; and when you refused obedience to that king, he commanded us to assist his beloved men in making you sober. In obeying him, we did no more than yourselves had led us to promise. The men who claimed this promise told us that you were children, and had no guns; that when they had shaken you, you would submit. We hearkened to them, and were deceived, until your army approached our towns. We were deceived; but your people, in teaching us to confide in that king, had helped to deceive, and we now appeal to your heart—Is the blame all ours?

FATHER: When we saw that we were deceived, and heard the invitation which you gave us to draw near to the fire which you kindled, and talk with you concerning peace, we made haste towards it. You then told us that we were in your hand, and that, by closing it, you could crush us to nothing, and you demanded from us a great country, as the price of that peace which you had offered us; as if our want of strength had destroyed our rights; our chiefs had felt your power, and were unable to contend against you, and they therefore gave up that country. What they agreed to, has bound our nation; but your anger against us must, by this time, be cooled; and, although our strength has not increased, nor your power become less, we ask you to consider calmly, Were the terms dictated to us by your commissioners reasonable and just?

FATHER: Your commissioners, when they drew the line which separated the land then given up to you from that which you agreed should remain to be ours, did most solemnly promise, that we should be secured in the peaceable possession of the lands which we inhabited east and north of that line. Does this promise bind you?

Hear now, we beseech you, what has since happened concerning that land. On the day in which we finished the treaty at fort Stanwix, commissioners from Pennsylvania told our chiefs that they had come there to purchase from us all the lands belonging to us, within the lines of their State, and they told us that their line would strike the river Susquehanna below Tioga branch. They then left us to consider of the bargain till the next day; on the next day we let them know that we were unwilling to sell all the lands within their State, and proposed to let them have a part of it, which we pointed out to them in their map. They told us that they must have the whole; that it was already ceded to them by the great king, at the time of making peace with you, and was *their own*; but they said that they would not take advantage of that, and were willing to pay us for it, after the manner of their ancestors. Our chiefs were unable to contend, at that time, and therefore they sold the lands up to the line, which was then shewn to them as the line of that State. What the commissioners had said about the land having been ceded to them at the peace, our chiefs considered as intended only to lessen the price, and they passed it by with very little notice; but, since that time, we have heard so much from others about the right to our lands, which the king gave when you made peace with him, that it is our earnest desire that you will tell us what it means.

FATHER: Our nation empowered John Livingston to let out part of our lands on rent, to be paid to us. He told us, that he was sent by Congress, to do this for us, and we fear he has deceived us in the writing he obtained from us.

For, since the time of our giving that power, a man of the name of Phelps has come among us, and claimed our whole country northward of the line of Pennsylvania, under purchase from that Livingston, to whom, he said, he had paid twenty thousand dollars for it. He said, also, that he had bought, likewise, from the council of the Thirteen Fires, and paid them twenty thousand dollars more for the same.

And he said, also, that it did not belong to us, for that the great king had ceded the whole of it, when you made peace with him. Thus he claimed the whole country north of Pennsylvania, and west of the lands belonging to the Cayugas. He demanded it; he insisted on his demand, and declared that he would have it *all*. It was impossible for us to grant him this, and we immediately refused it. After some days, he proposed to run a line, at a small distance eastward of our western boundary, which we also refused to agree to. He then threatened us with immediate war, if we did not comply.

Upon this threat, our chiefs held a council, and they agreed that no event of war could be worse than to be driven, with their wives and children, from the only country which we had any right to, and, therefore, weak as our nation was, they determined to take the chance of war, rather than to submit to such unjust demands, which seemed to have no bounds. Street, the great trader to Niagara, was then with us, having come at the request of Phelps, and as he always professed to be our great friend, we consulted him upon this subject. He also told us, that our lands had been ceded by the king, and that we *must* give them up.

Astonished at what we heard from every quarter, with hearts aching with compassion for our women and children, we were thus compelled to give up all our country north of the line of Pennsylvania and east of the Genesee river, up to the fork, and east of a south line drawn from that fork to the Pennsylvania line.

For this land, Phelps agreed to pay us ten thousand dollars in hand, and one thousand a year for ever.

He paid us two thousand and five hundred dollars in hand, part of the ten thousand, and he sent for us to come last spring, to receive our money; but instead of paying us the remainder of the ten thousand dollars, and the one thousand dollars due for the first year, he offered us no more than five hundred dollars, and insisted that he agreed with us for that sum, to be paid yearly. We debated with him for six days, during all which time he persisted in refusing to pay us our just demand, and he insisted that we should receive the five hundred dollars; and Street, from Niagara, also insisted on our receiving the money, as it was offered to us. The last reason he assigned for continuing to refuse paying us, was, *that the king had ceded the lands to the Thirteen Fires*, and that he had bought them from you, and *paid you for them*.

We could bear this confusion no longer, and determined to press through every difficulty, and lift up our voice that you might hear us, and to claim that security in the possession of our lands, which your commissioners so solemnly promised us. And we now entreat you to inquire into our complaints and redress our wrongs.

FATHER: Our writings were lodged in the hands of Street, of Niagara, as we supposed him to be our friend; but when we saw Phelps consulting with Street, on every occasion, we doubted of his honesty towards us, and we have since heard, that he was to receive for his endeavors to deceive us, a piece of land ten miles in width, west of the Genesee river, and near forty miles in length, extending to Lake Ontario; and the lines of this tract have been run accordingly, although no part of it is within the bounds which limit his purchase. No doubt he meant to deceive us.

FATHER: You have said that we are in your hand, and that, by closing it, you could crush us to nothing. Are you determined to crush us? If you are, tell us so, that those of our nation who have become your children, and have determined to die so, may know what to do.

In this case, one chief has said he would ask you to put him out of pain. Another, who will not think of dying by the hand of his father or of his brother, has said he will retire to the Chateaugay, eat of the fatal root, and sleep with his fathers, in peace.

Before you determine on a measure so unjust, look up to God, who made *us* as well as *you*. We hope he will not permit you to destroy the whole of our nation.

FATHER: Hear our case; many nations inhabited this country; but they had no wisdom, and, therefore, they warred together. The Six Nations were powerful, and compelled them to peace; the lands, for a great extent, were given up to them; but the nations which were not destroyed, all continued on those lands, and claimed the protection of the Six Nations, as the brothers of their fathers. They were men, and when at peace, they had a right to live upon the earth. The French came among us, and built Niagara; they became our fathers, and took care of us. Sir William Johnston came and took that fort from the French; he became our father, and promised to take care of us, and did so, until you were too strong for his king. To him we gave four miles round Niagara, as a place of trade. We have already said, how we came to join against you; we saw that we were wrong; we wished for peace; you demanded a great country to be given up to you; it was surrendered to you, as the price of peace, and we ought to have peace and possession of the little land which you then left us.

FATHER: When that great country was given up, there were but few chiefs present, and they were compelled to give it up, and it is not the Six Nations only that reproach those chiefs with having given up that country. The Chippewas, and all the nations who lived on those lands westward, call to us, and ask us, Brothers of our fathers, where is the place you have reserved for us to lie down upon?

FATHER: You have compelled us to do that which has made us ashamed. We have nothing to answer to the children of the brothers of our fathers. When, last spring, they called upon us to go to war, to secure them a bed to lie upon, the Senecas entreated them to be quiet, till we had spoken to you. But, on our way down, we heard that your army had gone toward the country which those nations inhabit, and if they meet together, the best blood on both sides will stain the ground.

FATHER: We will not conceal from you, that the great God, and not men, has preserved the Cornplanter from the hands of his own nation. For they ask, continually, Where is the land which our children, and their children after them, are to lie down upon? You told us, say they, that the line drawn from Pennsylvania to lake Ontario, would mark it forever on the east, and the line running from Beaver creek to Pennsylvania, would mark it on the west, and we see that it is not so. For, first one, and then another, come, and take it away, by order of that people which you tell us promised to secure it to us. He is silent, for he has nothing to answer.

When the sun goes down, he opens his heart before God, and earlier than that sun appears again upon the hills, he gives thanks for his protection during the night: for he feels that, among men, become desperate by their danger, it is God only that can preserve him. He loves peace, and all he had in store, he has given to those who have been robbed by your people; lest they should plunder the innocent to repay themselves. The whole season which others have employed in providing for their families, he has spent in his endeavors to preserve peace; and, at this moment, his wife and children are lying on the ground, and in want of food; his heart is in pain for them, but he perceives that the great God will try his firmness, in doing what is right.

FATHER: The game which the Great Spirit sent into our country for us to eat, is going from among us. We thought he intended that we should till the ground with the plough, as the white people do, and we talked to one another

about it. But before we speak to you concerning this, we must know from you whether you mean to leave us and our children any land to till. Speak plainly to us concerning this great business.

All the lands we have been speaking of belonged to the Six Nations; no part of it ever belonged to the King of England, and he could not give it to you.

The land we live on, our fathers received from God, and they transmitted it to us, for our children, and we cannot part with it.

FATHER: We told you that we would open our hearts to you. Hear us once more.

At fort Stanwix, we agreed to deliver up those of our people who should do you any wrong, that you might try them, and punish them according to your law. We delivered up two men accordingly, but instead of trying them according to your law, the lowest of your people took them from your magistrate, and put them immediately to death. It is just to punish murder with death; but the Senecas will not deliver up their people to men who disregard the treaties of their own nation.

FATHER: Innocent men of our nation are killed one after another, and of our best families; but none of your people who have committed the murder have been punished.

We recollect that you did not promise to punish those who killed our people, and we now ask, was it intended that your people should kill the Senecas, and not only remain unpunished by you, but be protected by you against the revenge of the next of kin?

FATHER: These are to us very great things. We know that you are very strong, and we have heard that you are wise, and we wait to hear your answer to what we have said, that we may know that you are just.

Signed at Philadelphia, the first day of December, 1790.

CORNPLANTER, his x mark.  
HALF-TOWN, his x mark.  
GREAT-TREE, his x mark.

Present at signing, JOSEPH NICHOLSON, *Interpreter.*  
T<sup>Y</sup>. MATLACK.

*The reply of the President of the United States to the speech of the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and Great-Tree, Chiefs and Councillors of the Seneca nation of Indians.*

I, the President of the United States, by my own mouth, and by a written speech, signed with my own hand, and sealed with the seal of the United States, speak to the Seneca nation, and desire their attention, and that they would keep this speech in remembrance of the friendship of the United States.

I have received your speech with satisfaction, as a proof of your confidence in the justice of the United States, and I have attentively examined the several objects which you have laid before me, whether delivered by your own chiefs at Tioga Point, in the last month, to Colonel Pickering, or laid before me in the present month, by the Cornplanter, and the other Seneca chiefs now in this city.

In the first place, I observe to you, and request it may sink deeply into your minds, that it is my desire, and the desire of the United States, that all the miseries of the late war should be forgotten, and buried forever. That, in future, the United States and the Six Nations should be truly brothers, promoting each other's prosperity by acts of mutual friendship and justice.

I am not uninformed, that the Six Nations have been led into some difficulties, with respect to the sale of their lands, since the peace. But I must inform you that these evils arose before the present Government of the United States was established, when the separate States, and individuals under their authority, undertook to treat with the Indian tribes respecting the sale of their lands. But the case is now entirely altered; the General Government, only, has the power to treat with the Indian nations, and any treaty formed, and held without its authority, will not be binding.

Here, then, is the security for the remainder of your lands. No State, nor person, can purchase your lands, unless to some public treaty, held under the authority of the United States. The General Government will never consent to your being defrauded, but it will protect you in all your just rights.

Hear well, and let it be heard by every person in your nation, that the President of the United States declares, that the General Government considers itself bound to protect you in all the lands secured to you by the treaty of fort Stanwix, the 22d of October, 1784, excepting such parts as you may since have fairly sold, to persons properly authorized to purchase of you. You complain that John Livingston and Oliver Phelps, assisted by Mr. Street, of Niagara, have obtained your lands, and that they have not complied with their agreement. It appears, upon inquiry of the Governor of New York, that John Livingston was not legally authorized to treat with you, and that every thing that he did with you has been declared null and void, so that you may rest easy on that account. But it does not appear, from any proofs yet in possession of Government, that Oliver Phelps has defrauded you.

If, however, you have any just cause of complaint against him, and can make satisfactory proof thereof, the federal courts will be open to you for redress, as to all other persons. But your great object seems to be, the security of your remaining lands; and I have, therefore, upon this point, meant to be sufficiently strong and clear, that, in future, you cannot be defrauded of your lands; that you possess the right to sell, and the right of refusing to sell, your lands; that, therefore, the sale of your lands, in future, will depend entirely upon yourselves. But that, when you may find it for your interest to sell any part of your lands, the United States must be present, by their agent, and will be your security that you shall not be defrauded in the bargain you may make.

It will, however, be important, that, before you make any further sales of your lands, you should determine among yourselves who are the persons among you, that shall give such conveyances thereof as shall be binding upon your nation, and forever prevent all disputes relative to the validity of the sale.

That, besides the before mentioned security for your land, you will perceive, by the law of Congress for regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, the fatherly care the United States intend to take of the Indians. For the particular meaning of this law, I refer you to the explanations given thereof by Colonel Timothy Pickering, at Tioga, which, with the law, are herewith delivered to you.

You have said in your speech that the game is going away from among you, and that you thought it the design of the Great Spirit, that you should till the ground; but before you speak upon this subject, you want to know whether the Union mean to leave you any land to till. You now know, that all the lands secured to you, by the treaty of fort Stanwix, excepting such parts as you may since have fairly sold, are yours, and that only your own acts can convey them away. Speak, therefore, your wishes, on the subject of tilling the ground. The United States will be happy in affording you every assistance, in the only business which will add to your numbers and happiness. The murders that have been committed upon some of your people, by the bad white men, I sincerely lament and reprobate; and I earnestly hope, that the real murderers will be secured, and punished as they deserve. This business has been sufficiently explained to you here, by the Governor of Pennsylvania, and by Colonel Pickering, on behalf of the United States, at Tioga. The Senecas may be assured, that the rewards offered for apprehending the murderers, will be continued, until they are secured for trial; and that, when they shall be apprehended, they will be tried and punished as if they had killed white men.

Having answered the most material parts of your speech, I shall inform you that some bad Indians, and the outcasts of several tribes, who reside at the Miami village, have long continued their murders and depredations upon the frontiers lying along the Ohio. That they have not only refused to listen to my voice, inviting them to peace, but that, upon receiving it, they renewed their incursions and murders, with greater violence than ever. I have, therefore, been obliged to strike those bad people, in order to make them sensible of their madness. I sincerely hope they will hearken to reason, and not require to be farther chastised. The United States desire to be the friends of the Indians, upon terms of justice and humanity; but they will not suffer the depredations of the bad Indians to go unpunished. My desire is, that you would caution all the Senecas, and Six Nations, to prevent their

rash young men from joining the Maumee Indians: for the United States cannot distinguish the tribes to which bad Indians belong, and every tribe must take care of their own people. The merits of the Cornplanter, and his friendship for the United States, are well known to me, and shall not be forgotten; and, as a mark of the esteem of the United States, I have directed the Secretary of War to make him a present of ——— dollars, either in money or goods, as the Cornplanter shall like best; and he may depend upon the future care and kindness of the United States; and I have also directed the Secretary of War to make suitable presents to the other chiefs in Philadelphia; and also, that some further tokens of friendship be forwarded to the other chiefs, now in their nation.

Remember my words, Senecas! Continue to be strong in your friendship for the United States, as the only rational ground of your future happiness, and you may rely upon their kindness and protection. An agent shall soon be appointed to reside in some place convenient to the Senecas and Six Nations. He will represent the United States. Apply to him on all occasions. If any man bring you evil reports of the intentions of the United States, mark that man as your enemy: for he will mean to deceive you, and lead you into trouble. The United States will be true and faithful to their engagements.

Given under my hand, and the seal of the United States, at Philadelphia, this twenty-ninth day of  
[L. s.] December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety, and in the fifteenth year of the sovereignty and independence of the United States.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

By the President:

TH: JEFFERSON.

By command of the President of the United States of America:

H. KNOX, *Secretary for the Department of War.*

*The speech of the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and the Great-Tree, Chiefs of the Seneca nation, to the President of the United States of America.*

FATHER: Your speech, written on the great paper, is to us like the first light of the morning to a sick man, whose pulse beats too strongly in his temples, and prevents him from sleep. He sees it, and rejoices, but he is not cured.

You say that you have spoken plainly on the great point. That you will protect us in the lands secured to us at fort Stanwix, and that we have the right to *sell* or to *refuse* to sell it. This is very good. But our nation complain that you compelled us at that treaty to give up too much of our lands. We confess that our nation is bound by what was there done; and, acknowledging your power, we have now appealed to yourselves against that treaty, as made while you were too angry at us, and, therefore, unreasonable and unjust. To this you have given us no answer.

FATHER: That treaty was not made with a single State, it was with the thirteen States. We never would have given all that land to one State. We know it was before you had the great authority, and as you have more wisdom than the commissioners, who forced us into that treaty, we expect that you have also more regard to justice, and will now, at our request, reconsider that treaty, and restore to us a part of that land.

FATHER: The land which lies between the line running south from lake Erie to the boundary of Pennsylvania, as mentioned at the treaty at fort Stanwix, and the eastern boundary of the land which you sold, and the Senecas confirmed to Pennsylvania, is the land on which Half-Town and all his people live, with other chiefs, who always have been, and still are, dissatisfied with the treaty at fort Stanwix. They grew out of this land, and their fathers' fathers grew out of it, and they cannot be persuaded to part with it. We therefore entreat you to restore to us this little piece.

FATHER: Look at the land which we gave to you at that treaty, and then turn your eyes upon what we now ask you to restore to us, and you will see that what we ask you to return is a *very little piece*. By giving it back again, you will satisfy the whole of our nation. The chiefs who signed that treaty will be in safety, and peace between your children and our children will continue so long as your land shall join to ours. Every man of our nation will then turn his eyes away from all the other lands which we then gave up to you, and forget that our fathers ever said that they belonged to them.

FATHER: We see that you ought to have the path at the carrying place from lake Erie to Niagara, as it was marked down at fort Stanwix, and we are all willing it should remain to be yours. And if you desire to reserve a passage through the Conewango, and through the Chataugue lake and land, for a path from that lake to lake Erie, take it where you best like. Our nation will rejoice to see it an open path for you and your children while the land and water remain. But let us also pass along the same way, and continue to take the fish of those waters in common with you.

FATHER: You say that you will appoint an agent to take care of us. Let him come and take care of our trade; but we desire he may not have any thing to do with our lands: for the agents which have come amongst us, and pretended to take care of us, have always deceived us whenever we sold lands; both when the King of England and when the States have bargained with us. They have by this means occasioned many wars, and we are therefore unwilling to trust them again.

FATHER: When we return home, we will call a great council, and consider well how lands may be hereafter sold by our nation. And when we have agreed upon it, we will send you notice of it. But we desire that you will not depend on your agent for information concerning land: for, after the abuses which we have suffered by such men, we will not trust them with any thing which relates to land.

FATHER: We will not hear lies concerning you, and we desire that you will not hear lies concerning us, and then we shall certainly live at peace with you.

FATHER: There are men who go from town to town and beget children, and leave them to perish, or, except better men take care of them, to grow up without instruction. Our nation has looked round for a father, but they found none that would own them for children, until you now tell us that your courts are open to us as to your own people. The joy which we feel at this great news, so mixes with the sorrows that are passed, that we cannot express our gladness, nor conceal the remembrance of our afflictions. We will speak of them at another time.

FATHER: We are ashamed that we have listened to the lies of Livingston, or been influenced by threats of war by Phelps, and would hide that whole transaction from the world, and from ourselves, by quietly receiving what Phelps promised to give us for the lands they cheated us of. But as Phelps will not pay us even according to that fraudulent bargain, we will lay the whole proceedings before your court. When the evidence which we can produce is heard, we think it will appear that the whole bargain was founded on lies, which he placed one upon another; that the goods which he charges to us as part payment were plundered from us; that, if Phelps was not directly concerned in the theft, he knew of it at the time, and concealed it from us; and that the persons we confided in were bribed by him to deceive us in the bargain. And if these facts appear, that your court will not say that such bargains are just, but will set the whole aside.

FATHER: We apprehend that our evidence might be called for, as Phelps was here, and knew what we have said concerning him; and as Ebenezer Allen knew something of the matter, we desired him to continue here. Nicholson, the interpreter, is very sick, and we request that Allen may remain a few days longer, as he speaks our language.

FATHER: The blood which was spilled near Pine creek is covered, and we shall never look where it lies. We know that Pennsylvania will satisfy us for that which we spoke of to them before we spoke to you: The chain of friendship will now, we hope, be made strong as you desire it to be. We will hold it fast; and our end of it shall never rust in our hands.

FATHER: We told you what advice we gave the people you are now at war with, and we now tell you that they have promised to come again to our towns next spring. We shall not wait for their coming, but will set out very early, and shew to them what you have done for us, which must convince them that you will do for them every thing which they ought to ask. We think they will hear and follow our advice.

FATHER: You give us leave to speak our minds concerning the tilling of the ground. We ask you to teach us to plough and to grind corn; to assist us in building saw mills, and to supply us with broad axes, saws, augers, and other tools, so as that we may make our houses more comfortable and more durable; that you will send smiths among us, and, above all, that you will teach our children to read and write, and our women to spin and to weave. The manner of your doing these things for us we leave to you, who understand them; but we assure you that we will follow your advice as far as we are able.

CORNPLANTER, his x mark.  
HALF-TOWN, his x mark.  
GREAT-TREE, his x mark.

Present at signing, Joseph Nicholson, *Interpreter*.

Ty. Matlack.

John Dechart, his x mark.

Jem Hudson, his x mark.

Philadelphia, 10th January, 1791.

*The speech of the President of the United States to the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and Big-Tree, chiefs of the Seneca nation of Indians.*

BROTHERS:

I have maturely considered your second written speech.

You say your nation complain that, at the treaty of fort Stanwix, you were compelled to give up too much of your lands; that you confess your nation is bound by what was there done, and acknowledging the power of the United States; that you have now appealed to ourselves against that treaty, as made while we were angry against you, and that the said treaty was, therefore, unreasonable and unjust.

But, while you complain of the treaty of fort Stanwix, in 1784, you seem entirely to forget that you, yourselves, the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and Great-Tree, with others of your nation, confirmed, by the treaty of fort Harmar, upon the Muskingum, so late as the ninth of January, 1789, the boundary marked at the treaty of fort Stanwix, and that, in consideration thereof, you then received goods to a considerable amount.

Although it is my sincere desire, in looking forward, to endeavor to promote your happiness, by all just and humane arrangements, yet I cannot disannul treaties formed by the United States, before my administration, especially, as the boundaries mentioned therein have been twice confirmed by yourselves. The lines fixed at fort Stanwix and fort Harmar, must, therefore, remain established. But Half-Town, and the others, who reside on the land you desire may be relinquished, have not been disturbed in their possession, and I should hope, while he and they continue to demean themselves peaceably, and to manifest their friendly dispositions to the people of the United States, that they will be suffered to remain where they are.

The agent who will be appointed by the United States, will be your friend and protector. He will not be suffered to defraud you, or to assist in defrauding you of your lands, or of any other thing, as all his proceedings must be reported in writing, so as to be submitted to the President of the United States.

You mention your design of going to the Miami Indians, to endeavor to persuade them to peace. By this humane measure you will render those mistaken people a great service, and, probably, prevent them from being swept from off the face of the earth. The United States require, only, that those people should demean themselves peaceably; but they may be assured, that the United States are able, and will, most certainly punish them severely for all their robberies and murders. You may, when you return from this city to your own country, mention to your nation my desire to promote their prosperity, by teaching them the use of domestic animals, and the manner that the white people plough, and raise so much corn. And if, upon consideration, it would be agreeable to the nation at large to learn these valuable arts, I will find some means of teaching them, at such places within your country as shall be agreed upon.

I have nothing more to add, but to refer you to my former speech, and to repeat my wishes for the happiness of the Seneca nation.

Given under my hand, and seal of the United States, at Philadelphia, this nineteenth day of January,

[L. S.]

one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

GEO. WASHINGTON:

*The speech of Cornplanter, Half-Town, and the Big-Tree, Seneca Chiefs, to the Great Councillor of the Thirteen Fires.*

FATHER:

No Seneca ever goes from the fire of his friend, until he has said to him, "I am going." We therefore tell you, that we are now setting out for our own country.

FATHER: We thank you, from our hearts, that we now know there is a country we may call our own, and on which we may lie down in peace. We see that there will be peace between your children and our children; and our hearts are very glad. We will persuade the Wyandots, and other Western nations, to open their eyes, and look towards the bed which you have made for us, and to ask of you a bed for themselves, and their children, that will not slide from under them.

We thank you for your presents to us, and rely on your promise to instruct us in raising corn, as the white people do; the sooner you do this, the better for us. And we thank you for the care you have taken to prevent bad men from coming to trade among us: if any come without your license, we will turn them back; and we hope our nation will determine to spill all the rum which shall, hereafter, be brought to our towns.

FATHER: We are glad to hear that you determine to appoint an agent that will do us justice, in taking care that bad men do not come to trade amongst us; but we earnestly intreat you that you will let us have an interpreter in whom we can confide, to reside at Pittsburgh: to that place our people, and other nations, will long continue to resort; there we must send what news we hear, when we go among the Western nations, which, we are determined, shall be early in the spring. We know Joseph Nicholson, and he speaks our language so that we clearly understand what you say to us, and we rely on what he says. If we were able to pay him for his services, we would do it; but, when we meant to pay him, by giving him land, it has not been confirmed to him; and he will not serve us any longer unless you will pay him. Let him stand between, to intreat you.

FATHER: You have not asked any security for peace on our part, but we have agreed to send nine Seneca boys, to be under your care for education. Tell us at what time you will receive them, and they shall be sent at the time you shall appoint. This will assure you that we are, indeed, at peace with you, and determined to continue so. If you can teach them to become wise and good men, we will take care that our nation shall be willing to receive instruction from them.

CORNPLANTER, his x mark.  
HALF-TOWN, his x mark.  
BIG-TREE, his x mark.

Signed at Philadelphia, 7th February, 1791, in presence of

JOSEPH NICHOLSON, *Interpreter*,

THOMAS PROCTER,

TY. MATLACK.

*The speech of the Secretary of War to the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and Big-Tree, chiefs of the Seneca nation of Indians.*

The subscriber, the Secretary of War, has submitted your speech, of yesterday, to the President of the United States, who has commanded him to assure you of his good wishes for your happiness, and that you may have a pleasant journey to your own country.

The Governor of the Western territory will appoint you an interpreter whenever one shall be necessary. The President of the United States does not choose to interfere on this point.

The President of the United States thinks it will be the best mode of teaching you how to raise corn, by sending one or two sober men to reside in your nation, with proper implements of husbandry. It will, therefore, be proper that you should, upon consultation, appoint a proper place for such persons to till the ground. They are not to claim the land on which they shall plough.

The President of the United States, also, thinks it will be the best mode of teaching your children to read and write, to send a schoolmaster among you, and not for you to send your children among us. He will, therefore, look out for a proper person for this business.

As soon as you shall learn any thing of the intentions of the Western Indians, you will inform the Governor of the Western territory thereof, or the officer commanding at fort Washington, in order to be communicated to the President of the United States.

Given at the War Office of the United States, this eighth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

*Message from the Cornplanter, New-Arrow, Half-Town, and Big-Tree, chiefs of the Seneca nation of Indians, to the President of the United States.*

PITTSBURG, March 17, 1791.

SIR:

When we raised from the great council of the Thirteen Fires, we mentioned that we meant to have a council with the chiefs of the bad, angry Indians.

Through the whole Quaker State, as we came up the road, we were treated well, and they took good care of us until we came here. One misfortune happened only, that one of our wagons is not yet arrived here, the one we first engaged, with the goods you presented to us.

FATHER: Your promise to us was, that you would keep all your people quiet; but, since we came here, we find that some of our people have been killed—the good honest people who were here trading.

FATHER: We hope you will not suffer all the good people to be killed; but your people are killing them as fast as they can. Three men and one woman have been killed at Big Beaver creek, and they were good people, and some of the white people will testify the truth of this. When we heard the news, we found one boy had made his escape, and got to the trader's house, who saved his life; we now wait to see him.

FATHER: We have been informed that twenty-seven men came from another State, and murdered these men in the Quaker State, and took away nine horses, and all the goods they had purchased from the trader. Our father, and ruler over all mankind, now speak and tell us, did you order these men to be killed?

FATHER: Our word is pledged to you that we would endeavor to make peace with all warrior nations. If we cannot do it, do not blame us: you struck the innocent men first. We hope you will not blame us, as your people have first broke good rules; but, as for our people, they are as friendly and firm as ever.

FATHER: We must now acquaint you with the men's names who did this murder at Beaver creek: Samuel Brady, formerly a captain in your army, and under your command, also a Balden, were persons concerned in this murder.

FATHER: We can inform you little more, therefore will conclude with asking you how we should have come to the knowledge of this, or how we could have informed you, had it not been for our good friend Joseph Nicholson? Therefore beg you may grant him an appointment as interpreter: for we cannot see how we will do without him. We know of no other man that speaks your language and ours so well as him.

CORNPLANTER, his + mark,  
NEW-ARROW, his + mark,  
HALF-TOWN, his + mark,  
BIG-TREE, his + mark.

P. S. The boy who made his escape at Beaver creek has arrived at this place, and I have taken him under my protection. Father, your despatches for Detroit have been unavoidably detained, heretofore; but to-morrow Big-Tree and one other shall set off with them, and will also take the boy mentioned here, and deliver him to his relations. We part to-day at this place: Big-Tree is going amongst the cross Indians, to see if they will make peace and I go to my own people, to call them to council.

CORNPLANTER.

*Message from the Secretary of War to the Cornplanter, and all the chiefs of the Six Nations of Indians.*

BROTHERS: Your message of the seventeenth of the present month has been received, in which you complain that a number of friendly Indians were killed at Big Beaver creek, by Samuel Brady and others, who came from another State to commit this murder; and you ask whether the President of the United States ordered the said men to be killed. In answer to your message, I inform you, that the President of the United States has not, and will not, order any friendly Indians to be killed. That he did not order the men at Big Beaver to be killed; and that he will be very angry indeed when he shall hear of it. Major General St. Clair, the great warrior of the United States on the Ohio, will inquire into this matter, and will comfort the friends and relations of the persons who were killed, and will make them compensation for the horses and other property that were taken at Big Beaver.

BROTHERS: You may be convinced that the President of the United States will do all in his power to bring the murderers to justice; and that he will consider the crime as bad, exactly, as if it had been committed against so many white people, and will use the same endeavors to bring them to justice.

BROTHERS: Hold fast the chain of friendship between you and the President of the United States. Do not suffer the conduct of bad men to create any coolness or disgust, and all will be well yet. By this time, it is to be hoped that Colonel Procter will have set off for the Miami Indians. Take care of him, and assist him in the good work of peace. Brothers, farewell; may no more accidents arise from the conduct of bad people to interrupt the friendship of the United States and the Six Nations.

Given under my hand, and the seal of the War Office, this twenty-eighth day of March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

[L. s.]

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

*Instructions to Colonel Thomas Procter.*

SIR: Having offered to you the execution of a mission, on the part of the United States, to the Miami and Wabash Indians, and you having accepted of the same, you are to receive these instructions as the rule of your conduct.



The great object of your long journey is, to impress the said Miami and Wabash Indians with the candor and justice of the General Government. That the United States require only that they would demean themselves peaceably.

That, if they should refuse to listen to this invitation, they only will be liable for the evil which will fall upon and crush them.

This invitation is not made in consequence of any principles of fear, but from a desire to pluck them, if possible, out of the fire, which is already enkindled.

The message which is herewith delivered you, will show you the sentiments expressed to them, and you; and the Indians who may accompany you, are to say all that may be proper to enforce said sentiments.

You have been informed of the measures taken with the Cornplanter, Big-Tree, and Half-Town, and other Senecas, who were in this city lately, to go to the said Miami and Wabash Indians, with messages from their own nation, of similar import with the one with which you are charged.

You will, therefore, immediately repair to the Cornplanter's residence, which is upon a branch of the Alleghany river, near the creek called Oil Creek, and make known to him your intentions, and deliver him the speech herewith delivered you for the Senecas, and others of the Six Nations.

It is possible he may not be, at home, in which case it will be important to despatch, instantly, runners for him; or in case he should be counselling at Buffalo creek, with the other parts of the nation, it may be proper for you to repair thither.

You are to endeavor, by all possible means, to induce the Cornplanter, and as many other of the chiefs as possible, to go with you upon your mission to the Miami and Wabash Indians; and you will remember, that it is of the highest importance that you should set off without the least delay.

Having obtained, as companions, the chiefs of the Senecas, and others, you will proceed by land or water, as shall be judged best, to Sandusky, upon lake Erie, where reside the Wyandot and Delaware tribes of Indians. These tribes are our friends, and in treaty with us, which, as far as is known, has been well observed by them.

You have also herewith delivered to you, two messages, one to each of the said tribes, written by General St. Clair, who made the treaties with them at Fort Harmar, in January, 1789.

You will inform them of the object of your journey, and desire that they will appoint some of their chiefs to accompany you, agreeably to the general desire in his messages.

You will proceed from the Wyandots and Delawares, directly to the Miami town, where you will assemble the Indians together, and speak to them in the style beforementioned.

If you succeed in persuading them to accompany you to fort Washington, you will set out immediately with them, sending Captain Houdin, and such chiefs of all the tribes present, as shall be agreed upon; to the Wea or Ouiatanon towns, on the Wabash, and to the other tribes on that river and its vicinity, in order to persuade them also to repair to a treaty at fort Washington.

But, if, after using all your arguments to induce the Miami Indians to repair to fort Washington, you should fail, you must leave them, and with the friendly Indians who may accompany you, repair to fort Washington.

Let it be strongly impressed upon your mind, that every moment after you set out upon your journey must be most industriously employed: for you must, if within the limits of possibility, be at fort Washington by the 5th of May next, whether you succeed or not. This is of the highest importance, as it is connected with collateral arrangements.

The great retardment to be apprehended, will be at the Cornplanter's residence, or other parts of the Seneca nation; but you will endeavor to render your stay as short as possible.

A knowledge of your character induces a confidence, that you will execute the high trust reposed in you with all due despatch and address.

Your mission requires an acquaintance with human nature, and the art of managing the hopes and fears of an uncivilized race of men. You will be careful not to promise more than is reasonable to the Indians who may accompany you, and all your promises of that sort shall be complied with.

Your business with the Miami and Wabash Indians will be to persuade them to repair to fort Washington, where they shall be treated kindly and justly; but you are not authorized to particularize to them any terms.

Considering the nature of the service, it is proper to be explicit as to the terms you are to receive from the public, which are as follows:

1st. Your reasonable expenses shall be borne by the public, and upon this point you will be careful to set down your expenses daily, in order that a judgment may be formed thereon, when your accounts are to be settled.

2d. As a reward for your services, you shall be allowed the sum of five dollars for each day, while you are actually employed on this business.

3d. If you succeed in bringing the real chiefs of the Miami and the Wabash Indians to a treaty at fort Washington, you shall receive the further sum of five hundred dollars.

4th. In case you should, in the course of the business, be wounded, or disabled from obtaining a livelihood by your personal exertions, attempts will be made to obtain for you a pension of a lieutenant colonel-commandant, wounded in the service of the United States.

5th. And in case you should unfortunately lose your life in the course of this business, the same attempts will be made to obtain the pension of seven years' half-pay of a lieutenant-colonel commandant, to your orphan children.

Captain Michael Gabriel Houdin, a French officer of reputation, who served in the late war in the Massachusetts line, will accompany you in the prosecution of this business; and in case of any misfortune to you, by sickness or otherwise, he is to take these instructions, and pursue them, as if given to himself.

Captain Houdin is to be allowed his expenses, and two dollars per day, as a reward for his services. And in case he should be wounded or disabled, endeavors shall be used to obtain him a pension of a captain, wounded in the military service of the United States.

I have issued my warrant upon Joseph Howell, to pay you six hundred dollars, on account of your and Captain Houdin's expenses, and for which sum you are regularly to account.

Your route will be from this city to Sunbury, and thence, either directly for that part of the Alleghany where the Cornplanter lives, or to Tioga Point, as you may find best. If you go through Wyoming, inquire for a Captain Baldwin, who has agreed to keep school among the Senecas, on account of the United States.

You will consider your business as a secret, and enjoy the same on Captain Houdin.

Provided you should bring the Indians to fort Washington, you will stay there no longer than the treaty shall be accomplished; upon which, you and Captain Houdin will return with all convenient speed to this city.

You will keep a journal of your daily occurrences, and deliver me a copy thereof, when you shall deliver the report of your proceedings.

Given at the War Office of the United States, in the city of Philadelphia, this 11th day of March, 1791.

H. KNOX, Secretary of War.

*Message from the Secretary of War to the Miami Indians.*

To the Head-men and Warriors of the tribes of Indians of the Miami town, and its neighborhood, and inhabiting the waters of the Miami river of lake Erie; and to the tribes inhabiting the waters of the river Wabash.

BROTHERS:

The President of the United States, General Washington, the great chief of the Thirteen Fires, speaks to you by this address. Listen attentively to him, for he speaks of things of the highest importance to your future welfare. The white men and the red men inhabit the same country, and ought to be good friends; but the contrary has been the case; injuries and hostilities have subsisted, and the last year many lives were sacrificed on both sides. This address



to you is the offering of a desire to save you from ruin; it is, therefore, of the last consequence, that you should understand and receive it aright. It is unmixed with fear, and dictated by the pure principles of humanity.

The President of the United States is anxious that you should understand your true situation, and the consequences of your persisting any longer in the exercise of hostilities. The United States are powerful, and able to send forth such numbers of warriors as would drive you entirely out of the country. It is true, this conduct would occasion some trouble to us, but it would be absolute destruction to you, your women, and your children.

The United States require nothing of you but peace. Nay, they are desirous of making you understand the cultivation of the earth, and teaching you how much better it is for human kind to have comfortable houses, to have plenty to eat and drink, and to be well clothed, than to be exposed to all the calamities belonging to a savage life. The offer of peace now made to you is for your good, and the Great Spirit above will approve it.

Reflect that this is the last offer that can be made; that, if you do not embrace it now, your doom must be sealed for ever.

Receive, then, the bearers, Colonel Procter, Captain Houdin, and our Indian allies who accompany them, with open arms.

After having pondered well upon the contents of this address, and what may be further said to the same purpose, call in your parties, and fly, with all your head-men, to fort Washington, at the Miami of the Ohio. Also, send messengers to all the neighboring tribes to come to the same place, and there make and ratify a firm peace with General St. Clair, the great officer of the United States on the Western waters.

You will find the terms he shall dictate will be full of justice, moderation, and humanity.

You are now the only tribes with whom the United States have any disputes. The powerful Indian nations south of the Ohio, are our allies; the Six Nations of Northern Indians are at peace with us, and we are desirous of receiving you into the number of our friends, and to forget all the evil which has passed. If you refuse, all the nations will approve and justify your punishment.

Given at the War Office of the United States, this 11th day of March, 1791.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

*Message from the Secretary of War to the Senecas.*

BROTHERS:

Upon a late visit of the Cornplanter, and others of your nation, to the President of the United States, the Great Chief of the Thirteen Fires, it was agreed, that some of the chiefs of the Six Nations should repair immediately to the Miami and Wabash Indians, in order to explain to them the danger of their situation.

That the United States desired of the said Indians only a peaceable conduct, and a regard to their own welfare. That it would be well-pleasing to the President of the United States, to embrace all the surrounding Indian nations as brothers, and to promote their happiness by acts of kindness.

That, while this was the sincere desire of the President of the United States, he was determined, that all future murders and invasions of the Indians should be punished severely.

The President of the United States is persuaded, that, if the Indians generally could see the kindness of his heart to them, and of his intentions to do them justice, they would, one and all, bury the red hatchet forever. He will, therefore, if obliged to chastise the disorderly Indians, feel all the pain that a kind father feels in chastising his disobedient children.

In order, therefore, that the Miami and Wabash Indians shall be without excuse, in the minds of the Six Nations, and other Indian tribes, the President of the United States has determined to send them a solemn warning of their fate, in case they continue their hostilities; and he has, for this purpose, sent Colonel Procter, the bearer, with whom you are acquainted.

The President requests that you will immediately set out with Colonel Procter, either by land or water, as shall be judged best. That you would call upon the Wyandots, and Delawares, our friends, and take some of them along with you to the Miami and Wabash Indians.

That you would endeavor to persuade the said Miami and Wabash Indians to accompany Colonel Procter and you, to General St. Clair, the great chief of the United States on the Ohio, and there settle all disputes, on terms of reciprocal justice and humanity.

That, on your faithful performance of this business, you will be entitled to the approbation, friendship, and rewards, of the United States.

Given at the War Office of the United States, in the city of Philadelphia, this 10th of March, 1791.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

*Message from Governor St. Clair to the Half-king, and the Chiefs of the Wyandots.*

BROTHERS:

When I was last at fort Harmar, I left a message for you, and one for the Ottawas and Chippewas. I hope you have received them, and found an opportunity to send them forward.

BROTHERS: It would have given me great pleasure to have seen you at fort Harmar, and to have taken you by the hand, in testimony of that friendship which the United States bear to your nation.

BROTHERS: I informed you last summer, that the continual depredations of the Shawanese, and the Miamies, had roused the resentment of the United States, and that they would no longer bear them. You know, my brothers, that evil did befall them. But, because they were not destroyed entirely, it has had no effect upon them; and they have since done mischief, and killed a number of defenceless women and children.

BROTHERS: The United States did not wish to destroy them; why should they? Is not the country large enough for both of us? But they hoped a little correction would have brought them to their senses, and that they might again have been received into friendship.

BROTHERS: Notwithstanding all the mischief those foolish nations have done, and some of those on the Wabash, they do not wish to destroy them now, and, upon proper submission, we might still be friends; and it is to let them know precisely the situation in which they stand, and the disposition which the United States are in towards them, that Colonel Procter, who will deliver this to you, is now sent to them. If they will hearken to him, well; if they will not, their blood be upon their own heads. The United States will no longer suffer their depredations, and, if they bring utter destruction upon them, they will be justified before the Great Spirit, and all the world.

BROTHERS: Colonel Procter is the messenger of peace to all nations. If they hearken to him, the tree we planted at the Muskingum will grow and flourish, and they may sit under its shade. If they will not hearken to him, keep yourselves at a distance, for ruin will surely overtake them.

BROTHERS: I recommend Colonel Procter to your friendship and good offices, and request that you will send some of your discreet people with him, and to interpret for him, if he should be in need of an interpreter.

Farewell: I am your assured friend,

AR. ST. CLAIR,

*Governor of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio.*

PHILADELPHIA, March 8, 1791.

*Message from Governor St. Clair to Capt. Pipe, and the other Chiefs of the Delaware Nation.*

MY FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:

Conformably to the engagement we mutually entered into at fort Harmar, to give notice to each other of any hostile parties entering our respective countries, I informed you last summer, that a force would march against the Shawanese and Miamies.

BROTHERS: You very well know, that these nations had been doing us continual mischief; that we had borne them (in hopes that, through good counsel, they would come to their senses) as long as it was possible to bear them; but those hopes were disappointed: the longer that revenge was delayed, the worse they became.

BROTHERS: You know how they suffered last fall, but it has not had the proper effect upon them. They still continue to do mischief, and have since killed a number of defenceless women and children.

BROTHERS: In the last message I sent you, you were told that the United States did not hate the Shawanese and Miamies; that if they would return to their senses, and do what was just and right, they would be taken into friendship. I now tell you again, that the United States are not averse to them; they do not wish to destroy them, and it is to carry that information to them, that Colonel Procter is now going. If they listen to him, well; the evil that awaits them, may yet be avoided. If they will not listen to him, their blood be upon their own heads. The United States will be justified, before the Great Spirit, who loves all his children, red as well as white, and to all the world, in bringing that destruction upon them, which they merited long ago.

BROTHERS: Relying upon your friendship and good faith, I recommend Colonel Procter to your good offices; he is the messenger of peace, if he shall be so received; and if the nations to whom he is sent are wise, they will hearken to him. The United States, my brothers, hold fast by the chain they made with you, and as long as you hold it fast, neither spot nor rust shall be suffered to appear upon it.

Farewell: I am your assured friend,

AR. ST. CLAIR,

*Governor of the territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio.*

PHILADELPHIA, March 8, 1791.

That, in pursuance of these instructions, Colonel Procter and Captain Houdin departed from Philadelphia on the 12th of March; that he arrived at the Cornplanter's the sixteenth day of April; that the Cornplanter conceiving, according to custom, that he must consult the rest of his nation, Colonel Procter and Captain Houdin, with the Cornplanter and his Indians, accordingly repaired to Buffalo creek, near fort Erie, on the lake of that name.

That, after various councils and difficulties, from the twenty-seventh of April, to the twenty-first of May, the council agreed to send a deputation of Indians with Colonel Procter, provided he could obtain a vessel; that he accordingly applied to Colonel Gordon, the commanding officer of Niagara, to be permitted to freight a vessel to transport himself, and the Indians who should accompany him, to Sandusky, on the west side of lake Erie.

That copies of his letters and the answers thereto, are as follows:

BUFFALO CREEK, 5th May, 1791.

SIR:

Although I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance, I am, notwithstanding, emboldened to address you by letter, and through the same, to inform you, that I am the person charged with certain messages, from his Excellency the Secretary of War for the United States, to the Six Nations and other tribes of Indians, residing near lake Erie, &c. One of those messages is particularly sent to the tribes now unhappily at war with the Americans, and with whom it is the ardent desire of General Washington, the President, that peace should be established, on the most lasting terms of equity and justice to them. My mission is, therefore, to invite them to a treaty with Governor St. Clair, on the Ohio, not far from the country they inhabit. The better to effect so desirable an object, proposals were made to the President, in January last, by certain chiefs, who came, on business of the Six Nations, to Philadelphia, viz: that they would appoint in their councils, certain of their head-men; to accompany such gentlemen as might be sent into the country of those misguided people, to bring them to terms of amity with the thirteen States. This, sir, you will discover, on reading the Secretary of War's letter to the Six Nations, and committed to my care. It will be handed you by the Young King, with other public papers, which were delivered Captain O'Beel, for the better information of the nations concerned.

I have therefore to entreat you to conceive the most favorable sentiments on the meaning and intent of those public instruments of writing, as they are founded on the principles of humanity, and a regard for the well doing of our fellow men.

And I cannot doubt, but the same motives will invite you to assist in so laudable an undertaking. The effects of which will establish happiness to the British subjects of Canada, &c. as well as to the United States. The favor that I here request at your hand, is to permit me to charter one of your vessels in the lake, for such number of Indians &c. who may accompany me to Sandusky, on lake Erie. So far as my request meets your approbation, I shall receive much pleasure by your signifying the same by a few lines to, sir,

Your most humble servant,

THOMAS PROCTER.

Colonel A. GORDON, *Commandant of Fort Niagara, &c. &c.*

BUFFALO CREEK, 15th May, 1791.

SIR:

The fifth instant I had the pleasure of addressing my first letter to you, and delivered the same to the care of Captain William Print, an Indian, to be presented by him; but having received no answer since, I presume it has miscarried through neglect.

The purport of it was, to be permitted to have a passage in one of the vessels on lake Erie, for such number of Indians and white men, destined to accompany me to some convenient port on the west end of the lake. The mission that I am charged with, is directed to the Indians now unhappily at war with the United States, with desires to reclaim them to a peaceable demeanor, before that certain destruction overtakes, which is now pending over them. Mr. Horatio Jones will deliver you my letter, and wait your answer, which I hope will be the granting of my request; and whatsoever expenses may accrue upon this occasion, I shall most cheerfully satisfy the same with the commander; and subscribe myself, sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

THOMAS PROCTER.

Col. A. GORDON, *Commandant at Fort Niagara, &c.*

NIAGARA, May 18, 1791.

SIR:

A few days ago, I had your letter of the 5th instant, to which I should have returned an immediate answer, had I not waited for some public papers, which you wrote were to be handed to me by the Farmer's Brother, and other chiefs, who were to wait upon me, to receive my advice on business of importance.

I think it but proper to give you this explanation of my not having sooner replied to your letter; but, as there is no document, which places you in any other light than a private agent, I cannot enter on any discussion of a public nature. Whenever any of the chiefs of the Seneca, or others of the Six Nations, apply to me for counsel, I shall give them such advice as I conceive best suits with the present state of affairs. As to that part of

your letter, which requests to be permitted to freight one of the vessels on lake Erie, to carry you, and such Indians as may be inclined to accompany you, to Sandusky, on the west side of the lake. I beg leave to inform you that I am not authorized to comply with your requests.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

A. GORDON.

Colonel PROCTER.

That thus failing in obtaining a vessel, the object of his mission also failed, and he returned to Philadelphia, after having exerted himself honorably to proceed forward.

His report is lengthy, and minute, according to his instructions.

NARRATIVE OF COLONEL THOMAS PROCTER.

PHILADELPHIA, July 9th, 1791.

SIR:

In the following narration, I fear to have transgressed, in blending any matters of opinion or of observation but of that which immediately had relation to business committed me to transact. I have, therefore, to request, that you will pass over such parts as are *light* and *immaterial*—this being the only copy taken from the original entry; and, when you may think proper to return the same, I will, with pleasure, transcribe the most material parts, and present it as my report, should you think proper to lay the same before his Excellency the President.

I am, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

THOMAS PROCTER.

To the Hon. Secretary of War.

To the Hon. Major General H. Knox, Secretary of War.

The following Diary is respectfully submitted for his inspection, being transacted under his commission, granted to Thomas Procter, Esq., of the city of Philadelphia, bearing date March 10th, 1791, accompanied with messages from him to the several Indian nations inhabiting the waters near Lake Erie, the Miamies, and the Wabash. The same being intended to the establishment of peace and friendly intercourse between the said nations and the United States of America.

*March 11th.*—Received a draft from the Secretary of War, on Joseph Howell, Esq., paymaster, for the sum of 600 dollars. Purchased a horse from Richard Hunt, for the use of Captain Houdin, sent as my companion into that country—price £25 4s. Purchased saddlery from I. Polk, the equipment of two horses, as per bill rendered, £16 11s. Money advanced Captain Houdin, to be accounted for by him, £16 17s. 6d. McFadden's draught of North America, &c. 12s. 6d.—pocket compass, best kind, 16s. 8d.—fin box and oil case, 11s. 3d. as also two small books and one quire of paper, 9s. 4½d.

*March 12th.*—Left the city of Philadelphia, accompanied by Captain M. G. Houdin, under a heavy rain, fully evidencing our intention to stop at no difficulties, until we should gain the settlement of Cornplanter, alias Capt. O'Beel, one of the chiefs of the Seneca nation, residing on the head waters of the Alleghany river.

Our first setting out was big with difficulties, and foreboded some extraordinary events: for, on crossing the Perkiomen, Captain Houdin's horse, after tasting of the water, (which is customary with him) laid down in the same, and were both nearly covered. On the horse's rising immediately afterwards, the Captain's foot being fast in the stirrup, the horse made several lashes at him with his hind feet, before he could disengage himself, but happily received no other injury. Dined this day at Norrington—paid 9s. 9d.—other contingent expenses, 12s. Staid this night with Major Swaine.

*March 13th.*—Laying on double soles on a pair of boots, 4s. 9d.—shoeing a horse, 4s.—horse feed, wine, and bitters, 4s. 6d.—dinners, &c. at Pottsgrove, 9s. 4½d. Halted for the night at Cimleses' tavern, 13s. 10d.

*March 14th.*—Breakfasts, &c. at Reading, 9s. 4d.—purchase of a tomahawk, 3s. 9d.—straps of a saddle. Proceeded from thence to Caraher's town, in company with Mr. Potts and Mr. Baird; the latter of which gentlemen informed me, that he was engaged to attend General St. Clair to fort Washington, whither the General was immediately to proceed, in order to prepare for a campaign against the Miami and other Indians, who are daily committing of murders on the defenceless inhabitants on the frontier settlements.—Expenses this night, 15s. 10d.

*March 15th.*—Set forward this morning on our journey by daylight: breakfasted at Orwick's tavern, 6s. 9d.—Hallers do. refreshment, 5s. 7½d. Halted for the night at Treshers' tavern—expense 13s. 6d. The roads from Philadelphia hither, nearly impassable, occasioned by the heavy rains that had fallen for several days past; and with some danger we forded the little Schuylkill; and, on this day's journey, we crossed the Blue mountain.

*March 16th.*—Dined at Leidenburgh's tavern, and was informed, that the 1,200 acre tract of land that I purchased of Daniel Rees, in Northumberland, was situated three miles from his house, watered by the Cattawissey, and joining lands of Captain Mason, of Philadelphia. Dinners, and for horses, 11s. 3d. Lay this night at Hughesburgh, at the house of George Knefferbergher. By him I was informed of twenty-five tracts of land I have on Big Fishing creek, which empties into the east branch of the Susquehannah, about two miles above Hughesburgh. Expenses this night 18s. 10½d.

*March 17th.*—Crossed the east branch of the Susquehannah, fed our horses, &c. at Miller's tavern, and paid, including ferrriages over Fishing creek, and shoeing a horse, 17s. 3d. Lay this night at Berwick, a small town, situate on the west side of the Susquehannah. Expenses of the night, 17s. 10d.

*March 18th.*—Proceeded on our journey up the west side of the Susquehannah, above twelve miles; and, in endeavoring to go through the narrows, the river being exceeding high and rapid, had a narrow escape of drowning myself and horse, as was the case with Captain Houdin. With great difficulty we mounted the summit of a steep precipice, being unable to return by the same defile we had attempted to pass through. From this, I endeavored to go round the mountain, which lay along the river; and, after having travelled one hour and a half, over the most rugged ground, and seeing no end to the ridge of mountains, we shaped our course through the woods, to the place from whence we departed in the morning; and, by the entreaty of our host, the ferryman, on the opposite shore of the Susquehannah, was prevailed upon to venture over the river with his flat, which he did, with the assistance of four other men, and conducted us across, for which I paid him 15s. Dinners, and putting one new shoe on a horse, with other repairs, 13s. 1d. From thence we proceeded on the road for Wilksburgh, by the way of the mountain path, as dangerous for man and horse as was possible to encounter with; and at 9 o'clock in the night we reached the first house in the settlement of Wyoming; but, there being no feed for our horses, I hired a guide to conduct us to a place to lodge in. Paid for a night's fare, 13s. 6d.

*March 19th.*—Arrived at Wilksburgh about eleven o'clock; halted here for the night, in order to rest our horses, which were much fatigued and jaded. I should have mentioned in its place, that I did not open the instructions I had received from the Secretary of War, before my arrival at Reading, owing to an intention with me, that no person—not even any of my family—should know what errand I was sent upon. This threw me exceedingly out of my road, and by the worst way: for, had I known that Wilksburgh was my route to Cornplanter's, I should have went through Bethlehem, which would have been fifty miles nearer than the way I went. Spent the afternoon at our lodgings with Colonel Butler and Captain Grubb. The former was an officer in the Connecticut line, and stationed here during the late war, for the protection of the frontier inhabitants against the British and Indians, in which station he proved to be a vigilant and brave officer. The latter part of the evening I accompanied Colonel Pickering,

prothonotary of the county, and late adjutant general of the armies of the United States. Here we equipped ourselves with a tinderbox, flints, steel, &c., paid 4s. 6d.; and for helving a tomahawk, and leather sling for the same, 4s. 9d. Expenses at Mr. Fell's, part of two days, 41s. 8d.; and for powder and horn, 5s. 7½d. Much snow fell while we remained at this place. Weather extremely cold.

*March 20th.*—This day we set forward for Captain Waterman Baldwin's, arrived there in the evening, halted for him part of two days, as I had orders to take him with me to the residence of the Cornplanter, at which place he was intended to act as instructor of the Indian youth, as also a director in the mode and management of agriculture, for the use and benefit of the Indians. This gentleman was made prisoner by Cornplanter, during the late war, and was treated by him with remarkable tenderness, until legally exchanged. Paid for two bushel of oats and two bags, 13s. 1½d.; washing, 2s. 6d.; expense at Baldwin's, 30s.

*March 22d.*—Ferriage to Captain Jenkins, passing the first narrows of Susquehannah, 7s. 6d. Paid for gammon, bread, and spirits, 32s. 6d. to John Davis. Encamped this evening in the woods, thirteen miles from Lahawanock, on the waters of the Buttermilk falls. This cataract has a beautiful appearance from the river. It falls upwards of eighty feet; and the place it issues through, on the top of the mountain, is about six feet in width, and its torrent is so strong that it is sufficient to serve many mills at one time.

This place I had the opportunity of examining minutely, when going on the expedition with General Sullivan against the savages, in the year 1779, at which time I had the command of 214 vessels, on the Susquehannah, taking with me the provisions and stores of 6,000 men. We anchored off this cataract in the afternoon of the 1st August, and I landed and passed to the top of the mountain to review so great a curiosity.

*March 23d.*—The Susquehannah being so extremely high, and all the waters leading thereto, compelled us to quit the river road and go by that lately cut (though not cleared) by John Nicholson's, Esq., comptroller general of the State of Pennsylvania. We reached the settlement called the Haybottom, which consisted of about fourteen families, the land exceeding rich—inferior to none about the city of Philadelphia; but the lands between this place and our last encampment were chiefly covered with hemlock timber, cold soil, and unfit for culture, and one continued rise for nearly thirteen miles, with little intermission. Took dinner at the house of Ebenezer Stephens, and purchased from him two bushels of oats, which he had for seed; and, having brought it afar off, charged for the same 3s. 9d. per bushel. Paid for three persons eating, and feed for the horses, 12s. 6d.; one horse bell, 4s. 6d.; three cakes sugar, 4s. 6d. Encamped this evening with some sugar boilers, in a hut not finished. The promoter of this manufactory, which appeared to be very extensive, from the number of kettles and apparatus belonging thereto, is the comptroller of the State of Pennsylvania; and the conductor of the works, Mr. John Jones, of Northumberland county. They were unfortunate enough, two days before, to lose most of their provision, by the oversetting of a canoe, in the main branch of the Lahawanock; but, of the provisions we had, we gave to them what we could spare, preserving what we thought would take us to Tioga Point—supposed 86 miles. The taking of this road, which is cut about 20 feet in width, the trees lying across the same, and in every direction, was not a matter of choice, but necessity: for the river road was impassable. By the taking of this we escaped some deep waters.

*24th.*—We arrived at the cabin of Richard McNemara, fed our horses with the corn that we brought with us, for he had none but about two quarts for his own use: they however provided us with a dish of rye coffee, made fine with the pole of an axe on a smooth stone, and maple sugar as bright and as well tasted as the best 8d. sugar in Philadelphia; and as they deemed it would be charity to us, they gave of the juice of the maple, which appeared as clear as the limpid stream, and pleasant to the taste, and deemed very wholesome: paid for eating, 3s. 9d. We were obliged to encamp early this afternoon under a very heavy storm of rain, thunder, and lightning, and, what is very remarkable, the snow was in general fifteen inches deep on the ground.

*25th.*—We still travelled by the way of Nicholson's road, till we reached the one cut by Mr. Ellicott, geographer to the United States, which leads to the great bend on the east branch of the Susquehannah, and to describe the same, it is hardly possible, but, to say the least of them, there is none can equal them for height of mountains, and swampy valleys. Encamped this night ten miles from Tioga Point; heavy rain as usual, our horses worn down, and ourselves more than commonly fatigued; had naught to eat ourselves or for our horses; and I may say with propriety, that, until we arrived at Tioga, to save our horses, we travelled on foot more than half of the way from the town of Reading.

*26th.*—We arrived at the ferry at Tioga Point, crossed to the flats, paid ferriage 5s. 9d.; the river still very high; took refreshment for ourselves and horses, paid 12s. 9d.; repair of horse shoes, 5s. From thence we proceeded on our way to Newtown Point, and lodged at the house of Mr. William Wynkoop. At Tioga Point I was compelled to purchase a pack horse, as the route we had to take from the Painted Post to the Genesee, was not inhabited, which, by computation, was 99 miles. Captain Baldwin also purchased another horse, the better to enable him to carry on the farming business for the Cornplanter, and for which I advanced him 75s., to be accounted for by him in his settlement with the Secretary of War. From hence I also took a guide, named Peter, in his own language Cayantha, there being nothing but a blind path to the Genesee river, so that my retinue, at this time, amounted to three white men, one Indian, and five horses. The horse designed as a pack horse, I received on the order of Colonel Hollinbeck, on Mr. Guy Maxwell, his partner in trade at Tioga, for which I drew in favor of them, on my daughter in Philadelphia, £15 for the horse, and for a saddle and bridle, value £3: took up our quarters this night in company with Mr. Jabez Colloor, a dissenting minister, at the aforesaid Wynkoop's, with whom we spent a most agreeable evening, and, during our conversation together, he enjoined me, in a very becoming manner, should I at any time see the honorable Major General Sullivan, late the commander in chief against the Indians, in the year 1779, to tender to him the grateful thanks of himself and his parishioners, inhabitants of the district of Tioga, for opening a way into the wilderness, under the guidance of Providence, to the well doing of hundreds of poor families for life.

*Sunday, March 27th.*—Dined at Mr. Isaac Baldwin's, and halted for the night, and reviewed the ground on which the British and Indians were entrenched, for better than a mile, against the forces under the command of Major General Sullivan. I also saw many traces made by our round and grape shot against them, and a large collection of pieces of 5½ inch shells, which I had the pleasure of formerly causing to be exploded amongst them. Expenses at Mr. Baldwin's for present diet, provisions, and forage, 53s. 10d.

*28th.*—Took breakfast at William Dunn's; for four persons, 6s.; oats and spirits, 4s. 7½d.; also one chain halter for a horse, 20s. From thence we proceeded to the Painted Post, or Cohocton, in the Indian language; dined, and refreshed our horses, it being the last house we should meet with ere we should reach the Genesee river; addition of stores for ourselves and horses, 36s. 11d.; present dining, 14s. 3d.; four new horse shoes, &c. 6s. 9d.; spirits, 1s. 10½d. Here I was joined company by a Mr. George Stocum, who followed us from Wyoming, to place himself under our protection and assistance, until we should reach the Cornplanter's settlement, on the head waters of the Alleghany, to the redeeming of his sister from an unpleasing captivity of twelve years, to which end he begged our immediate interposition. On the leaving the Painted Post, we entered the warrior's path, lying on the northeast side of the Tioga river. We had not gone above five miles up the same, before we fixed our encampment, having completed thirty-five miles this day, which was more than we had done any one day within seventeen days since we left the city, it having rained or snowed every day since, and the worst of roads to encounter with: for, as we passed over mountains and valleys, the frosts were just mellowed enough to admit our falling through in some places, knee depth to the horses: rained this night as usual.

*29th.*—Continued our route by the aforesaid path this day, through level land, covered chiefly with hemlock timber, and interspersed with sugar tree bottoms, and through which we frequently encountered with deep sloughs and morasses. In one of them, which had the appearance of a long pond, variegated with shrubbery, Captain Baldwin, while leading our forage horse, was, by a sudden check, brought backwards from the horse he was riding, and immersed in the water, so as to be entirely covered. The same fate had nearly happened to myself, by my horse's feet fastening between two trees which lay on the bottom, of which he fell. All this night we had rain, and with much difficulty could light a fire; at the same time piercing cold.

*30th.*—We began our journey before sunrise, the usual time of our moving, and, on the way, we discovered, in many places, fine land; the timber chiefly sugar tree maple and beech, and on this day, we passed three principal

mountains, the last of which the Alleghany, that divides the Tioga river from the Coshequa. The latter river runs through a fine flat, resembling much the flats below Tioga: here Captain John resides, and one white family only. I did not see the chief, he being from home a hunting. I should have premised that the course of the warrior's path gives a traveller a sight of the river Tioga, upwards of sixty miles, and, by *such a way*, I would never desire to travel again. The next principal water we crossed, is called, in the Indian language, Connesserago, from whence it is called twelve miles to the Genesee river, where we were conducted by our Indian guide to the house of Captain Ebenezer Allen, about ten o'clock at night. Having rode hard and constant to reach it, both our horses and ourselves much fatigued. I purchased from an Indian squaw one and a half bushels corn, at the rate of one dollar and a half per bushel, and refused to let me have any more at a less price; adding that the white people had made them pay more the last year, when a scarcity of corn was among them; and that at this place there was neither hay nor grass for our horses to exist upon.

31st.—This morning I found myself in a settlement of Indians, called the Squawkey tribe, but a branch of the Seneca nation; having no interpreter with me, I wrote a letter directed to Captain Allen, or Horatio Jones, and sent it by a runner by the way of Connewago, or at such a place where he could meet with either of them, requesting that whosoever received it should repair to Squawkey hill to meet me; and, should they meet any Indian chiefs or warriors, to invite them to meet me also, having business of importance from General Washington, the President of the United States, to lay before their nation. I at the same time despatched two other runners, one to go to the several sugar camps adjacent, to give them the like information, and the other to repair to the habitations of Captain Big Tree and Little Beard, who resided about seven miles from hence, and deemed to be principal chiefs. To each I paid one dollar for their services. By the middle of the afternoon, and in the evening, several Indian warriors and chiefs arrived at Mr. Allen's habitation; amongst the latter, Captain Little Beard, Stump Foot, and the Black Chief. Said Stump Foot being the leader of the Squawkey settlement, residing on the high lands above the Genesee river, and from which bluff commands a beautiful landscape of the great flats on the Genesee, being in width about four miles, and the length from Carahaderra about forty-seven miles towards lake Ontario, where the said river empties into it; the soil exceedingly rich, the land as level as a bowling green, beautifully interspersed with groves of trees, some of three acres, and not more than five.

April 1st.—Mr. Horatio Jones, Indian interpreter, arrived this morning, and about eleven o'clock there were thirty odd Indians collected agreeable to my invitation. And shortly afterwards, I convened them into council, and introduced my message by some prefatory sentiments, touching on the candor and justice of the United States, and of the unexampled conduct of his Excellency the President, in the late interview he had with the Cornplanter, and others, who appeared as representatives in behalf of the Six nations, by restoring unto them all their lands, which they feared were held from them by the power of the United States; by which act of his goodness, their situations in life were made comfortable, and as lasting as they should demean themselves as faithful friends to the United States; and by such a becoming deportment, it would entail lasting happiness to their children's children. This simple introduction being ended, I read the message to them from the honorable Secretary of War; having ended the same, they signified their full approbation, in their accustomed manner. For the particulars of their answer, which was delivered by Captain Little Beard, their principal speaker, see a subsequent page.

Captain Little Beard, in the close of his speech, acquainted me that their great warrior, Captain O'Beel, or Cayantawanka, in the Indian language, had arrived at Pittsburg from Philadelphia, and sent out runners from thence to summon the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations at Buffalo, where he desired that the great council fire might be kindled, and where he should lay before them all the business that had been done by him at Philadelphia, and the public papers and documents which he had received for the Six Nations, from the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, and from the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania. This information induced me to prepare myself for going to Buffalo in the morning, instead of continuing my route to O'Beel's town, and urged it upon them in a very pressing manner that they would accompany me on this deserving errand to Buffalo, as its design was big with advantages to every Indian on the continent. Five of them immediately offered to attend Captain Houdin and myself, and chiefs of the first notoriety in this settlement, and accordingly appointed a sugar camp, eight miles distant, the place of meeting in the morning, where they must go and acquaint their people of this hasty departure.

I now made the necessary inquiry whether it was easy to obtain a good interpreter at Buffalo, or otherwise; and being informed that there were no interpreters there but those under British pay and establishment, I conceived it a duty incumbent on me to engage Mr. Jones, as being a proper person for my business, from the reputation he bore from inquiries I had made, and I accordingly agreed with him in the behalf of the United States, to pay him the customary wages so long as I should find occasion for his services.

Having for the best part of two days caused provisions to be provided for myself and people, and for several Indians who lived at a considerable distance from here, and at a considerable expense to Mr. Allen, and much trouble to his family, I proposed to make him restitution by payment, which he modestly refused, adding, that I was going into a country where I would have occasion for my money. I therefore treated his politeness in that manner which I thought would least offend him, by saying he must receive at my hand in Philadelphia a best beaver hat, and four dollars' worth in any thing Mrs. Allen should chuse to send for, estimating the whole at eleven dollars, for which I hold myself in honor bound to perform. Paid for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  bushels corn to Mr. Forrest, 12s. 1d.; amount of Jno. Jones' bill, flour, spirits, and stores laid in for O'Beel's town, 35s. 7d.

April 2d.—Departed from the council fire at Squawkey Hill to proceed by the way of Tanawandy, to Buffalo, presumed distance between 90 and 100 miles; but, agreeable to my promise to the chiefs yesterday, I had to call for them at their sugar encampment. On my way thither, I stopped at the hut of Stumpfoot, with the Black Chief, who accompanied me, just at the instant that a runner had arrived there from Buffalo creek, who brought the information that the council fire at that place had been quenched by the direction of the chiefs who had lighted the same, at the instance of O'Beel's message to them, and the same fire was to be covered for one moon, in the words following, which he received from the great council, directed to the chiefs and warriors in this settlement, viz:

“BROTHERS: We know from our former intimation to you to meet us here, that you are just now rising from your seats, with your backs bent, bearing your loaded hoppers; but on hearing us speak, you must sit down again on your seats, and remain there for one moon, until you shall hear that our great warrior, O'Beel, (alias Cayantawanka, in the Indian) shall arrive at Buffalo and light it again.”

Upon this sudden information to me, and their determination to continue as above directed, I concluded to change my route from this place, and go for the Oil Springs, near which the Corn Planter has his residence, and of which intention of mine, I immediately informed them, and added, that should I be so happy as to meet him at home, I would use every possible endeavor to bring forward, to Buffalo, Captain O'Beel and his chiefs, in order to rekindle the council fire, as my intended interview with the chiefs of the Six Nations would have the most happy effect, by being instrumental in preserving the lives of many hundreds of our fellow men, when, staying one moon longer, might prove forever too late. On these remarks we parted, and I proceeded with my people to a village eight miles distant, called Nondas, and halted for the night at the hut of a white woman, who had been with the savages from her infancy, and had borne to one of them nine children, all of whom were living. Two of her daughters I have seen, possessing fair features, bearing the bloom upon their cheeks, and inclining to the side of beauty; and her second son had lately been adopted a sachem, and styled the promoter of peace. Paid for 2 cakes sugar, and Indian bread, 7s. 6d. Snow this day, and excessive cold.

Sunday, April 3.—Arrived this day at an Indian village called Canaseder, situated on a high bluff of land, overlooking the Genesee river. It consisted of about 30 houses, and some of them done in a way that showed some taste in the workmen. The town was vacated by its inhabitants principally, save only one squaw and a young girl, who were left as guards to the interest of others, who were out providing sugar for their general stock. In this place was erected a wooden statue, (or deity) fashioned like a fierce looking sage. This form they worship by dancing before it on certain festive occasions or new moons, looking on it as through a veil or assistant, whereby they pay

adoration to the Supreme Spirit, as knowing it hath a form, but not a substance. This day we were compelled to swim our horses three times over the Genesee river; and at one of the crossings, Captain Houdin's horse took down the current with him, and could not steer him to the intended shore, having crossed the reins of his bridle at mounting, and were it not that he had left the horse to his own management, (by our entreaties) and our Indian guide rushing into the water to his assistance, and the horse turning for him, the Captain must have certainly drowned in the current, which was excessively rapid a little lower down.

*April 4th.*—This morning we again swam our horses over the same river, and had the assistance of a canoe, for which I paid 3s. 9d., and crossed it again 10 miles higher up, near the emptying of a small lake. Here, likewise, we had the assistance of a canoe to carry over our saddles, &c. Paid for the same 3s. 9d. At this village resides a Mr. James Latta, a trader, from whom I purchased bread and sugar, the latter to answer the end of meat, as likewise some spirits, for which I paid him 16s. 11d. From this place we had scarcely the trace of a path, and took up our encampment for the night at an old Indian encampment, where the covering of their wigwags served to shelter us from the inclemency of the weather.

*April 5th.*—We gained an Indian settlement called Ohhishéu, situate on the waters of Oil creek, the emptying of which, into the Alleghany, about two hundred yards below the huts, in crossing the Oil creek at a very steep shelving place, my horse fell backwards into the water. I happily disengaged myself from falling under him, but got wet through all my clothes. We then entered the cabin of an old Seneca chief, who called himself Captain Joseph Hays. I knew him well, thirty-two years before, at fort Pitt, and he professed having some small recollection of me. He spoke English well, and finding him to be conversant, I gave him to understand the business I was on to the Six Nations, and of the assistance I expected to receive from them as friends to the Thirteen Fires. He seemed very cheerful upon the occasion, and assured me that I should see him at Buffalo as soon as the council fire should be lighted by O'Beel. From him I bought two hams of fresh venison, and Indian bread without any salt, for we had none in our possession, not dreaming of it being so scarce and precious an article in this country. We encamped this night at the great bend of the Alleghany, (so called) on a tract of fine level land, covered with plum trees in abundance. At this place we discovered the ruins of a number of Indian huts, forming regularly with each other like a streetway. This place was formerly called by the Indians Dunewangua.

*April 6th.*—This morning, having advanced about 4 miles, we met two Indian runners going with belts and speeches from the Cornplanter, alias O'Beel, to the Indians resident in the upper towns, at the head waters of the Alleghany, to inform them that several of the Delaware Indians were killed by the white people, said to be a recruiting party of Virginians, near fort Pitt. The said Indians informed us, that the Indians who had escaped the catastrophe that their brothers had fallen into, turned their resentment for the injury their nation had received on the white inhabitants who resided on the Alleghany, some miles above Pittsburg, and killed and scalped 17 in number; that several of the bodies were partly destroyed by fire; that at the same time this mischief happened, Captain O'Beel, the New Arrow chief, and several other chiefs of the Senecas, as also the commanding officer of Venango, coming up in the garrison boat, and in canoes from Pittsburg, were overtaken by a party of militia, who threatened them with instant death, which was happily prevented, but forcibly carried back the garrison boat and canoes, with all the property purchased by Cornplanter for his nation.

Having at this time no path to go by, and having to keep by the meanders of the Alleghany, made the way lengthy and disagreeable. I therefore desired my interpreter to request that one of them would return with me to O'Beel's town, and as they would by that means be separated, I would give to each one dollar, as a consideration for their trouble. They having acceded to my desires, I paid them 15s., and our guide conducted us in safety, at about 10 o'clock at night, to O'Beel's town, called, in the Indian language, Tenachshegouchtongee, or the burnt house. This town is pleasantly situated on the north side of the river, and contains about 28 tolerable well built houses; and the one which they had selected for me and my followers to reside in, was commodiously fitted up, with birthstalls to sleep in, and uncommonly clean, and provided us for the night with plenty of provisions, such as boiled venison and dumplings. Matters were no sooner arranged than I desired my interpreter to have the chiefs collected where I could speak to them. Upon which we found that all the chiefs and warriors of the town had gone on to Venango, hearing that their head warrior, O'Beel, and their sachem, the New Arrow, were forced to take sanctuary in fort Franklin, (one of our garrisons) for the protection of their lives; that none remained in the town on this account, but three very old men, the women, and children.

That, such were their fears, as we were approaching this town, of which they had information, that they all assembled at their place of worship, believing it was near the hour of their dissolution, and they had called on their God to help them. But being happily informed by our guide of the good intentions we were come upon, they came to make us welcome. I then desired that they would furnish me with a canoe and a guide, to conduct me to the place where I could meet with O'Beel and his people, being desirous of going forward immediately; and that I should, without doubt, be the instrument of bringing their chiefs and warriors to them in a few days. Upon which, they sent five miles to procure me a canoe, and by day light, two young Indians attended me, with whom my interpreter and Captain Baldwin went for French creek, distant about one hundred and thirty miles, and arrived on the 8th day of April, about four in the afternoon, as we worked our canoe by turns all night. Cash paid at New Arrow town, corn for horses, fifteen shillings; hire of a canoe and Indians to carry me to French creek, thirty-seven shillings and six pence; provisions, &c. thirteen shillings and one penny.

I no sooner arrived at the garrison on French creek, than I received a visit from Cornplanter, and those Indians who accompanied him at Philadelphia, who professed the greatest happiness to see me, being under the greatest anxiety of mind for the safety of the New Arrow, who was carried in the garrison boat to Pittsburg, in the forcible manner before related; saying, at the same time, that the whole of their goods were taken from them, which they never expected to recover; that, in this distressed situation, they had not a second shirt to put on. I, hereupon, used every argument I was master of, to appease the fears they entertained on account of the absence of the New Arrow, as I could not believe that the inhabitants of Pittsburg would offend, or suffer him to be ill treated; and should any, or the whole of their goods be squandered, by the unwarranted conduct of the militia, that I should make it my duty to present the same to the Secretary of War, who would cause most ample justice to be done them; that, on the morrow, I would write to the commanding officer at Pittsburg, to have their sachem, the New Arrow, conducted in safety to this place, as, also, their goods, as I could not possess a belief that any waste would be committed upon them. I therefore desired him, without loss of time, to bring with him into the garrison all the head-men of the nations then present, so that I might inform them of the message I was charged with, from his Excellency the Secretary of War to the Six Nations; by which means they would be the better able to understand what I had to say to them, before my meeting them in general council to-morrow. Upon this Captain O'Beel left me, and soon after summoned the chiefs present, eleven in number, who met me in the garrison by permission of Lieutenant Jeffers, and, in the fullest manner, I gave them the necessary information. After some time spent on this business, I adjourned, and proposed meeting them again in their encampment over French creek, early in the forenoon, and of which I desired that they might inform their people, so that none might be absent.

*April 9th.*—I crossed French creek to their encampment, about eleven o'clock, where I found them prepared to receive me, about seventy-five in number, exclusive of women, children, and youth; in the whole, one hundred and eighty. I read first the message to the Seneca nation, from the Secretary of War, and, after explaining the principles upon which it was founded; I read to them the messages from Governor St. Clair to the Wyandot and Delaware tribes, who were deemed and observed to be friends to the United States. Here I thought it my duty to explain to them the force of my message to the Indians, who were carrying on their wanton depredations and cruelties on the defenceless inhabitants resident near the Ohio; assuring them that it was the last solemn warning, should they refuse to accept the terms of peace now proffered to them, that they could lay hold of, until done by a decisive stroke of a superior army, just ready to go forward to conquest, and be rooted out of a country which they might otherwise possess and enjoy in undisturbed tranquillity.

That, with this present council, it rests to save those misguided people on the Miamies and Wabash from the destruction that is just ready to fall upon and crush them; and the better to effect so laudable an undertaking,



let there be selected, from amongst you, any number of your chiefs and warriors, not more than fifteen, nor less than five, to guide and accompany me to the Miamies; as, by our going from hence, we shall save the distance of four hundred miles, if not compelled to go to Buffalo creek; and, by this act, you will fully complete the end of my message to the Seneca nations, and for your services you shall receive ample rewards from the United States, and due honor to your nation.

Hereupon they requested of me to retire from them, and those white persons who attended me, so that what I had said might be the more fully digested by them. We left them for about one hour and a half, when a chief came to inform me that they were desirous of seeing me again at their fire. I accordingly attended, and Captain O'Beel was appointed to acquaint me with the determination of their council; which briefly was, that they could not agree to my request of going directly to the Miamies, as they must determine on that business in full council of the Six Nations, at Buffalo creek. Seeing, therefore, that I had no other alternative, but by going to Buffalo, I requested, then, that they would prepare themselves to leave this place, and proceed for Buffalo on to-morrow, which they readily complied with; and for Cornplanter's address to me, upon this occasion, see subsequent page.

I immediately from hence retired to the garrison, to prepare a letter for his Excellency Governor St. Clair, through which I gave, in detail, a circumspect account of every material transaction since my arrival in the Indian country; enclosing to him the speeches of Little Beard and Cornplanter, thereby to enable him to judge of the obstructions that had fallen in my way, which, with others that I might probably have to encounter, would be a means of exceeding the time limited by the Secretary of War for my meeting him at fort Washington, on the Ohio, after passing through the country of the Miamies and Wabash Indians, to which nations my mission was principally intended, to the restoration of peace between them and the United States.

During the time I remained at fort Franklin, I received every mark of attention and respect from the commandant, Lieutenant John Jeffers, of the Connecticut line; and I think it but proper to name it in this place. A few days previous to my arrival at this fort, the inhabitants, resident at Conneycatt, and on French creek, were driven into the garrison, as also those at Cassawaga, and obliged to leave behind them their habitations and effects, possessed of every requisite for the comforts of life. David Mead, Esq. formerly of Wyoming settlement, with three of his brothers, and their families, were of the number of these unfortunate people. At Venango I was called upon by a white prisoner, named Nicholas Deamhoat, to give him a blanket, as he wanted one much. I did so, and paid for the same, 18s. 9d. He was dressed in the Indian garb, and, what I was grieved to see, his ears were cut round, and each hung with a considerable weight of lead, designed to stretch them to a proper length. He acquainted me that his friends lived in Schenectady; his father lately dying, left him a considerable sum of money. I urged him to go round with me on my tour, and, on our arrival in Philadelphia, I would give him decent apparel, and subsistence, while going to his relatives; but he declined it, saying, that he could not live so agreeable with the white people as with the Indians. Contingent expenses, mending my sword, two pair moccasins, washing bill, &c. 34s. 4d. hire of two Indians, from hence to O'Beel's town, 45s.

April 10th.—Agreeably to the arrangement made by me at the general council yesterday, we set out from French creek, to go up the Alleghany river, with thirty canoes, leaving, at the same time, with Lieutenant Jeffers, for the defence of the garrison, fifteen Indians, to act as scouts for the garrison, as occasion should require—the garrison being very weakly manned at this time, only for the addition made to it by the inhabitants, neither had they any flour, on account of the detention of the garrison boat, before spoken of, but what was supplied by David Mead, Esq. who had brought from his mills at Conneycatt a sufficient quantity, as, likewise, some hundred gallons of whiskey, which he dealt out to the garrison and inhabitants, as they required it. Halted this night at Oil creek, about eight miles from the garrison. Lieutenant Jeffers came to us at this place, about twelve o'clock at night, and brought with him certain letters that he had received from Pittsburg that evening, with verbal messages he had received through the express, by which means the Indians were informed, that some of their canoes were plundered of what they contained, but that the garrison boat was returning with their chief, the New Arrow, &c. under the escort of Major Hart, with a proper guard. The news of the canoes being plundered, gave rise to apparent disgust in most of the countenances of the Indians, saying that of Cornplanter's, who received it with that composure that he was usually wont to do. Upon the whole it gave me to fear, that this rude piece of conduct of our militia had damped the zeal of those whom I yesterday conceived were engaged to serve agreeable to my desires. I, however, undertook to give them assurances, that, even should their goods have been plundered, as verbal report gave it, I would use every possible means to have every article replaced; and that, therefore, I earnestly entreated them to dispel those fears for a few days, having, in their presence, enjoined Lieutenant Jeffers to forward an express to me, at the castle of O'Beel, and to write me, fully, every matter that took place; and to obtain another letter from Major Hart, with whom they were well acquainted, to authenticate the same; and that, whatsoever the result should prove, I would faithfully communicate the contents to them. Upon this promise, about ten o'clock in the forenoon of Monday, the 11th of April, we silently began to load our canoes, and, shortly after, took up the line of march, O'Beel taking the lead. I held it proper to take my place next to his canoe, to stimulate him to press forward on his journey. Ere we could reach Buffalo creek, we arrived this evening at an old Indian settlement, called Hog's town; we had much rain this night, and very cold.

April 12th.—I was invited this morning to breakfast with Captain O'Beel, his squaw, &c. Our repast, boiled chestnuts, parched meal, sweetened; his daughter made us some tea, also, which she put into an open kettle, when the water was cold, and being boiled in that manner, without any cover to the kettle, it became very dirty, and disagreeable to the taste; but, of the chestnuts, I partook sufficiently. Finding, this morning, by an Indian who had lately left the garrison, that several canoes loaded had deserted our little fleet, the Indians, being under much intoxication, had returned there again; in consequence thereof, I wrote the commanding officer, by an express, requesting him to cause the Indians, who were designed to go forward with O'Beel, to quit the garrison and proceed. To express, 11s. 3d. This day, about one o'clock, we arrived at the Munsee settlement, where all the canoes came to at, in order to rest, and prepare our dinners. Immediately after we had landed, and what appeared very strange to me, several Indian women came forward with kettles full of boiled corn and bear's meat, and placed it before Captain O'Beel, whom they had heard was approaching with his people. This being done, each family of a canoe, (as in each were women and children) approached with their kettles, without any signal being made, to receive their stipend; and, to do which, an old squaw was appointed to act as an issuing commissary, who dealt it out in proportions so justly, that each went away fully satisfied. Captain O'Beel requested of my interpreter to inform me, it was expected that I would partake of what was prepared; I did so accordingly, to prevent displeasure, but with the weakest appetite. Expenses at this place for eatables, 22s. 6d.; one gallon of whiskey for O'Beel, and his people who accompanied me, 15s. After the whole had refreshed themselves, O'Beel informing the Delawares the business I was on, I was invited to their council fire, of which council Captain Snake was the principal; about thirty of the Delawares were present. I spoke a few words to them, introductory to my reading Governor St. Clair's message to their nation, residing on the waters near Lake Erie; the same message being directed to Captain Pipe, as the principal chief of that tribe. Shortly after this discourse was ended, Captain Snake spoke through his interpreter to mine, as the person I had could not speak the Delaware tongue, and its contents are as follows:

"BROTHER: We are thankful to God for the safe arrival of our brother amongst us; and we are glad to see him with such good intentions, and of the good news he brings. It makes us feel warm in our hearts, and easy in our minds, that such confidence is placed in our nation. But the request he makes of us, to go with him to Buffalo, we cannot give an immediate answer too, as all our head-men are not present; moreover, we want to talk with him and them together; and now we give him the kind invitation of your staying with us all night; and it is likely we shall then help him to the council fire, where he now asks us to go to, and our chiefs shall be sent for." Here O'Beel spoke, and aided my proposition; and, as I was fully sensible of his friendship, I took his counsel, before I should determine on staying in this town. And, finally, judging of it to be a sure means of securing them, to go to Buffalo with us, I consented; and of which they being informed, they sent off runners for their chiefs and warriors, while we still remained in the council-house.



12th.—At 9 o'clock at night, Capt. O'Beel, the Delaware chiefs, and Senecas, called me into council, when Captain Snake's, interpreter gave his speech, as follows: "Uncle, (for that is the term given by the Delawares to the Senecas) God has been good to us this day: for we have each heard the good talk sent from the Great Chief of the Thirteen Fires; and we have ever said, that we would advise each other of every thing that we heard that was bad; or that was like to befall either of our nations. Now, uncle, we have determined to go with you, and our brother, who brings to us these good tidings, to Buffalo, and there meet our nations at the great council fire. Blood may fall upon us while we are going, but now we give you our hands as we promised, and we will lie down and will rise together." [Here a belt of wampum was given, consisting of five strings, which Capt. O'Beel viewed in his hand a short time, and then presented it to me.] Captain Snake again repeated: "Uncle, in three days we move our women and children, and all that we have, to your towns; they are to remain with your women until our return." In the course of his speech he also mentioned, that their people expected to receive a stroke from the Messasagoes, a part of that nation who were led to war by their brothers.

13th.—Our fleet set out from Hickory town, and reached Log-trap creek, 10 miles distant, and encamped. Rained the whole night, and not a dry thread of clothes on myself or companions.

14th.—Proceeded up the river this day, took up our encampment near the mouth of Casyouandang creek, it being the place where Colonel Broadhead, in the year 1779, had fought against the savages; and, in which action, Joseph Nicholson, his interpreter, was wounded.

15th.—Being very unwell this morning, and overtaken with rheumatism pains, and to such a degree that I was obliged to have assistance to convey me from my canoe to the fire; same time being cold and rainy, I informed Cornplanter that I should leave *his* fleet and proceed to his lower town, to procure some assistance; and I arrived there, some time in the night, after a very laborious day's work to the Indians; the current of the river being so very much against us, at this place, I applied to an Indian doctor, who prepared poultices of roots and herbage, and applied it to my foot, the power of which, over the parts affected, threw it into my knee, which produced the most exquisite pain; and I perceptibly felt that it shortened the sinews under my ham, upon which I applied it no more; fearing the consequences might be fatal to me for life. About eight miles above the encampment, where I left O'Beel, I came to a large river, called the Conawango; and, at its emptying into the Alleghany, is said to contain as much water as flows in the other river, above it. At the confluence of those two rivers, the government of Pennsylvania have laid out a manor of 3,000 acres, and up the said river (Conawango) to an Indian town called Cayantha, or the Corn-fields, are extraordinary rich lands, of which a survey was made, by David Rittenhouse, Esq. of the city of Philadelphia, some time since. The Indians whom I hired at Venango, to bring me to O'Beel's town, (there being two called by his name) drew so nice a distinction, that they chose the first, or lower town, and insisted that this was the town they intended to come to, and not the other; and should I require their assistance to go to the upper town, I must pay to each one dollar (fifteen shillings.) The terms being agreed upon, we proceeded to the upper town aforesaid, by some called the New-Arrow's town, being the name of the head sachem of that place. At this town I left Captain Houdin, Indian Peter, the guide which I brought from near Tioga Point, also, our horses, when I departed from thence to Venango, on the 7th of April, and found the Captain in an enfeebled state of health, owing entirely to the hardships he underwent before his arrival at this place.

16th.—At this town I met, in company with Capt. Houdin, a French gentleman from Montreal, by the name of Dominick de Barge, who had followed the Indian trade, in this country, for six years past, and who lost by the same, a considerable fortune, by the credits he had given to some of the Indians, &c.; with them I found, also, a Mr. Culbertson, a trader from Genesee; and it gave me pleasure to find that the Captain was not altogether alone, he seeming to have an aversion, in general, to the company of Indians.

17th.—This day the canoes, which I left on the 15th, arrived here, and brought news which they had received from an Indian runner, that, on Wednesday last, the 13th, the New-Arrow, and his associates, with the garrison boat, arrived at Fort Franklin; having suffered no damage in their persons, nor loss of their merchandise, as was reported, which belonged to Cornplanter, and other Indians, but two or more cases of gun, taken by the militia, for which Squire Wilkins, of Pittsburg, caused restitution to be made them. Settled with Mr. James Culbertson, for supplies for my people and horses, during my absence, 44 shillings York, Pennsylvania, 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

18th.—An express arrived here from the New-Arrow, advising that they must send down to him, at fort Franklin, a certain number of canoes, sufficient to carry the goods brought forward by Cornplanter, from Philadelphia. Finding, from experience, that the Indians were exceeding slow in putting matters in motion, which I held to be important, and slothful to the last degree, I wrote immediately by the return of the canoes to Franklin, to request that the commanding officer would lend them every assistance necessary to their being forwarded to this place; as I was well informed, by a person that I employed upon the occasion, to know the general intentions of the chiefs, that not one of them would go for Buffalo, with me, until they should see his safe return. This afternoon the canoes, which had loitered on the way, arrived; and by which I was informed, that the Delaware and Munsee Indians, at Hickory town, were moving with their stock, &c. to Cattaraugus.

19th.—O'Beel and chiefs arrived here from the lower town, and ordered their conch shell to be sounded through the village, to summon their head-men into council. After some time spent therein, the whole of them adjourned to my hut, being confined, to pay me and my friend Capt. Houdin their compliments, as having come to visit them in their settlements, under such friendly intentions. Nothing more material this day. But dancing was carried on the major part of the night, assisted by drumming, songs, &c.

20th.—An express arrived from Buffalo creek, informing, that the fire of the Six Nations had been lighted, by a number of chiefs and warriors; and that they had been stirring it long, to keep it alive, waiting for the sachems of the Senecas, and their brothers, who were sent by the Great Chief of the Thirteen Fires, whom we want to hear speak with us. It is, likewise, our desire, that all writings received at Philadelphia, from the great chief, Honondaganius, (General Washington) may be brought forward with them, so that the great council may hear the contents. On receiving this public message, I was requested by O'Beel, and the other chiefs, to write an answer to this message, on their behalf, as hearing that Colonels Butler and Brandt were at Buffalo, waiting our coming. I complied, agreeable to their request, and directed the same to the Farmer's Brother, Kuyasutta, and Red Jacket, chiefs of the Six Nations, at Buffalo creek.

21st.—This morning, the whole of the town were preparing to have a grand feast, to return thanks to the Great Keeper of all men, for their being spared to meet once more together; several of the chiefs called upon us to give us the invitation to be present, while they should perform divine worship in their way; adding, that Indians worshipped one Supreme head, the Preserver of all, both white and red men. Their speaker advised us, also, to be prudent while they worshipped, and not to be guilty of laughing, or gestures, though the manner of it might differ, widely, from our own mode of worship; he likewise told us, that we must bring with us our ear, (the interpreter) to testify that they taught the true principles, by moral precept, and that their teachers, both men and women, admonished their hearers against thieving, lying, and speaking lightly of one another.

The manner of their preparing for worship is, that, in every house, they provide large quantities of such provisions as they think proper to bring with them, and the more varied the better, so that they may have a little of every sort, and none of the same returns to that house again, their method being to exchange their victuals on the ground, eating that which was brought by their neighbor; thus prepared, they proceed to the statue, which was erected in the centre of the village, bearing some proportion to a man, and justly painted, as the Indians are in common, but having no weapon of war about him; intimating that he was the maintainer of peace. This figure is about nine feet in height, and stood on a pedestal of about twelve feet, having on breech-clout, leggings, and a sash over its shoulders, and a very terrible appearance. Under this statue were placed two chiefs, termed the women's speakers; each of these held in their hands the shell of a large tortoise, the belly part covered with a thin skin, stretched on very tight, having, in the inside, several small stones, which shells being struck upon a deer skin, which is stretched between them, beating time together, accompanying the same with their voices, they made such melody that the whole of the assembly were delighted. The old and the young women dance round in a circle, the image in the centre, the men following them, using gestures that would have made a saint laugh, had he forgotten that he was

in a place of worship; but the women looked meek and humble, while they moved in concert in the dance, sliding their feet sideways, and folding their hands before them, in a half circle, looking, at the same time, steadfastly on the ground, inclining their heads to the left. The last of worship was performed to what they call a brag dance; the young warriors retire to a house adjacent, where are paints, feathers, and red clay; with the two former they ornament their heads with feathers, and their faces with paint, and their bodies with reddish clay, that give their skins all the same cast; some with one half their face black, and the other red, in order to look the more terrible: for in this manner they go to war. When all matters are thus adjusted, and ready to sally from their showbox, their leader gives a long yell, such as when a scalp is taken; and on the third being given, it is re-echoed by the whole, rushing forward, at the same time, to the place of worship, while they dance round the statue, throwing their bodies and heads in every curious attitude, and brag, alternately, of all the cruelties they had exercised in war, of prisoners taken, and of thefts committed on their enemies, and of many other exploits never performed. In the evening of the day, Captain O'Beel, and other chiefs, told me that they would be ready to go with me to Buffalo Creek in the morning, if I thought proper; the information gave me the most heartfelt satisfaction; and I acquainted him, that I was ready to depart at any hour they should agree to go, as much precious time had been wasted since my arrival at this place from the Genesee country.

22d.—I closed my letters this day for his Excellency the Secretary of War, and a second letter for Governor St. Clair, (having wrote him the first from Venango) and forwarded the same by a white prisoner named Nicholas Deamhont, and for which I drew on the commandant at fort Franklin to pay him to the value of 37s. 6d. in such articles as could be spared from the garrison; paid Indian Peter for services from Newtown Point to O'Beel's town, 22s. 6d.; to mess expense from the 16th to the 23d, including horse feed, £6 18s. 3d.; to cash paid Francis Slocum, a white prisoner, 7s. 6d.; do. a white prisoner at Cattaragus, 11s. 3d.; she informs me that she is a sister to Henry Kepple, in Market street, born in Germany; her husband, a Lieutenant Groves of the Royal Americans, was killed at Venango in the year 1761; had been prisoner ever since, but too old and enfeebled to leave them; she informed me that she was truly poor, which I had apparent reason to believe, and I mean to inform her friends of the same, which is the cause of my making this minute, as knowing her brother was under wealthy circumstances. Hire of a horse for my servant to Buffalo, and loss of a bell, 15s.; to house and fire wood expense, at New Arrow's town, 15s.; Indian doctor's bill, 11s. 3d.; one pair old shoes and buckles, 11s. 3d.; cash for an Indian kettle taken away by some of the Indians, 7s. 6d.

23d.—We left O'Beel's town about 12 o'clock, and proceeded with a few chiefs and warriors, (the whole not being ready to depart with us) taking the route for Buffalo, through a village called Cattaragus, which we did not reach before the 25th, in the evening; and on our way thither passed through a settlement of the Delaware or Munsee Indians, in which was about twenty houses. In this place I saw a number of active young men; they being playing the game of bandy wicket, gave me the fairer opportunity of judging. The town of Cattaragus contains in or near about fifty tolerable houses, bordering on a beautiful river, and about two and a half miles from Lake Erie, surrounded by a most beautiful country and excellent land; but the water they have to drink, taken from a pond, is very indifferent. We had arrived but a short time when I caused the chiefs to be summoned into council, and, as in other instances, I made them fully acquainted with the business that led me into their country; and in answer thereto, a sentimental speech was delivered by Thyogachee. [See subsequent page.] While we remained in this town, they were preparing to bury the daughter of a great chief, and in the house that I was placed, there was a number of the mourners, who appeared under the greatest distress, by their cries; during which time, all their heads were covered with their shrouds, but when they had uncovered themselves I did not discover that they had shed one tear. This brought to my recollection the manner of attending wakes in the old country, with the native Irish, where the rich hire old women to lament the loss of the deceased, and to recount all the valuable actions of their past life.

26th.—We took up our journey towards Buffalo, and in about five miles going from thence, we came in upon the verge of Lake Erie, which had a beautiful appearance, it being a pleasant morning, and the waters were very serene, and looking over the lake we could just perceive the land at the other side. We travelled along the sandy beach for some miles, but were obliged, at three or four different places, to leave the shore and take to the woods, the rocks having come bluff up to the deep water; from small springs that appeared upon the face of the rocks, it shewed that it passed over bodies of mineral, from the hue that it gave; but the greatest curiosity that I had seen was alum lying on the surface of the rocks, off which we might have gathered a pound in a quarter of an hour.

27th.—We arrived at Buffalo creek, having travelled through a country of exceeding rich land, from our last encampment, the extent of which I had not been able to ascertain. The pre-emptive right to this valuable country was vested in the State of Massachusetts, but at present the property of the Hon. Robert Morris, of the city of Philadelphia, by a late purchase. The principal village of Buffalo belongs to the Seneca nation, and in it the young king, the Farmer's brother, resides, as also Red Jacket, the great speaker, and prince of the Turtle tribe. On my entering the town, there were numbers of Indians collected at the hut where we alighted from our horses, and on taking a general view of them, I found that they were far better clothed than those Indians were in the towns at a greater distance, owing entirely to the immediate intercourse they have with the British, being but about thirty-five miles distance from Niagara, and but six miles from fort Erie, situate on the north side of the lake; from which places they are supplied yearly with almost every necessary they require, so much so as to make them indifferent in their huntings. And the chiefs, who are poor in general, have to look up to them for almost their daily subsistence, not only of provisions, but for apparel: for the Farmer's Brother, the Young King, was fully regimented as a colonel, red faced with blue, as belonging to some royal regiment, and equipped with a pair of the best epauletts. So that, from his after conduct, it may not appear extraordinary, where the king has thrown in his opposition to my errand, he being paid so well for his influence over the Indian nations as to carry his favorite point in question. I had not been long in the village before I was invited to the great council house, with my companion, attended by Red Jacket, O'Beel, and other chiefs. Just as we approached the porch of the council house, they had a two pounder swivel gun, which they had loaded very high, having put into her an uncommon charge, which the acting gunner being sensible of, stood within the door, and fired it from the end of a long stick, which he passed between the logs; which being done, the explosion upset the gun and its fixture. This, they said, was done as a treat for our safe arrival through the dangers that we had encountered, and for which they were thankful to the Great Keeper. The speech, as an introduction, given by Red Jacket, being ended, he came forward to me to the seat I had been ushered to in the centre of the council, and presented me with four strings of wampum, which he had held in his hands while speaking; for the particulars of which see another page. Capt. O'Beel having been particularly named by Red Jacket, he rose and returned the compliment, in behalf of us that were strangers. Being at this time just sun setting, I apprised the council, through my interpreter, that I had messages from General Washington, the great chief of the Thirteen Fires, which were particularly addressed to the notice of the Six Nations, the representatives of which nations I presumed were principally present; but, as it was drawing late, I requested leave to postpone the introduction till the morning, which was consented to. Upon this, Red Jacket rose to remark, that many persons had occasionally come into their country, who said that they had also come in by the authority of the Thirteen Fires, but of the truth of which they were not always convinced. This information opened the door that I expected; being informed by a French gentleman, a trader amongst them, that these sentiments had fallen from Colonels Brandt and Butler, about seven days previous to our arrival at this place, who desired of the chiefs, in private council, to pay no attention to what should be said to them by me; and, as they knew the purport of my mission, from the chiefs whom I had held council with at the Genesee river, the Colonels advised them not to assist me in going to the Miamies, as the consequence would be fatal to those that should attend me, and consequent death to me and my companion. From these suggestions, which had fallen from Red Jacket, I mentioned, in open council, that I was desirous that they might call forward any gentleman of veracity, whom they had confidence in, to be present while I should deliver myself to them, and overlook any writings that I was directed to lay before the Six Nations, as by that means proof would be made that my commission was founded on the authority of the United States of America. They then agreed upon sending for the commanding officer of fort Erie, and despatched a runner for the purpose. Soon after

the council broke up, Captain John, of the Onandagos, came to my hut, and informed me, in private conversation, that no scruple was made of the authority I came under to them, being well informed by the chiefs of the Genesee, who had given that information some considerable time before my reaching Buffalo. Captain John, from his manners, appeared to be a man of veracity, and had received a Mohawk education, and understood himself very well, and during my stay at Buffalo attached himself to me in person, and promoted, all that lay in his power, the business that I had before the council; but the reasons, he said, they were so particular with me, was on account of a certain William Ewing, a resident from the Connedesago lake, who had come in behalf of the Hon. Robert Morris, whom he called the second greatest man in the Union; that he had convened a council the day previous to my arrival, informing those of the Six Nations present, that the pre-emptive right to the lands in this country, as belonging to the State of Massachusetts, were now the property of the said Robert Morris; whensoever the Six Nations of Indians were disposed to sell any part of the same; that, the better to authenticate this business that he had to perform, he produced his instructions, under the hands and seals of the Hon. Robert Morris and the Hon. — Ogden, both of the State of Pennsylvania, adding, that the chain of friendship now stretched between the said gentlemen and the Six Nations, the centre of which was to be supported by him; that in consequence thereof, he desired their permission to traverse the several courses of the lands granted by their agent, — Livingston, of New York, to the said State of Massachusetts.

28th.—The council being convened within the house, there appeared to be about one hundred and fifty in number. Mr. Ewing began to open and continue his business, which he had introduced the day before; upon which, I rose to inform him that he must desist from going on any farther, as it was an interference with my mission, that was of the utmost consequence to the United States, and to the Indian nations in general; and that, as soon as the same was completed, agreeable to the purport of my coming here, that then I would lend him such assistance as was in my power, and through which I would evidence my respect for the gentlemen who sent him.

The commanding officer of fort Erie sent word to the council this morning, that he could not leave his garrison without the express permission of the commandant of Niagara, (Col. Gordon) but that he had sent Captain Powell, of the Indian Department, as a suitable person to superintend their business.

As a proper introduction to my mission, and by the consent and desire of O'Beel, I began by reading his address to the Governor and Council of the State of Pennsylvania, as also his several letters to the President of the United States, and his Excellency's answer to them, in order, and a third letter to the same, from the Secretary of War. The reading of these several papers, and the deed from his Excellency the President, for the restoration of their lands in the Six Nations, and the interpreting the same, took up the whole of the day, upon which I concluded to adjourn till to-morrow, leaving them to digest what had been said, and to judge of the great attention that had been paid to them by the Great Chief of the Thirteen Fires. I thought it proper to give the invitation to Captain Powell, to take up his abode at my hut for the night, which he very willingly accepted of. After we had taken a little refreshment, we entered into a general conversation, and spoke on many matters, the consequences of the late war. The captain, being free in conversation, gave me to understand, that Colonels Butler and Brandt, himself, and several other officers from Niagara and fort Erie, had been at Buffalo some time, waiting my coming, as they had advice that I was on the way hither; that while there, Brandt received private instructions, from head quarters, to set out for the Grand river, and from thence to Detroit. This business, Captain Powell judged, was to carry instructions of some kind to the Indians, at war with the United States. It had the appearance of truth, from what had fallen from the lips of Butler and Brandt, some days since, with the chiefs of the Onandagos and Senecas, as it had the tendency of their joint advice, when they spoke in the great council, viz: that they should not determine on any matter of consequence with me without their concurrence. These injunctions being laid upon them, (as I received it from my informant) the British officers retired to their different posts.

Friday, April 29th.—The business which I postponed yesterday, I opened in a much larger council than had appeared before; and, after I had read the Secretary of War's message by me to the Six Nations, I continued to read those also directed to the Delawares, Wyandots, the Miamies, and to the Indians inhabiting the Wabash; and closed the whole with an address to them, clearly explaining the greatness and power of the United States, and of their trade and commerce; as also of their being at peace and amity with many of the powerful nations of Europe: and though we were once angry with Great Britain, with whom we had fought for eight returning seasons, and having compelled them by force and arms to quit our country, the red hatchet between them and the United States was buried deep under the earth.

I also went into and explained the treaty, held at New York, between his Excellency the President and Colonel McGillivray, the political chief of the Creek nations, and the most numerous body of Indians on the continent, and at this interview there were thirty-two of the most principal chiefs. Every thing being most amicably adjusted at this treaty, they are now become the established friends of the United States, and have firmly engaged themselves to act as our allies in offensive and defensive wars, as the nature of the case will require. Moreover, as they had journeyed far from their own country, not less than sixteen hundred miles, that, to save them the trouble of returning the same way, an American vessel was properly equipped for their accommodation, and conducted them, fully satisfied, to their own country.

And here I was happy to have it in my power to give a more recent proof to the Six Nations, of the great justice done them, by the President of the United States, in the late negotiation had with him by Cornplanter, and others, at Philadelphia; to evidence which, no greater testimony can be given than what I have produced this day, in the hearing of this large assembly. And that nothing more remained, at this time, to be done, but for the chiefs of the Six Nations to evidence their attachment to the United States, by their speedily proceeding forward with me to the unfriendly Indians, and assisting me by the same to inform their minds, to reclaim them from the murders and thefts which they were daily committing upon the defenceless inhabitants near the Ohio, &c. &c. By this, they might have an early caution what must be the consequence, should they refuse to accept the terms of peace, and the proffered mercy of the United States, before that a decisive blow be levelled at those misguided people, and which cannot be far off, if they persist in their cruelties. Moreover, that it is a business worthy the attention of the Six Nations, nay, of all good men, both of the Indians and of the whites; and the speedier their determination might be made known to me the better, so that we might go on to the accomplishment of this good work, thereby to preserve hundreds of our fellow men on both sides. The reply of Red Jacket to the foregoing, as it will come more proper in this place, I here insert it at its full length:

“ BROTHER FROM PENNSYLVANIA:

“ We have heard all that you have said to us, and by which you have informed that you are going to the bad Indians to make peace with them, and that you are sent to us to receive our assistance. Now we must consider the matter thoroughly, and to choose which way we must go, whether by land or by water. You likewise tell us, that you have messages to the Wyandots, and to Captain Snake, of the Delawares; and that they are to take hold of you and us by the hands, and go to the bad Indian nations with us; and this, also, we must consider of thoroughly: for we find that all our Six Nations are not present; and, as our brother, Captain Powell, of the British, is here, and true to us, for he is with us at every treaty, we must let you know that we shall move our council-fire to Niagara with him, and that you must go with us to-morrow, as far as Captain Powell's house. And, as soon as we can know what time we can reach Niagara, we will send runners off to the fort, to acquaint the commanding officer of the garrison. And now the council want to have your answer.”

I did not long hesitate to make answer, in what I deemed a very unwarrantable request; and particularly so from a people that have received so many marks of gratitude, and attention from the Government of the United States.

I therefore addressed myself to the council, and acquainted them that I had the honor of receiving my instructions and messages for the Six Nations of Indians from the honorable the Secretary of War of the United States of Ame-

rica, by the advice of his Excellency the President thereof; that, by those instructions, I was ordered to proceed to the council-fire of the Six Nations, where it should be deemed proper and advisable to light the same. This is, therefore, the place I have been led to by some of your principal chiefs; and upon my account, and the messages I have for your nations, this council-fire has been lighted; this being truly the case; and that my errand here was to invite you to send with me some of your head-men and warriors into the nation of the unfriendly Indians, as proposed at Philadelphia to the Secretary of War, by your chiefs who are present. That, on my coming thus far, I am certain to be in the line of my duty; but to move from hence, with this council-fire, to Niagara, a British garrison, there to transact important business, in which the United States were concerned, is of such a nature, that neither my principles nor commission would warrant me in such a transaction. Therefore I should decline to accompany them; adding, that, if the Six Nations were so far obligated that they must have the particular counsel and advice of any person or persons at Niagara, let them be sent for to this council, so that the result of such deliberations might be done openly at this place; and that my desires were, that this fire should not be quenched until the intentions of the Six Nations were fully made known to me, so that I might lay the same in form before the Secretary of War, by him to be laid before General Washington, the Chief of the Thirteen Fires.

A silence for some time pervaded the whole of the council; after which, Red Jacket and the Farmer's Brother spoke to the council by turns; the result of it being, that a runner must be immediately sent to Niagara, to request the attendance of Colonel Butler, &c. to meet them in their council as soon as he could make it convenient. The foregoing speech of Red Jacket, as done by the advice of the Young King and Fish Carrier, (for they sat on either side of him, and prompted) plainly demonstrates, that the most of the chiefs of the Six Nations are under the influence of the British; as no business of consequence will be undertaken, to the advantage of the United States, but what must first be sifted by British counsel. These suggestions, which were pressed on my mind at this time, gave me to fear that I should not meet the wished for assistance that I had a right to expect from the Six Nations; but fully determined to persevere in my endeavors, till I should gain the summit of difficulty, which I saw arranged before me.

*April 30th.*—No business this day, but private counselling among themselves. In the evening, Captain Powell invited me to go with him to a store, about four miles distant, in which he was interested, and his partner who kept it a Mr. Cornelius Winney, of Fish Kills. With the last named gentleman I staid till the Monday following, through a very pressing and polite invitation, which at length I accepted of, being lame, and much indisposed, through fatigue and change of diet, such as from poor, to exceeding poor indeed; but with him there was plenty of every necessary, and given with so good a grace that I shall seek occasion to return the compliment.

*May 2d.*—No further business with me, but the Indians still continue their councils, keeping their fire burning, waiting the arrival of Colonel Butler, and, by information which I received, that leaked out of the cabinet of the Sachems, the council were much divided upon my account. About two in the afternoon, a messenger arrived from Niagara, informing them, that Colonel Butler &c. had set out from Niagara, for this place. Among other circumstances in their private council, by the friends of the British interest, that the place where I was desirous they should accompany me, was on the verge of the ocean; that it would take them twelve months to reach the place of treaty; but those falsities were soon explained to my friends, and through which, I plainly shewed them, by my draughts, that the distance from hence, to fort Washington, did not amount to six hundred miles, and that half that distance we should go by the waters of lake Erie, and that, when I was satisfied of their going with me, I would charter one of the trading vessels on the lake for that purpose.

*May 3d.*—Finding, upon inquiry, that there was no general council to be held this day, waiting the coming of Colonel Butler, I sent the interpreter to invite the chiefs to my cabin, as I had some matters to communicate to them, previous to their going to general council. They soon attended me, and I took the opportunity to open my map before them, and showed, from our situation at Buffalo, the trace we should make into the Miami nation; from thence to fort Washington, on the Ohio; the first, by a transport on lake Erie, to the mouth of the Miami, which, with any thing of a fair wind, could be completed in less than two days and two nights. From the mouth of the Miami to the Messasago nation, situate on the same, and from thence to the Miami and Wabash tribes, at such place where they might generally be assembled; plainly demonstrating, to their satisfaction, that the whole tour could be performed in a short time; and, therefore, enjoined them, under the friendship which they professed to bear to the Thirteen Fires, that they would, in their next council, promote and further my business, that I came to receive their assistance to perform; so that I might go on my journey, without farther hesitation, as my orders were, not to remain at any council longer than two or three days, if I could possibly do otherwise; so that it might be reasonably expected, that my stay here could not be much longer, this being the seventh day since my arrival. I hoped, therefore, they would not be silent with me longer, as I plainly saw that they were not to exercise their own opinions but on the opinion of the British agent. These remarks I made, with intention that they should feel the force of my observations; upon which, Red Jacket desired that I should hear him speak; as I had been speaking a long time. "Tell him, said he, (speaking to the interpreter) that some of his language is soft, but that other parts of it are too strong; for the danger that is before us is great, and our enemies are drunk; and they will not hear what we say, like a man that is sober, and we consider that, whatever number of the Six Nations accompany him, will be in the same danger with himself, and it is likely that we shall not live long, when the bad Indians shall see us. Therefore, as it is a business of such great weight to us, we must take counsel, in order to save ourselves, and him, from falling by their hands. Moreover, the Indians are not like white men: for they must think a great while. He must therefore attend our councils, and look and hear till we shall speak on his business; and to-morrow our head-men will meet together, and try what can be done." While we were in conversation together, a runner came to the Young King, acquainting him that Colonel Butler, with several officers, from Niagara, had arrived at the store house, on lake Erie, where, Colonel Butler desired, that the sachems and head-men of the nations should meet him in the morning; but did not advise that I should attend with them. This, the Young King desired, might be told to me, that I might know that Colonel Butler had called them together. The circumstance of their moving the council fire from hence to lake Erie, had never been attempted before, and may with propriety be said, that, their being called together without my being to be present, was intended to answer some private purpose; perhaps to damp the ardor of such friends as I might have gained among the Indians, through the fair and honorable statements which I had laid before them in their councils. Since the dusk of the night, Captain O'Beel has called a meeting of the chiefs, at the cabin of Cayassutta, as I understood it, to advise them not to do any thing to injure me, in the business I had to do with them. In the course of this day, Captains Half-Town and Big-Tree, and several of the head-men and warriors from O'Beel's town, and Cattaragus, about sixty in number, and Captain Snake, with about forty of the Delawares, arrived, attended by many of their women, youth &c. By invitation, I dined this day (in company with Captain Houdin,) with the principal chief of the Onandago nation, named Big Sky. His castle lay about three mile east of Buffalo, near which were about twenty eight good cabins, and the inhabitants appeared, in general, to be decent, and well clothed, particularly their women, some of which were dressed so richly with silken stroud &c. and ornamented with so many silver trappings, that one suit must be of the value of at least thirty pounds; some of the latter attended the feast, which principally consisted of young pigeons, some boiled, some stewed, and the mode of dishing them up was, that a hank of six were tied with a deer's sinew round their necks, their bills pointing outwards; they were pluck'd, but of pen-feathers there plenty remained: the inside was taken out, but it appeared from the soup made of them, that water had not touched them before. The repast being the best I had seen for a long time, late of it very heartily, and the entertainment was given with the appearance of much hospitality. Returned about sunset to Buffalo.

*May 4th.*—The whole of the head-men and warriors repaired to the place, yesterday appointed by Colonel Butler, to open that council they intended holding at the British garrison of Niagara. I pressed my friend O'Beel to go forward with them, by all means, lest the United States should not be represented. About eleven o'clock, an Indian runner delivered me a letter from Colonel Butler, through which Captain Houdin and myself received a polite invitation to dine with him and his officers, viz. Captain Burrows, commandant of fort Erie, Colonel Street, Captain Johnson, Captain Powell, and Captain Butler Shane; most of which gentlemen appeared to speak the

Indian language fluently, and all appeared to be busily engaged with the parties, holding converse with them. The tenor of which was, as I since understood it, that they must be cautious what they should undertake to do, in such matters as I had laid before them; and before they might determine, they must repair to Niagara, and receive the instructions of Colonel Gordon. Colonel Butler speaking to them, in my hearing, to the same effect, also mentioning, that, as Colonel Brandt, of Grand river, and Mr. M'Gee, agent for Indian affairs for Detroit, were now preparing to go among the Indians at war with the Americans, to know what their intentions were, whether for war or for peace; advising them by all means to wait the information that would be received from them, and, should it not come as early as might be expected, they should not go without it, as thereby they would draw war upon their own nations; for they were very angry with them already, and would be more so on finding an American among them; and that, notwithstanding his going among them was to establish peace, they would kill them all, without waiting to hear what errand he had come upon. This, and the like conversation, from Colonel Butler, beside what were doing by his officers of the Indian department, then present, lasted till late dinner time, and previous to their going away to their castle at Buffalo. The Young King and Red Jacket remarked to Colonel Butler, that the speech intended for the Miami and Wabash Indians contained threatening sentences, which would be more likely to irritate them, than soften them into a compliance. Upon this information being given, I undertook to show them to Colonel Butler, and others that were present; that, on the same being read publicly, they acknowledged, that they had not understood it so well before, and appeared satisfied that a mistake rested with them. A considerable conversation took place with Colonel Butler and myself, in presence of the Young King and other chiefs, entirely on the subject of a peace, and of my intended progress through the Miami country, which were severally interpreted to them, the tenor of the Colonel's advice being, to leave the whole of the treaty, and adjustment of the same, to the chiefs of Buffalo, Colonel Brandt, and M'Gee, whom he should engage for, to accommodate the disputes between the Indians at war and the United States, and on no account to attempt the undertaking myself, as he was well aware what must be the consequence.

Colonel Butler having given his opinion so fully, gave me the opportunity to explain myself, by saying, that, if I possessed weakness enough to submit to a negotiation on the terms he had introduced, that a peace could not be confirmed with the thirteen States, but with his Britannic Majesty's subjects, in their behalf; that, on the completion of this business, due honor would rest with the negotiators, and, by such a passive procedure in me, I should justly entail on myself lasting disrepute. That, for those reasons, the chiefs of the Six Nations must be decisive in their answers to me, within a few days, being compelled, by my duty, to seek assistance by other expedients, which are in my power—perceiving in some of their chiefs, an indifference of conduct in matters which I held to be of the utmost importance. These expressions having been interpreted to them, they severally retired to their villages, and I received the invitation of continuing the night with those gentlemen, and complying with the same, I received the utmost civility and agreeable conversation till one o'clock in the morning.

May 5.—This morning, Col. Butler and his suite took boat from hence, which was rowed by six British soldiers across the lake, for fort Erie; and previous to their departure, as before mentioned, I saw that each, and every public paper, received by Cornplanter at Philadelphia, together with the message that I brought to the Six Nations, were safely put under the care of Col. Butler, and by him to be presented to the commanding officer of Niagara, as concluded upon by the council of the Six Nations, so that the counsel of Col. Gordon might be obtained by them. In the afternoon of this day, I wrote a letter to obtain permission from the commanding officer of Niagara, to freight one of the schooners upon the lake, to conduct me, and such Indians as were willing to go with me, to Sandusky, in order that no time might be lost when I should gain their concurrence, and forwarded the same by an Indian, being unwilling to trouble either of the officers with its carriage, to Col. Gordon: paid him 15s. [See the letter to Col. Gordon.]

May 6.—Red Jacket and Captain O'Beel came to see me, when the former acquainted me with the reason why no council would be held this day, to wit: That it was their pigeon time, in which the Great Spirit had blessed them with an abundance; and that such was his goodness to the Indians, that he never failed sending them, season after season; and although it might seem a small matter to me, the Indians will never lose sight of those blessings. This is, therefore, the reason why our men, women, and children, are gone from their towns; but on to-morrow, our headmen will return, and your business again shall be taken up. 'Tis a matter worthy of observation, that at some convenient distance from every of the Indian settlements, the pigeons hatch their young in this season of the year, and the trees which they commonly light on, are low, and of the bushy kind, and they are found in such great abundance, that, exceeding a hundred nests, a pair of pigeons in each are common to be found in a single tree; so that I have seen in one house, belonging to one family, several large baskets full of dead squabs; these they commonly take when they are just prepared to leave their nests, and as far as is possible for them to be made; when, after they are plucked and cleansed a little, they are preserved by smoke, and laid by for use.

May 7.—Captain O'Beel called the chiefs together on business concerning themselves; to take into consideration where land should be selected for the accommodation of certain tribes and families, who had put themselves under the protection of the Six Nations, being compelled to leave their former situations, dreading the rage of the Shawanese and Miami Indians. To Captain Snake, and the Delawares under his immediate care, the place appointed for them to plant in, was near the village of Cattaragus; to the families of Connondoghta, a chief of the Messasagoes, and to the Bear Oil Chief and his family, who fled from their settlement, Conyatt, all of the same nation, had their planting grounds assigned to them near the village of Buffalo. On the arrival of the Bear's Oil chief and Connon-dochta at this place, they acquainted me, that, from their friends, they had intelligence, that large bodies of Indians were assembled at the Miamis, preparing for a descent on some part of our settlements, or garrisons, on or near the Ohio; and that many white people had lately fallen by the hands of the Indians; in which attack, two warriors were lost; and by the same information they received accounts that war traces were seen leading to fort Pitt. They professed to be very happy in seeing of me, as they had heard it in their own country, the business I had come upon. At this meeting advice was received that the Squawky Indians, those of Carrahadeer, and Hishhue, were in fear of our white people, and about to leave their settlements and repair to Buffalo. This account several of the chiefs came to make me acquainted with. Upon which, I told them that such a report had not the least shadow of truth, for it was a well known subject to the inhabitants of the Genesee, that, by my mission, I was sent to the Six Nations as a pledge for the friendship of the Thirteen Fires to them; that whosoever was the author of this bad report, was a great enemy to the Indians, as well as to the whites inhabiting the frontiers, and that, therefore, without loss of time, they should send messengers to advise the Indians of those settlements not to stir from their property, but to go on with their planting as usual, and that neither our army, nor our militia, dare to disturb the quiet. This my advice was communicated to the council, and Cornplanter was active in forwarding the despatches to them. During this day's business in their council, it was moved that some of their chiefs, attended by the Farmer's Brother, should go to Niagara to obtain the counsel and assistance of Colonel Gordon; but nothing was determined upon. Mr. Joseph Smith arrived this day from the Genesee, with a message from Col. Pickering, intimating to the Six Nations that he had received presents for them from the United States, desiring their attendance at the Painted Post, on the Tioga river, on the 16th day of June next. The introductory part of his address pointed out to them the interview that he had had with their chiefs at Tioga Point, two years since; that there the mutual friendships between the United States and the Six Nations were entered into; that he was happy to inform them that the chain between them was held fast by the States, and kept free from rust. In his next position, he recommended to them to keep peaceable in their towns, and by no means to join the Indians who were carrying on a war against the United States. I seconded the purport of his speech to them, and advised, in a particular manner, that the whole of their chiefs and warriors, with their women, would present themselves at Cohocton, on the day, or as near it as possible, and receive the benefits which would be bestowed upon them by the Thirteen Fires; and this the chiefs promised should be attended to.

Council this day, as usual, without my meeting amongst them. Nothing more material.



*May 8.*—A great dance was performed here this day, and worship, by the Six Nations present; but in the fore part of the day they held council, and I was present. For the particulars, see the speech of Fish Carrier, a chief of the Cayugas, and the right hand man of Brandt and Butler.

*May 9.*—The council being convened, I replied to the speech of Fish Carrier, delivered yesterday, in which I gave them to understand, that I thought it useless for me to stay any longer with them at Buffalo, seeing that those who were in the interest of the British had deterred others of them from serving in the cause of the United States; and that, whatsoever they might have conceived of their conduct throughout this business, that I would lay it in its true colors before General Washington, the President of the United States, that he might be the judge how far the Six Nations deserved his future attention and care. And here I must inform the chief and head men of the Six Nations, that I have, by your desire, from time to time, overstaid the period limited me to be at fort Washington, being the thirteenth day since my arrival. I therefore call upon you for your final answer to my message, and I cannot doubt but it will be such that will remove all those troubles from my mind that it has labored under for many days past; and this you must receive as the last talk I have to make to you, unless that something worthy of my attention shall be publicly declared by your head-men, that can alter the opinion I now possess. And shall only add, in this place, that it is my fervent desire that the Great Spirit may always preside over the councils of the Six Nations, and direct all their doings for their lasting happiness.

Previous to my leaving the council, Red Jacket and the Young King desired that I would wait their future deliberations, and from a few words which were afterwards spoken to me by Red Jacket in council, gave me the first reason to expect their assistance.

*May 10.*—Worship was performed this day, as usual.

*May 11.*—The great dance that succeeded was attended with a very drunken entertainment, from the Young King to the meanest subject, Corn Planter and some of the elders of the women excepted; but not the least insolence was offered to me, or any of my people.

*May 12.*—There was a general alarm took place in all the villages near this quarter, the cause of it I had judged proceeded from the enemies of the United States; but report gave it that there was a large number of Indians approaching the castle of Buffalo, and that one of them had come to a woman the last evening, and showed her two fresh scalps, one of which was a white man's, and the other an Indian's; the last scalp so large, that the ears, with its bobs, remained to it; and that the main object was, to make demand of the white persons among them, and of me, in particular, to be surrendered; and should it be denied, they would commence an open war against them. Capt. O'Beel on this feigned alarm: sent out, early in the morning of the 13th, a number of his Indians, to discover if there were the appearance of an enemy's track; but returned in the afternoon, and reported that there had been no Indians where it had been said they were seen in numbers. Some time in the day, the Young King went to the encampment of the Bear's Oil chief, and, in conversation with him, and many others of the Indians, told them to prepare going for Niagara in the morning, with him and others, to consult with Col. Gordon what was necessary to be done, as I had required an immediate answer from the Six Nations, on my messages to them, and to determine whether they should take the advice of the United States, or the advice of the British. This information I received from Captain Print, an Indian chief, and one of those who accompanied Gen. Sullivan, speaking the English language sufficiently well to be understood. He told me farther, that the British were the main instigation of my not succeeding hitherto. This led me to call a meeting of the chiefs at my cabin, this evening, and particularly the Young King to be of the number. Captain Print was present; as also O'Beel. Before them I recounted many principal objects, as the end of my mission to them; and in the clearest and most becoming manner, I showed them where they had failed to perform, in many instances, all that I required at their hands; and if such had been attended to by them, the United States would be the more liberal in their rewards; but the contrary having taken place, the more straitened their gifts would be in future; and that the reasons they were now called to the Painted Post, to receive clothing, &c. at the hand of Col. Pickering, were under the firmest belief of the President of the Thirteen Fires, that we are, at this time, far advanced in the country of the unfriendly Indians, proceeding on our way to the treaty at fort Washington, which is to be held by Gen. St. Clair, Governor of the Western territories. What passed at this interview between me and them, was soon carried for the information of the elders of the women, and was the cause of the awakening the whole of them from their lethargy. Mess expense for four persons, and feed for our horses, commencing 27th April, to 13th May, both days included, £12 16s. 7d.

Information received this day of Mr. Joseph Smith, interpreter, as he had the same from a Mr. John Knowles, of Detroit, and formerly of the city of Philadelphia, silversmith, viz. that, after the battle which was fought last fall, between Colonel Harmar and the Wabash Indians, &c. great quantities of provisions, ammunition, and other necessaries, were sent to the seat of war, to supply the Indians, and conducted by a Simon Gerty, and some other persons, from the garrison of Detroit, said to be of more notoriety than said Gerty. This being a fact, founded on truth. *Quere.* Is it not as likely that they are constantly supplied by the same process with every article they stand in need of to carry on war with the United States? And can this be a principle, comporting with the reputation of a *brave Briton*? I think not.

*14th.*—Private council this day with the Indians, as usual, in which they strongly debated on the principles under consideration between me and Colonel Butler; the particulars of which are more fully explained in the speech of the Young King, assisted by Fish Carrier, which he delivered in my hut after candle light. [See subsequent page.] The afternoon of the 9th instant, about 5 o'clock, my interpreter came to inform me, that Mr. William Ewing had called the chiefs to his hut, (as was his custom, unknown to me, almost every afternoon) and that a council fire was lighted in the front of the same; that Fish Carrier, the Farmer's Brother, and several other chiefs, were present, consulting on the business I have before alluded to. It gave me some concern, that the imprudence of this young man had compelled me to come forward, to silence him; as I saw plainly, and received information also, that the Indians were not able to decide what purpose was intended, by sending two extraordinary messengers to them at one time; being led to believe, that the authority of each was nearly similar. I proceeded to the council fire, and in a short manner introduced my business to the chiefs, of what was the cause that brought me forward to interfere in the business of their council.

Upon this, I turned to Mr. Ewing, and charged him with having insidiously thrown obstructions in my way, and was one of the principal causes of my not having succeeded in the purpose of my message to the Six Nations. In consequence of which, I commanded him, in the presence of the chiefs, at his peril to proceed any farther, in either their public, or their private councils, until my mission was fully decided upon by the chiefs of the Six Nations; and should he attempt it after this caution, that I should be unpleasingly compelled to commit him to the first prison that could be come at within the United States, and prosecute him, on the obvious reasons before recited. The purport of this conversation with Mr. Ewing, I desired my interpreter to communicate to the chiefs, and upon which I left them to regale themselves with liquor, placed before them for the occasion.

On the Young King's closing his conversation with me for the night, and *roundly denying* that they would accompany me in person to the Miamies, &c. I took this as the last occasion I should have, to tell those who accompanied him the sentiments of my mind, and assuring them, at the same time, that whatever I should say to the Secretary of War on my return, should be identically to the same effect that I had upon all occasions accosted them; and that, as I scorned deception, I must generously tell them, that I was displeased with their delays, and of the little respect they had paid to the message that I was charged with to their nations. That if the same was well received by the Secretary of War, it would tend to their future advantage; but that I could not persuade myself would be the case; and closed our conversation for the night.

*15th.*—Early this morning the elders of the Indian women resorted to my hut, (present a number of chiefs.) Having heard the general conversation that took place between me and the Young King the evening before, addressed me in the following manner.

“BROTHER: The Lord has spared us until a new day to talk together: for, since you came here from General Washington, you, and our uncles, the sachems, have been counselling together. Moreover, your sisters, the women, have taken the same into great consideration, because that you and our sachems have said so much upon it. Now,

that is the reason why we have come to say something to you, and to tell you, that the Great Spirit hath preserved you, and you ought to hear and listen to what we women shall speak, as well as to the sachems; for we are the owners of this land—and it is ours; for it is we that plant it, for our and their use. Hear us, therefore, for we speak of things that concern us and our children, and you must not think hard of us, while our men shall say more to you; for we have told them." The above speech being ended, I acceded to a request they made, that I would attend their sachems in council this day, and hear what should be said by the women's speaker, the young prince of the Turtle tribe, (Red Jacket.) Soon after their departure the alarm gun was fired; which was their signal to call their head-men into council. They were soon assembled from their adjacent villages, and sent some of their sachems to usher me and my colleague into their assembly. Being arrived, the first matter unusual that presented itself, were the elders of the women seated near their chiefs. When, after a short silence, the speech of the women was continued by Red Jacket, agreeably to the terms entered into between them, and the whole of the leading sachems of the six nations, as follows.

"BROTHER FROM PENNSYLVANIA:

You that are sent from General Washington, and by the Thirteen Fires; you have been sitting side by side with us every day, and the Lord has appointed us another pleasant day to meet again.

Now, listen, Brother: You know what we have been doing so long, and what trouble we have been at; and you know that it has been the request of our head warrior (O'Beel) that we are left to answer for our women, who are to conclude what ought to be done by both sachems and warriors. So hear what is their conclusion. Brother, the business you have come on is very troublesome, and we have been a long time considering on it, ever since you came here; and now the elders of our women, considering the greatness of your business, have said that our sachems and warriors must help you over your difficulties, for the good of them and their children. Moreover, you tell us, since the treaty at Tioga with us, the Ameritans are strong for peace.

Now, all that has been done for you has been done by our women, and the rest will be a hard task for us: for the people at the setting sun are bad people, and you have come on us in *too much haste* for such great matters of importance. And now, brother, you must look when it is light in the morning until the setting sun, and you must reach your neck over the land, and take all the light you can, to show the danger. And this is the words of our women to you, and the sachems and warriors who shall go with you. And now we shall name them, as they have first presented themselves in this full council, viz: Our first great sachem Kuyascetta, Red Jacket, the young prince of the Turtle tribe, Captain John, of the Onandageos, the Grand Carrier, Avangogathe. [The foregoing are four chiefs of six, who were appointed to conduct me into the country of the unfriendly Indians. The names of the other two grand chiefs were at the same time given, but, by some accident, not inserted.] And now we will name our chief warriors, viz: Sawishua, Cuyanddoas, Unundastheuous, Thenachqua, Conneague, Tenanquachqua, Othanjohngottang, Hottendeyoucke, and Attwanika.

Now, brother from Pennsylvania and from General Washington, I have told you what has been directed. Let us, therefore, throw all care on the mercy of our Great Keeper, in hopes that he will assist us. You now know that Col. Butler, of the British, told us that he must take our writings down to Col. Gordon, as he is a very wise man, and perhaps he may have something to say to us that is for our good. And we also want his assistance, as he is the man that keeps all the vessels that is on the lake.

Therefore, my brother, make your mind easy, for your request is granted, and when we hear from our brothers the British, then we shall know what time we can start. And you must not be uneasy that our brother O'Beel does not go with you, for he is *very tired*, and he must rest awhile, and take charge of our young warriors while they are *playing*, (hunting) to keep them *in peace*, for fear of danger. And now, while we are speaking, more of our young warriors have given their names to go with you."

Having received this welcome information, and so firmly authenticated by so complete a council, I undertook to write a second letter to Col. Gordon, commandant of Niagara, making request of him to grant me a passage in one of the merchant or other vessels on lake Erie, for a certain number of Indians, and others, intended to accompany me to the Miamies, and from thence to fort Washington, on the Ohio; and, the better to prevent any miscarriage or delay, I sent it by Mr. Horatio Jones, my interpreter, on the morning of the 16th, enjoining him by all means to present it to the colonel himself, and to return with an answer to me as speedily as possible. [See the letter.]

Early on the morning of the 17th he crossed the river St. Lawrence to Niagara, and, being well acquainted there, he went through any part of the garrison he thought proper, until about ten o'clock, when he went to the commandant to present my letter. Mr. Jones informed me, that, as soon as it was known that he was charged with a public message from me, the town major had orders to put an orderly non-commissioned officer to attend him, and to prevent his going through the garrison, or of holding any particular conversation with the inhabitants. And, as soon as Col. Gordon sent to him the answer of my letter, he was ordered to return to Buffalo by the same route he had came; and the orderly conducted him to the ferry where he had crossed in the morning, and returned, on the 19th, to me at Buffalo.

The answer which Col. Gordon sent in his letter was, that, as he had not seen those public documents that I had wrote him of, therefore he could not enter into a discussion with me on matters of a public nature, viewing me only in the line of a private agent; nor was he authorized to permit me a passage for the Indians I proposed carrying to Sandusky, in any of the vessels on the lake. [See his letter.] This unfriendly denial puts a stop to the further attempting to go to the Miamies, as the Indian chiefs who proposed to accompany me were unable to walk the distance required, and it was held by them unsafe to go in a large Albany boat I had contracted for, fearing disappointments: as, to gain a harbor for such a boat in case of rough water, it could not be met with at times, under going the distance of twelve or fifteen miles, and all winds from the northeast and northwest and northerly, made the lake very turbulent, and the waters as rough as the ocean.

While Mr. Jones continued at Niagara, six engineers and twenty-five or more artificers arrived there from Quebec, being sent by Lord Dorchester for the purpose of carrying on some works of fortifications. He likewise saw that fresh work had been done to the face of the garrison, &c.

I have likewise been informed that the British have laid the foundation of a new fortress on the north side of lake Erie, at some distance higher up the rapids, and, I presume, (beyond the range of thirteen inch shells) from the present garrison; it being very evident they cannot, in justice, maintain it *much longer*.

The reason of their establishing of new garrisons on the lakes is very obvious, they being intended for the support of the fur trade, which produces abundance of wealth yearly to Great Britain. But this revenue will, I hope, very soon be decreased, on the surrender of the fort of Detroit, the key of the fur trade by the lakes, and such posts as may be established by the United States in the Western territory, near the Mississippi, and also in the Wabash country, and by the Government of Pennsylvania, at the *old French garrison of Presque Isle*; which will invite most of the trade from the Grand river, that empties itself into lake Erie, on the north side, and at a small distance from that beautiful station of as fertile lands as America produces, of a pure air, and a healthful climate.

During the absence of my interpreter, twelve of the chiefs, headed by the Young King, came to the store-house on the lake, (at which place I was writing my despatches for the Secretary of War) and informed me that they understood that I had intentions of going away secretly from them in the night, and that I had proffered an extraordinary price for a horse for that purpose, and had likewise offered a large sum of money to an Indian to carry my letters to Pittsburg. I then inquired who was their informant that I had communicated these things to. They answered that John Berry, an Indian, who interpreted for Mr. Ewing, had told them so, and they had come to know my reason for so doing. I replied, that such a thought had not passed my mind; and that, if I had had such intentions, why should I have sent my interpreter to Niagara, to obtain a vessel to conduct me and them to the place. I so earnestly and so constantly had solicited them to accompany me? And that, were I disposed to leave them in that manner, I should not have sold my horse yesterday to their trader, Mr. Winney; and the sole reason of my having sold him, was, that we could not take a horse by water to Sandusky: for, when there, we should have the



utmost occasion for them, having to travel a long distance on foot. But the mistake or wrong interpretation rested on this point: My intentions of going by water, as above related, prompted me to engage one of O'Beel's Indians, whom I believed to be an honest man, to carry my letters to fort Franklin; and, as well as having offered him certain payment for his services, I had proposed to him a horse to carry him to the New Arrow's town, where the horse belonged, and the rest of the way he might go by water, if he chose to do so. Moreover, to speak in their own language, I was more of a *man* than to leave my friends in that manner; and that, whenever I was about to go from them, I should tell them so, and take my leave of the Six Nations. Having so said to them, I gave them a treat, and they returned to the towns fully pleased and satisfied.

May 17.—Red Jacket and other of the chiefs informed me that my friends in the different towns expected that I would give them something to drink, as they were going to have a great dance before they should leave their women. I readily accepted his proposition, and ordered eight gallons of the best spirits to be presented them for the entertainment, and I desired that the women should be attended to particularly, for their valuable conduct in the last great council.

18th and 19th.—I was engaged in preparing my despatches for the Secretary of War, and other letters of the same import, for Governor St. Clair, and I proposed to forward them by the way of New Arrow's town, thence to fort Franklin and Pittsburg, and appointed Captain Stingfish, of New Arrow's town, to be the bearer, whose wife was the principal governess and leader of the chiefs among the women, and the principal promoter in gaining the sachems over to my interest. It is well known to every person entrusted with a public commission among the Indians, that they are expected to possess a liberal hand. Red Jacket, whom we have often spoken of, waited on me this morning, to tell me that his house wanted a floor; that, as he was going with me, and desirous to leave his family more comfortable in his absence, he expected that I would have it done for him. Moreover, he wanted some rum for his wife and his mother; and, that he might drink with them before he set out on his intended journey, he wanted a little for himself. The first request, of laying his floor, I promised to have done immediately before our going on board the vessel; and to make him and his wife cheerful at parting, gave orders to present him with one gallon of rum. The Young King was not less pressing in his request for rum, on various occasions; and although he did not behave so well in their councils as I desired, I did not send them away empty handed, sound policy having dictated my motives. And, as I perceived that Captain O'Beel's modesty prevented his calling on me in that way, to him and Cuyaratta I was not less liberal. To a Shawanee Indian, named Chafudet, (or Hot Sun) one of the chiefs appointed to conduct me into the Shawanee country, I gave a blanket, being entreated by him in a particular manner to furnish him, for which I gave 18s. 9d. This afternoon, and immediately after Mr. Jones' arrival from Niagara, the Young King, and the major part of the chiefs, came to be acquainted what was the result of Colonel Gordon's answer to me, upon which I informed them to meet me in general council in the morning, being desirous of communicating some matters of consequence to them, and then they should be informed of the contents of his letter. About this time, I received information, that, about eight days since, Colonel Brandt had set out from the Grand river, with about forty warriors, to touch at Detroit, to take with him Mr. McGee, agent for Indian affairs in that district, from thence, to proceed to the great encampment of those Indians at war with the United States; and by those who are professed friends of the British family, believed that his motives were not to pacify them, but to inflame their minds to a more vigorous opposition.

20th.—According to my proposals of yesterday, I met them in general council, introduced and explained the substance of Colonel Gordon's letter to me, apprising them that I was sensible of the cause that led him to give me such a denial; that it was replete with envy in him towards the United States. And it spoke no great affection in him towards the Indians, and that, ultimately, it must reflect on his name and station, the unfavorable epithet of a discernible public, as preferring to cherish the rage of the desolating sword of war, to the happiness which flows in such abundance through the channels of peace. And perceiving from those causes, that nothing farther can be done by us at this time, I must take my leave of the Six Nations, and return with my information to the chiefs that sent me, to whose attention I will recommend them, seeing that no fault at this time lays at their door. Having placed the whole of our disappointment to the fount from whence it came, and to-morrow being the day I propose moving hence, I have now to desire that the chiefs will prepare to deliver me their farewell speech, which I will duly communicate to the Great Chief of the Thirteen Fires, and hope that it may be done soon to-morrow.

21st.—The whole of the chiefs resorted to my cabin, and the Young King, by appointment, gave their farewell speech, but not without the aid of Fish Carrier, whose physiognomy, when speaking, put me in remembrance of the old Roman senators, possessing so much *keen* gravity in his manner. [For the conclusive speech of the Farmer's Brother, see subsequent page.] Settled with Mr. Cornelius Winney, for liquors, &c. had for the Indians occasionally, £26 5s, deducting 32 dollars for a horse sold to him, bought of Mr. Maxwell, at Tioga. Also, gave a white prisoner that lived with said Winney, 9s. 4½d.

Having now all matters arranged, I delivered to Captain Houdin all the public writings I had prepared for his Excellency the Secretary of War, and sent him by the Genesee, in company with Messrs. Smith and Ewing, residents of said place, (in the several villages adjacent to the castle of Buffalo, to wit: the Senecas, the Cayugas, the Onandagos, &c. there are more than 170 tolerable well-built huts,) and proceeded by the verge of the lake for Cattaraugus, with my interpreter and servant, where we arrived on the 22d. Paid for the hire of two horses hither, and time for returning, 45s. The reason of my taking the route for Pittsburg, was, that I was apprehensive that my letters might have been intercepted, had I put them into the hands of the Indian before named, and taken to a British garrison for inspection; and that my conducting them myself, might give me the opportunity of meeting with General St. Clair, or Colonel Butler, and giving them personal information of such matters as might not have been treated on in my letter. Having found myself fully disposed to make a forced march to Pittsburg, though late in the afternoon, I hired fresh horses, and an Indian, to go to New Arrow's town and to return, for which I paid eight dollars; and for a supply of stores from a British trader, 16s. 10½d. I arrived at the New Arrow's town on the 24th, in the evening, (distance 80 miles) having encamped out in the woods the two preceding nights. I had no sooner arrived, than the chiefs were summoned to council by the sound of a conch shell, which was intended for nothing more than to take their leave of me.

Here I parted with my interpreter, for him to return to the Genesee country, the place of his residence, and accounted with him for sixty-one days services, allowing him six days to return, at 10½s. per day, a balance appearing in his favor of £24 13s. 1½d. I gave him my obligation to pay the same at sight, in Philadelphia; and at a late settlement with the paymaster-general of the United States, I left the same, together with £18 payable to Messrs. Hollinbeck & Maxwell, for a small horse received of them at Tioga Point, and £7 10s. to the payment of my draft on the Secretary of War, to Joseph Smith, Indian interpreter. Previous to my leaving this town, 23d of April last, I was obliged to send my own riding horse to the Genesee settlement, it being impossible to procure forage or corn for him, and at which place he has remained ever since, at expenses. Not having it in my power of doing otherwise, and whether the same will be allowed for to me, I must submit to the judgment of the Secretary of War.

Being in private conversation this evening with Captain O'Beel, and sitting between him and the New Arrow sachem, I hinted to Captain O'Beel, that if he would go and join General St. Clair with 35 or 40 of his warriors, as well equipped as he could make them, purely to counterbalance the force that Brandt had taken with him to the unfriendly Indians, I would use endeavors with the Secretary of War to procure him a commission that should yield to him and his people a handsome stipend. He replied that the Senecas had received a stroke from the bad Indians, by taking two prisoners, a woman and a boy, from Conyatt, and that, should the hatchet be struck into the head of any of his people hereafter, he would then inform me what he would undertake to do. I hired a canoe and two Indians this evening, to carry me to fort Franklin, and should have set out immediately, but for a heavy rain that fell. I agreed to pay them \$4 30, and a proportion of whiskey, when we should reach the garrison, and provisions to bring them back. I arrived the next morning by daylight at fort Franklin, took breakfast with Lieutenant Jeffers, had a canoe prepared with four fresh hands put into it, and after having adjusted my engagements with the Indians brought from New Arrow's town, pushed off as speedily as lay in our power for fort Pitt, (distance about 156 miles by water) and gained the same in 25 hours, the men having worked hard all night to complete it, and assisted

myself, for which I paid extra to each, one dollar, and one dollar for entertainment at Pittsburg, having completed in five days and two nights, going by land and water from Buffalo to this place, 411 miles. Expenses at Pittsburg to the 29th, 40s. 4d. To servant's wages, engaged at Venango, April 8th, 52 days, at 3s. 9d. per day, as per receipt, is £9 15s. To Horatio Jones' expenses going to Niagara with my letter, and returning, 46s. 10½d.

Set out from Pittsburg to Philadelphia, on the evening of the 29th of May, and arrived the 7th day of June. Expenses from Pittsburg hither, £7 14s. 3d.; and for the keeping of a horse employed in public service, and for stabling in Philadelphia, and returning the horse to James Smith, Esq. Cumberland county, 40s.

PHILADELPHIA, June 8, 1791.

SIR:

I left the castle of the Six Nations of Indians, at Buffalo creek, the 21st of the last month, in the afternoon, the forepart of the day being spent in council with the chiefs of the above nations, of which there were a full representation; and, by the following, as delivered by the Young King and the Farmer's Brother, will evidence their friendly disposition towards the United States, in maintaining with them an inviolable peace; as, also, with the British, as, from the situation of their nations, they are centrally placed between them.

The same day I sent forward my despatches for your Excellency, under the care of Captain Houdin by the route of Wyoming, while I should proceed by the way of forts Franklin and Pittsburg, with the letters I had written for the information of General St. Clair, and arrived here yesterday afternoon. It is also with pleasure I inform you that, as to the several posts on the Alleghany river, &c. they were under no apprehensions of danger from the unfriendly Indians, and were in good health and high spirits.

I am your Excellency's most obedient servant,

THOMAS PROCTER.

The Honorable SECRETARY OF WAR.

*The speech of Little Beard, April 1st, 1791.*

BROTHER OF THE THIRTEEN FIRES, HEAR WHAT WE HAVE TO SAY TO YOU: The Lord has spared us this day to meet together, and for you to let us know what has been done at Philadelphia, a few days ago, for our nation.

You say our lands are secured for us, and that the grant given by the Great Chief, General Washington, will last as long as the sun goes over us.

That is the reason why we give you great thanks, our lands being secured to our children's children. And great reason we have for doing so.

Every one of us will wish well to your Great Chief Honandaganius, (or General Washington) and our women and our children will thank him, and will look up to him as a strong sun for protecting of the right of their lands to them forever. And you tell us that there is a great paper in the hands of O'Beel for us. Now we want you to shew with your finger how large the lands are which are given to us. [Here I named to them certain grants to lands which they had made to the States of Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, &c.]

*Captain O'Beel's speech at Fort Franklin, April 9th, 1791.*

We have met our brother here, and I believe he remembers what we said at Philadelphia: that we would try our friends once more, viz. the Wyandotts; as there were bad people among them, advising to use the hatchet.

There we said it would be well for one man to go with us from the United States, in order to hear what we should say to them.

Now the Lord has spared us to this day, to meet our brother, that has been sent from the Thirteen Fires, and to join our hands with his to have justice done. And we should have been glad that he were with us on our way to Pittsburg, for then our wagons would not have been stopped, our goods taken, and our liquors drank, and that by people whom we thought to be our friends.

And when we had got to Pitt, more and great trouble began on us by the bad men of the Big Knife. For when we had started from Pitt, with all our goods and writings with us, to shew what we had done for our nation, the white people and our friends seized upon the garrison boat, belonging to French creek, which had our goods in, and several canoes, and forcibly took them back to Pittsburg, and there deprived us of all that was necessary for the comfort of our women and children; and we are sick for them. And now we wait here to know from our runners, if any thing is left for us; and then we are ready to shew you the road.

In one part of General Washington's speech to us, he gives us to choose whether we will go by land or water; and it affords us great pleasure, as we shall choose for the best and safest, as there are bad men on the way.

Now the chiefs of our nations here have made their choice, and we must go to Buffalo, where our head-men are waiting for us, and where the council fire has been long lighted and put out again. And we must light it the next, and that will be soon.

There we shall finish our minds, and have good plain faces wheresoever we turn against those bad men, and we shall be strong. Our friend sent by General Washington must not think hard by our requesting of him to wait for us. For this is the last speech the unfriendly people can have. And it is a heavy matter. And we must take time to do the business well and sure.

Now we shall send a runner right off, where the great fire is to be lighted at Buffalo, so that our great men of the different tribes may assemble all their people. And when there, we shall be able to tell you what number of Indians are going to accompany you to the Miamies. And he can write to General Washington of every particular of which our brother wishes to send.

And now we have determined to start from here in the morning, although we have left all our papers behind us. But we shall leave some of our young men to bring them after us to the council at Buffalo creek.

This is all we have to say at this time, but to leave the business we have here to do with our brother and the commanding officer of the fort, to obtain our goods, &c. which your people have deprived us of. And we hope you will now send for them, as we are now going away.

Now we want to know if our speech is pleasing to our brother, who will shew what we have said to General Washington: for we again say we must go by water. And with all our friends being with us we shall be strong.

BUFFALO CREEK.

*Speech of Thyogasa, Chief of the Senecas, at Cattaraugus, near Lake Erie, as delivered 25th April.*

Some time ago there came messages into our country, that our people should meet at Buffalo creek, and then they should hear of our head-men from Philadelphia, what they had from the council of the Thirteen Fires.

About this time they had got to fort Pitt. And we heard there was a great man, and a Frenchman coming, also from Philadelphia, in great fear, trying to make peace. Then we thanked God. The next express said that our head-men and those from Philadelphia were coming on the waters together, to have the great council fire lighted at Buffalo, and we that live here sent on the express, and gave great thanks to our Great Keeper.

Now that you and they have arrived here, and have shewed your faces at our council fire in trouble and fear, we give great thanks again to the Great Spirit for keeping you and our chiefs from the trouble that befel others coming o this place. Now tell the man from Philadelphia to pity us children, for we are fearful. And we say to you, that

will open your throats, that you may speak fair and clear to us without any hard thoughts, when you get to our great council fire of the full nations, that you may deliver any message you are sent upon, from the great chiefs at Philadelphia. Besides, now we open your ears to hear any thing which may be said by us, and hear the same in peace.

**БРОТНЕР:** These are the few words we have to make known to you. And give thanks to God for our safe meeting this day together, our brothers and our chiefs. [This speech being ended, Thyogasy handed to me a belt of wampum of three strings, and then continued his discourse as follows:]

**БРОТНЕР:** This is our custom, to make a small speech on seeing our friends, but Buffalo is the place where you must speak, and at that place matters must be talked over in peace and quietness, and of which tell all people to be careful. Now wipe the tears from your eyes, and make your throat clear, so that you may be understood.

*The speech of Red Jacket before the Great Council at Buffalo, April 27th, as an introduction to the business of the day, addressing himself to me.*

**БРОТНЕР:** Listen! It is usual for us to speak; and to you we do it as to a brother that has been absent a long time. Now we all speak to you, and to our head warrior that left us last fall: and we thank the Great Spirit for his and your safe arrival here, as you are together, hand in hand, from Honandaganius, (General Washington) upon great business.

You have travelled long, with tears in your eyes, upon account of the bad roads, and bad season of the year. Besides the disturbances between the bad Indians, and our brothers, the white people, every thing has been trying to prevent your coming, and to stop your business, and to lose the way.

Thus the big waters might have stopped your coming, and the wars might have stopped you, and sickness might have stopped you: for we cannot know what is to happen us until it comes upon us. So, therefore, we thank the Great Spirit who has preserved you from such dangers that might have hindered us from hearing of the good news which you and our head warrior have opened to us. But how could it be that any thing bad could have happened to you, while you have such important business to transact, as we understand you have come on?

You must now wipe away those fears occasioned by all the great dangers you have come through. And now we set you upon a seat where you can sit up strait—on a seat where you are secure from the fears of your enemies; where you can look round and see all your friends and brothers in peace. Besides, you have come along, with your heart and your throat stopped up, to secure all that you had to say in your body. But now we open your heart with your brother's hands, and we run our fingers through to open your mouth, to speak clear, and not to be molested. Your ears also have been stopped by Honandaganius until you should see your brothers at this place, being spared by the Great Spirit to arrive safe.

Now open your ears to hear what your brothers may say after you have made your speech. This is, therefore, the compliment of the chiefs and head-men of Buffalo creek, to you and our great warrior (O'Beel) and you may, each of you, go on safely with your business.

*Monday, May 8th.*—In full council. The speech of Fish Carrier, a chief of the Cayugas, and the right hand man of Butler and Brandt, as may appear from the following, addressed to me:

**БРОТНЕР:** This day you have met again with your brothers in peace; a day provided by the Great Spirit for you and them to sit together, and talk over the business you have been sent to perform by General Washington, the Thirteen Fires, and for which you are to come to our council; and likewise, to hear us with regard to the people (the bad Indians) on the other side of your body, toward the setting sun.

Here you have made your business known, and to all the chiefs and warriors, who met every day; and now they understand the same, because they have taken due notice. Therefore, you shall hear what we have determined upon by all of us, for we all had a hand in it, or it would not be strong.

Now, **БРОТНЕР:** We shall say more to what General Washington sent you for, and to tell you, that our head warrior (O'Beel) our nephew, has done things which we know nothing of; and it seems to us, that he has requested that this business should go forward without our consent. Neither do we know you in this matter; and were we to undertake to help you, we do not know what might happen before we went far with you, as that might be the cause of our country being destroyed, or broken up by the mad people.

Now we tell you, as we told you before, that we have met on your business, and that the *one-half is not for peace*. So we look at the man that has been sent to the Shawanese (Brandt) and we have sent to see how matters go at their council fire. We must, therefore, see his face, for we can't determine until we know what they are about.

So we beg of you to grant our request; to keep your mind easy; for we who do this business, look on you, and hold ourselves to be slaves in making of peace. Now we all say, you must look for C. Brandt's coming, to hear the words that come from his mouth, for then we can say to you, what towns will be for peace; and this is all we have to say to you at this time.

Upon this I told the council, that, in the morning, I would give them my talk, in answer to what had been said this day, and immediately return, with what they had spoke in their council, to the Great Chief that had sent me. Captain O'Beel then told them, in council, what would be the consequence to the Five Nations, and publicly declared to accompany me, if no other chiefs would attempt it. For further particulars, I beg leave to refer to the continuation of my letter of the 4th of May.

*The speech of Conyandoeta, an Onandago Chief, addressed to the council of the Six Nations, through which he explained the dangers which attended on him and his people, should they remain at Coneyat.*

**БРОТНЕРS:** There is a great deal of danger at this place, for we are told by the enemy, the Missesagoes, that we must come to their side, or else we won't live long. But, said I, we turned our face once, and you did not pay us the compliment to call us to council with you, or even to shake hands with us. Now, we turn our face to this council, and you must prepare a place for us when we come; for we mean to be true to the promise we make to you. [On the close of this speech, four strings of wampum were presented, a mixture of black and white.]

*The speech of Bear's Oil, a Chief, to the same effect as the above, who, with his people, are in danger of the Messasagoes.*

**БРОТНЕРS:** Now hear me a little. I am a Messesago chief, belonging to the Six Nations. I, and my people, are in great danger, because I have been the entire instigation of saving the white settlers at Coneyat and Cassago: for I told them of the danger they were in, as I heard the Red Indians say they were bound for that place, and that they intended to murder them. Moreover, that if I did not come away to them, I should die, for that was the only way to save my life; and that, should I attempt to go to the Six Nations, they would meet me on the way and kill me. For they say, if they meet with any of the Six Nations, they will strike them. But I have not listened to them. I have come to you, and you must have a place ready for me to sit down when I come with my people.

These matters, I take the liberty of communicating to your Excellency, in order to shew you, the Six Nations themselves profess, that they are not secure from the anger of the Indians who are unfriendly to the United States.

BUFFALO CREEK, *May 5, 1791.*

SIR:

Although I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance, I am, notwithstanding, emboldened to address you, by letter, and through the same to inform you, that I am the person charged with certain messages from his Excellency the Secretary of War, for the United States, to the Six Nations, and other tribes of Indians, residing near Lake Erie, &c. One of those messages are particularly sent to the tribes now unhappily at war with the Americans, and with whom, it is the ardent desire of General Washington, the President, that peace should be established, on the most lasting terms of equity and justice to them. My mission is, therefore, to invite them to a treaty with Governor St. Clair, on the Ohio, not far from the country they inhabit.

The better to effect so desirable an object, proposals were made to the President, in January last, by certain chiefs, who came on business of the Six Nations to Philadelphia, viz: That they would appoint in their councils, certain of their head-men, to accompany such gentlemen as might be sent into the country of those misguided people, to bring them to terms of amity with the thirteen States. This, sir, you will discover, on reading the Secretary of War's letters to the Six Nations, and committed to my care. It will be handed to you by the Young King, with other public papers, which were delivered Captain O'Beel, for the better information of the nations concerned.

I have, therefore, to entreat you, to conceive the most favorable sentiments on the meaning and intent of those public instruments of writings, as they are founded on the principles of humanity, and a regard for the well-doing of our fellow men; and I cannot doubt, but the same motives will invite you to assist in so laudable an undertaking; the effects of which, will establish happiness to the British subjects of Canada, &c. as well as to the United States.

The favor that I here request at your hand, is to permit me to charter one of your vessels, in the lake, for such number of Indians, &c. who may accompany me to Sandusky, on Lake Erie. So far as my request meets your approbation, I shall receive much pleasure, by your signifying the same by a few lines to,

Sir, your most humble servant,

THOMAS PROCTER.

Col. A. GORDON, *Commandant of Fort Niagara.**May 14th, 1791. The Speech of the Farmer Brother, or the King.*

BROTHER:

The last summer was the time we had our last talk with the Shawanese, and then we tried to make peace in their minds, but they would not listen to us. They named to us their great chief of the Shawanese, called the Little Hoope, who told them; that all the nations beyond them to the setting sun, being in number forty-eight large towns, were all under arms, and that Little Hoope said they would be at peace with the Long Knife. So that when peace was put in their heads, and that we had returned home, then the great fight was had between them and the Virginians, the Long Knife, and that made their determinations stronger for war than ever, because they had killed many of their people, and hurt their nations. And after this, we tried and told the Americans to be at peace and quietness. So we concluded to send some body again, to know what they were doing among the bad Indians, so that we might judge, and we consented to send a chief to them, with whom they were acquainted. And upon that determination, as we told you before, we sent Capt. Brandt, so that he might know how many people were bent for war, or how many nations were not so hard for war, so that we might judge whether it was worth while to try again to make peace. That is the reason why we asked you, the other day, to attend our council fire, until you should see his mouth yourself, when he should tell us all that was doing in that country. And that is the reason why we are afraid of our brother, for we know that they wont receive you in peace, for it is their determination as we hear. We tell you again, that one of the same mind with us is gone to speak to those people, and we want to hear him as much as General Washington does, and we pay all attention to what he has laid before us; and now our opinion is, we must go alone and try to make peace ourselves; and that is the reason we dont want you to go with us; for this is the outermost edge of the bad people's settlement; and were we to take you by the hand, and go together, we must instantly meet with a great loss, which would make war on both sides, and we should be killed. Now we will tell you the reason why they refuse to make peace, is, that General St. Clair struck the bad Indians, while they were thinking of making peace with the Americans; and this is the reason to try ourselves, to make them hear by our chief, that is gone before us; and that will be the time for General Washington to light his fires, when he knows they are determined for peace, and we, the Six Nations, are strong for it. Therefore, tell General Washington to hold back his warriors a little, and let his intention be strong for peace, and God will assist the Americans to make it up.

Now the Six Nations give great thanks to General Washington, that his mind is so strong for peace, and the Six Nations look to him for peace. Therefore, the sachems and head-men of our nations have come to you this evening, to tell you that you shall not go with them into the towns of the enemy Indians.

BUFFALO CREEK, *May 15, 1791.*

SIR:

The 5th instant I had the pleasure of addressing my first letter to you, and delivered the same to the care of Capt. W. Print, an Indian, to be presented by him, but having received no answer since, I presume it has miscarried through some neglect. The purport of it was, to be permitted a passage in one of the vessels on Lake Erie, for such number of Indians and white men, destined to accompany me to some convenient port on the west end of the lake. The mission I am charged with, is directed to the Indians, now unhappily at war with the United States, with desires to reclaim them to a peaceable demeanor, before certain destruction overtakes, which is now pending over them.

Mr. Horatio Jones will deliver you my letter, and wait your answer, which I hope will be to the granting of my request. And whatsoever expense may accrue upon this occasion, I shall most cheerfully satisfy the same with the commander; and subscribe myself,

Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

THOMAS PROCTER.

Col. A. GORDON, *Commandant of Fort Niagara, &c.*NIAGARA, *May 18, 1791.*

SIR:

A few days ago I had your letter of the 5th instant, to which I should have returned an immediate answer. had I not waited for some public papers, which you wrote were to be handed to me by the Farmer's Brother, and other chiefs, who were to wait upon me, to receive my advice on business of importance. They have, however, as yet, never made their appearance at this post.

I think it but proper to give you this explanation of my not having sooner replied to your letter; but as there is no document which places you in any other light than a private agent, I cannot enter into any discussion of a public nature. Whenever any of the chiefs of the Senecas, or others of the Six Nations, apply to me for counsel, I shall give them such advice as I conceive best suits with the present situation of affairs.

As to that part of your letter which requests to be permitted to freight one of the vessels on Lake Erie, to carry you, and such Indians as may be inclined to accompany you, to Sandusky, on the west side of the lake, I beg leave to inform you, that I am not authorized to comply with your request.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

A. GORDON.

Colonel PROCTER.

*The speech of the Young King of the Six Nations, on my leaving of Buffalo Creek, May 21, 1791.*

BROTHERS:

We are called together this day by the appointment of yesterday, to hear what answer has been sent to your letter, from the commanding officer of Niagara. And the same having been made known to us, we find that you are disappointed in your expectations of getting a vessel, in which we were to go with you toward the unfriendly Indians; and that, therefore, you would return by the way of Fort Pitt.

You have also said, that you do not blame us, but that you blame the British; and that, therefore, we should be easy in our minds, and be at peace with the United States.

You have also mentioned a letter, which came from General St. Clair to us, and what answer we should give to the same, so that Colonel Butler, at Pittsburg, might be informed by you.

The answer of our fighting, as requested by General St. Clair: On seeing how your troops should act against the enemy Indians, you must listen, and hear what is the full determination of all the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations; what they have determined upon, and that in a few words, for Col. Butler, to be sent to General St. Clair.

Now, the answer is, that we are desirous of complying with the instructions of his first letter, sent to Cuyasatta, our great chief for the Six Nations; namely, that we must sit still, and not to mind any other business but peace; and those were the words of his letter. Moreover, last fall it was told to us by Col. Pickering, that the Six Nations must take no notice of any thing, but what tended to be peaceable; for that would be an advantage to our nations, and nothing else. So that, ever since, we have conformed to these instructions, in not interfering in any matter that has another tendency: for with the British we are at peace, according to their request of us; and we are the same with the Americans. And should the unfriendly Indians come forward to seek peace by us, we will help to do so; and we are desirous ourselves of remaining peaceable.

The reason why we now tell you these things, is, that we are neither on the one side, or on the other; whether of the British, or of the Americans; for we desire to be still, and to be at peace with both.

Here, brother, we speak to you on another matter, that has respect to the Six Nations. General Washington, the great chief, has kindled a fire at the Painted Post; and this, we expect, is done for the sake of peace: for he has called all the nations, from the Grand river to the Oneidas. And it is our desire to attend the same, at the time proposed.

Therefore, tell Colonel Butler, at Pittsburg, that we cannot attend, according to the request of General St. Clair: for we shall attend the treaty at the Painted Post, where the fire is lighted by General Washington, and at that place all matters we here related shall then be talked over again. In this, brother, you have heard the sense of the Six Nations, and our sentiments are firm and strong: for, amongst us, there is not one deficient. This is, therefore, the close of this speech, as we want to talk over other matters which concern the errand that you have come to us upon, and which we can't go through with, because we can't speak to the Indians, that reside towards the setting sun. But we have told you, that we have sent Captain Brandt, to know their opinion; and we have always wanted you to stay with us until his return, to know what is the minds of those people towards the Thirteen Fires.

We have also told you, that we shall take the same into consideration, as we want to speak to them once more, on terms of peace: for our mind is the same as when you first came amongst us, and we are desirous of seeing Captain Brandt return; and when we hear that those people will incline to peace, we will help it, and try to bring the same to effect. And should Captain Brandt be here before we go for the Painted Post, whatever their intentions are, we shall make the same known; and if for peace, the one half of our chiefs shall go to the unfriendly Indians, and the other half, with our women and children, shall attend the treaty before named; and the same information shall be sent to Fort Pitt, for the information of Col. Butler, as you have requested of us.

This, therefore, is all that we have to say to you at this time, and are desirous that you may go whither you intended.

SIR:

Thus far, I have attempted to delineate the several events and progress of my tour, among the Six Nations of Indians, &c. And although the commissions you were pleased to honor me with were not so completely accomplished as wished for, I nevertheless enjoy a conscious evidence, that, in no instance, have I omitted to put in practice such means as I conceived to be the most conducive to that end.

I have the honor to be, your Excellency's most humble servant,

THOMAS PROCTER.

Major General H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

*Instructions to Colonel Timothy Pickering.*

SIR:

The Vice President of the United States, and the Heads of the Departments of State, who are empowered thereto by the President of the United States, having determined it to be expedient, at this time, that the Six Nations of Indians, so termed, should be assembled together, for the purpose of cementing the existing friendships, and that this business should be performed by you, I have the honor of giving you the instructions herein contained, which are to serve as the general rules of your conduct.

In order that you may comprehend clearly the present relative situation of the United States with the Six Nations, I herewith deliver you copies of certain written speeches which were delivered by the Cornplanter, a chief of the Senecas, and his companions, who were lately on a visit to this city, to the President of the United States, and the answers thereto. Two of these answers were signed with due form by the President of the United States, and the first engrossed on parchment, and also the instructions to Colonel Thomas Procter, and a letter to Governor Clinton.

It would be proper that you should repeat to the said Six Nations, all that has been stated by the President of the United States, as the foundation of their future expectations.

It being the sincere desire of the General Government that the Indians, on all occasions, should be treated with entire justice and humanity, you may give the strongest assurances on this point.

The great object of the proposed meeting will be, to impress on the minds of the Indians that their interest and happiness depend upon the protection and friendship of the United States, and to conciliate their affections, for which purpose you will use your highest exertion.

That the war in which we are involved with the Western Indians is highly disagreeable to the United States, and would be speedily terminated, were the Indians to manifest pacific dispositions; but, if they persist in hostilities, their destruction must be the consequence, as may be easily proved to them by a comparative view of the respective force.

That, if the Six Nations shall be convinced that the United States are desirous of peace, on terms of moderation and justice, and that any further opposition of the Western Indians, after receiving information of the humane dispositions of the United States, will be entirely unjustifiable; in this case, it is the expectation of the President of the United States that the Six Nations do not only abstain from joining the enemy, but that they manifest their friendship by sending their young warriors to join our army, for which they shall be well paid.

It will be important to dwell much upon this point. It will be difficult, if not impracticable, for the chiefs to restrain the young men from indulging their passion for war. They will, therefore, probably join the Western Indians, unless they join us. If this should be the case, the United States will consider the Six Nations as responsible for the conduct of their young men. To avoid, therefore, so dangerous a situation, they had better join our

forces than remain liable to join the enemy. In case of their compliance with your request, it would be proper that you make a decisive arrangement on this point, so that a number of their warriors, not exceeding fifty or sixty, join the troops at fort Harmar, or fort Washington, by the fifteenth or twentieth of July. If the Cornplanter should head this party, it would be most acceptable, as his attachment and fidelity could be relied upon.

You will observe the contents of the letter to Governor Clinton. If, therefore, you should see Captain Brandt at the meeting, you will endeavor, by all reasonable methods, to attach him to the United States; and, if you should think proper, you may invite him to repair to this place, when the President of the United States shall be present, together with such other important characters as you may judge proper; but none but such characters ought to be invited, on account of the expense. In case of their accepting the invitation, the proper time of their visit would be during the next session of Congress.

That the General Government are not insensible to the improper conduct of some lawless whites on the frontiers, to the friendly Indians. That every measure shall be taken to make atonement to the Indians aggrieved, by making liberal compensation for the loss of property, upon which subject General St. Clair is fully instructed, and that, also, the States have been applied to for the punishment of the aggressors.

You will, also, inform the Indians how desirous the President of the United States is, that the Indians should have imparted to them the blessings of husbandry, and the arts, and of his willingness to receive the young sons of some of their principal chiefs, for the two-fold purpose of teaching them to read and write, and to instruct them fully in the arts of husbandry.

If they should readily accede to this proposition, you may receive the children to be educated, either at the time of the treaty, or at such other time and place as you may agree upon.

You have delivered to you certain goods, agreeably to the invoices hereunto annexed, in order to be presented at the treaty, according to your judgment; and, if it should be your opinion, that pensions, not exceeding one hundred dollars each, bestowed, annually, on four or five of the principal chiefs, would greatly tend to create or increase an attachment to the United States, you will please to intimate the same to them, on condition of being hereafter confirmed by the President of the United States.

You will conduct your business journal-wise, in the manner you observed at Tioga, keeping written copies of all speeches delivered to, or received from, the Indians; and you will report every part of your proceedings, in order to be submitted to the President of the United States.

You will keep all your accounts accurately, and present them after the treaty, supported, in all cases, by proper vouchers; and, on this point, the delivery of the goods to the Indians to be witnessed by the most respectable white characters who may be present.

The rate of your compensation for your services shall be the same as the President of the United States stipulated in your former employment of this nature, at Tioga.

Given at the War Office of the United States, in the city of Philadelphia, this second day of May, 1791.  
H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

To Colonel TIMOTHY PICKERING.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 18, 1791.

SIR:

I have received yours of the 8th of May. The report of the Jersey men to Colonel Abraham Miller, as delivered to you, relative to the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Cayugas, and Onondagas, joining the Western Indians in hostilities against the United States, is, most probably, ill founded. In order that you may possess all the information relative to the objects of your mission, in my power to afford, I transmit you, herein enclosed, a letter from Colonel Brandt, dated 20th February, 1791, which I have not yet answered; a letter from Mr. Kirkland, of the 22d of April, and my answer thereto; and, also, my letter to General Schuyler, of the 11th instant; Brandt's letter to Mr. Kirkland, of the 8th of March; Governor Clinton's letter to me of the 27th of April, and my answer thereto, of the 11th instant. You will see by the letter to Governor Clinton, the turn that the idea of employing Brandt has taken, and you will please entirely conform thereto. It is sincerely to be desired that every effort be made to establish peace with the Indians on a solid basis, and, if possible, previously to an active campaign against them. But, if force must be exercised to prevent their depredations, it is to be hoped that it will be administered in such a manner as to bring them to terms, so as to prevent the necessity of another campaign. You will, therefore, to the utmost of your power, give every facility to all the messages of peace, and impress all the Indians who shall come within your sphere of action, with the justice and humanity of the General Government.

The goods for your treaty were sent off by Mr. Hodgdon, on the — instant.

I am, &c. &c.

Colonel TIMOTHY PICKERING.

SIR:

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 13th, 1791.

I have received yours of the 12th ultimo, with its enclosures for General Chapin.

Colonel Procter has returned to this city, without effecting the object of his mission. He was at Buffalo creek from the 29th of April, until the 21st of May. Brandt's interest was against any of the chiefs going forward with him to the Western Indians. But he finally carried the point, that a number of the chiefs and warriors would accompany him, provided he could obtain a vessel for their transportation from Niagara. But they absolutely refused to proceed either in canoes or by land, from, as they said, an apprehension of the Western Indians.

Brandt had gone to the Western Indians, about the 12th of May, with a design, as the Indians said at Buffalo creek, of endeavoring to make peace.

Indeed it would appear, from the imperfect information I at present possess, that the British have made use of Brandt, with a view to peace, intending to make a merit of it, in some future time. You will see by the speech of the Farmer's Brother, which I enclose, the ultimate intentions of the Indians who were assembled at Buffalo creek. This is the only written document which I have yet received from Colonel Procter, he having sent his despatches by Captain Houdin, by the way of Wyoming. I expect that he will wait on you, and I hope you will conceive it to be proper to open his despatches to me. But if you should not, and there should be any thing of real importance for you to know, I shall despatch an express to you.

I believe your treaty will be pretty generally attended. Mr. Morris will not attempt to purchase any lands at present, although one of his sons will be present at the treaty. Mr. Morris does not approve of the conduct of Mr. Ewing, and informs me he has ordered Ewing to be discharged. General Butler, in a letter of the 2d instant, mentions that he was taking some steps with the Six Nations, to induce them to send some of their warriors to join our army, and that he would inform me further thereon by the next post. He was informed by Colonel Procter of your treaty, and has not been directed by me upon the subject. And I have also recently informed him of the treaty, and that he must not take any measures which would interfere with it.

If you should persuade the Indians to send a party to join our troops, the route should be from Cornplanter's town to fort Franklin, on the junction of French creek with the Alleghany.

Lieutenant Jeffers and a party of the continental troops would join them, and proceed as General Butler should direct. Lieutenant Jeffers is well known to the Indians, and is really an intelligent and sensible man. If more than sixty should offer for this service, it would not be material. But unless they could be at fort Franklin by the 20th July at farthest, the arrangement would be useless.

I enclose you a copy of my last letter, lest you should not have received the original.

Since writing the above, Captain Houdin has arrived, and brought your letter of the 5th instant, and, also, Col. Procter's despatches. But as they confirm the above ideas without containing any thing further, it is not necessary to



send you copies of the several species. The Cornplanter may be depended upon; through all the changes of policy, we must cultivate and elevate him. Brandt, the Farmer's brother, and all the rest of them, ought to be treated with great kindness, and attached to us if possible. But the Cornplanter is our friend from the solid ties of interest, and we must rivet them by all ways and means in our power. Houdin's receipt will be credited to your account.  
I am, &c. &c.

Colonel TIMOTHY PICKERING.

*Letter from the Secretary of War to Governor Clinton.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 12th April, 1791.

SIR:

I have the honor to inform your Excellency in confidence, that the present view of affairs upon the frontiers, indicates strongly, that all the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio, will, in the course of the ensuing campaign, be combined in hostilities against the United States.

The President of the United States has been exceedingly desirous of avoiding an Indian war, and to establish a general peace with all the tribes, on liberal terms, and measures have been taken for that purpose, but the effect is extremely doubtful. The involved state of things, arising from circumstances not under the control of the General Government, have proceeded from one stage to another, until it seems but too probable that force only can decide the contest.

As it is to be apprehended that the Six Nations may be brought to act against us, it has been conceived important to assemble them together, particularly the Senecas, at as early a period as possible, in order to brighten the chain, and to remove all causes of discontent.

Accordingly, Colonel Timothy Pickering, who resides at Wyoming, and who had a meeting the last autumn with the Senecas at Tioga Point, has been requested to invite the Six Nations generally, to a meeting at such place as shall be most convenient to them, and at as early a period as they could conveniently be assembled.

Aware of your Excellency's influence over Captain Joseph Brandt, I have conceived the idea, that you might induce him, by proper arrangements, to undertake to conciliate the Western Indians to pacific measures, and bring them to hold a general treaty. This measure would be abundantly more compatible with the feelings and interest of the United States, than to extirpate the Indians, which seems to be the inevitable consequence of a war of long continuance with them. You are entirely able to estimate Brandt's talents, and the degree of confidence which might be placed in him on such an occasion. It ought not, however, to be concealed from your Excellency, that Captain Abeel or the Cornplanter, has undertaken this object, and that, most probably, he is actually employed at this time on the business with Colonel Procter, who was sent from this city for the purpose. And it is also proper, that you should understand, that a mortal enmity exists between Brandt and the Cornplanter.

In this situation of things, if your Excellency should entertain the opinion strongly, that Brandt might be used with good effect, and consistently with the Cornplanter's mission, and that they would not clash in the business, I earnestly request that you would take the necessary measures for the purpose, according to your own judgment.

Perhaps Colonel Willet, of whose talents in managing the minds of men I have a high opinion, might accept of an agency on this occasion, as it might respect Brandt.

He will be on the spot, and if you should consider the idea practicable, you could give him such information and instructions as would tend to success. After which, the Colonel might repair to this city, in order to make the further necessary arrangements. Your Excellency could despatch an express to Brandt, to meet Colonel Willet, either at Colonel Pickering's place of meeting, or such other as you should judge proper.

Your Excellency will please to hold out such inducements to Brandt as you may judge most proper, with respect to money. The arrangement for Colonel Willet's services should be made satisfactory to him.

Any sum of money which you should conceive necessary to put this affair in motion, shall be paid to your order.

I beg your Excellency to be persuaded, that nothing but a solid conviction of your regard for the public welfare, could have constrained me to trouble you on this occasion; and I take the liberty of requesting a line from you immediately, in answer to these suggestions: for, should you judge them practicable, not a moment's time should be lost.

With great respect &c.

His Excellency Governor CLINTON.

*The Secretary of War to Governor Clinton.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 28th, 1791.

SIR:

Having had the honor to write to your Excellency, on the 12th instant, upon a subject of considerable importance to the welfare of the United States, and not having received an answer thereto, I am induced to believe, that my letter may, by some accident, have miscarried; I therefore transmit your Excellency a copy of it, and as Colonel Pickering is now in this city, I beg the favor of an answer as soon as possible.

His Excellency Governor CLINTON.

*Copy of a letter from the Governor of the State of New York to the Secretary for the Department of War.*

NEW YORK, 27th April, 1791.

SIR:

I have received the letter, which you did me the honor to write on the twelfth instant; and by the tenor of the communication therein contained, I am led to conclude, that the President has given you discretionary powers in regard of the objects upon which you have been pleased to confer with me.

I observe, with some regret, that the measure of attempting a convention of the whole six nations, hath been resolved and acted upon. It cannot be unknown to you, that those nations are at present disunited by private animosities; that there subsists not among them, mutual intercourse and confidence, sufficient to lead to a general combination, or to effect (without the interposition of the agents of the United States) a general congress of those nations, even for the purpose of deliberation; that this disunion produces impotency and secures inaction, and that, if we should revive their importance, by renewing their union, we may give power and vigor, which we cannot with certainty direct, and over which we shall, with much trouble and expense, have an uncertain control. But, having heretofore communicated to the President my sentiments upon the policy of that measure, I shall not now further obtrude them upon you; and I entreat you to be assured, that, how muchsoever I may differ as to the means, I will, with the utmost cheerfulness and assiduity, concur with you in endeavors to attain the ends, which you justly consider as momentous and interesting to the Union.

I have communicated to Colonel Willet, your confidence in his talents, and desire for the interposition of his influence with Brandt, but have it not in my power to inform you of his explicit answer; I could wish that your application might be made to him directly, if you should continue in the opinion of the importance of his personal exertions on this occasion.

I had, in June last, appointed an interview with Brandt, contemplating the danger you appear to apprehend from his address and his influence with several of the Indian nations, (which I am persuaded is very considerable) and from different letters I have since received from him, I have reason to hope he will give me the opportunity of a personal conference with him at this place, the beginning of the ensuing summer, if the proposed convention, to which I will not venture to say he may not be opposed, should not prevent it; but the good understanding between us, and the



friendly and familiar intercourse I have successfully endeavored to preserve, will, I doubt not, predominate over any transient disgust that the measures of the Union may have heretofore excited in his mind, and enable me to procure an interview with him, at any time and place not particularly inconvenient. To accomplish this, however, with certainty, it may require the personal application of some one expressly delegated, and in whom he will confide. As your wishes appear to be confined to Colonel Willet, I shall not, without your farther advice, undertake to exercise a discretion on this subject. Your knowledge of the views of government enable you to determine the importance of this measure. I can only add, that the most perfect reliance may be had in my exertions to carry those views into effect, when the particular mode of co-operation shall be defined, and connected with competent authority.

With sentiments of the highest respect and esteem, I am, your most obedient servant,

GEO. CLINTON.

The Honorable HENRY KNOX, Esq.

*Copy of a letter from the Secretary of War to the Governor of the State of New York, in answer to his Excellency's of the 27th of April.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 11th May, 1791.

SIR:

I had the honor, on the fifth instant, to receive your Excellency's favor, dated the twenty-seventh ultimo, being an answer to my letter of the twelfth of the same month.

I am sorry that you do not approve the convention of the Six Nations, at this particular crisis. The measure appeared highly expedient, in order not only to prevent their joining the Western Indians, but, if possible, to induce them, as a security to the continuance of their friendship, to join some of their young warriors to the troops of the United States.

Although the Senecas were the principal object of the meeting, that tribe constituting the main body of the Six Nations resident within the general limits of the United States, yet it was conceived that it would have been impolitic to omit inviting the other tribes, eastward of the Senecas, to the meeting.

My having seen your letter to the President of the United States, relative to Captain Joseph Brandt, and knowing also from repeated personal communications with your Excellency, the confidence Brandt reposed in your character, together with a persuasion of your cordiality to pacific measures with the Indians, were my inducements to address you on the twelfth ultimo.

My authority on the occasion, was founded on the circumstances, that the business of Indian affairs had been established by law, as a branch of the Department of War, and that the President of the United States had instructed me upon the objects of the Department during his absence.

I am not enough acquainted with the character or views of Captain Brandt, to be able to conclude whether he would work cordially in the design of peace, upon such principles as may not hereafter create greater embarrassments. This was a point which I submitted to your Excellency's decision.

I am fully possessed with the information of his enmity to the Cornplanter, who, I am of opinion, is greatly attached to the United States, upon the solid conviction of the measure being the only one by which he and the other Indians shall be secured from utter destruction.

The Cornplanter has been actively employed to persuade the Senecas to send forward a powerful deputation, under his direction, to escort Colonel Procter to the Miami Indians, in order to induce them to peace. This information has been lately received, and from circumstances, I am inclined to believe, that Colonel Procter, protected by the Senecas, may be at this time, either actually with, or very near the hostile Indians.

Your Excellency may remember Captain Brandt's exertions, in the year 1786, to form a grand confederation of all the Indians northwest of the Ohio, the Six Nations included.

By a late letter which he has written to Mr. Kirkland, and which I received yesterday, it appears that he still should like that measure, if he could find it practicable. But such an event could not be for the interest of the United States: for, although justice, policy, and humanity, dictate a liberal treatment of the Indians, it cannot be for the public interest to consolidate them in one body, which would be liable to a single impulse.

Therefore, although it would be wise to conciliate Captain Brandt, and if within the power of a reasonable sum of money, to attach him warmly to the United States, yet, considering the train of the business, under the Cornplanter's management, and the designs of Brandt relative to a general confederation of Indians, it would not, probably, be good policy to employ him actively, at present, with the Western Indians.

It appears to me, judging from experience, that the United States may entirely depend on the Cornplanter's abilities, fidelity, and his active exertions. Brandt's attachment may be doubted, and his views may be dangerous.

But, as it may be concluded that Brandt's visit to your Excellency ought to be encouraged by all means, and that the result of the impressions you may make upon him, would be highly favorable to the public interest, I shall instruct Colonel Pickering not to obstruct, but facilitate his visit.

Colonel Pickering has appointed the Painted Post as the place, and the 17th of June next as the time, of his meeting with the Indians.

I am persuaded that the President of the United States, upon his arrival in this city, about the beginning of July, would be much gratified to receive a visit from Captain Brandt.

It may be proper, also, to intimate to your Excellency, that any pecuniary engagements you shall judge proper to enter into with Captain Brandt, to secure his attachment to the United States, will be paid without delay by the General Government.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your Excellency's obedient humble servant,

H. KNOX.

*His Excellency the Governor of the State of New York.*

*Letter from the Secretary of War to the Honorable General Schuyler.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 11th May, 1791.

DEAR SIR:

I was in hopes to have heard from you relative to your idea of employing the chief Old Peter, of the Oneidas. Mr. Kirkland has written relative to the same objects, for Captain Hendricks, of whom he speaks well.

The Cornplanter continues firm, and most probably has gone forward to the hostile Indians before this time.

If you think proper to employ Captain Hendricks, and Peter, whom you mentioned, and furnish them with the necessary means for the purpose, I will instantly make the re-imbursments to your order.

I request the favor of you to forward the enclosed letter to Mr. Kirkland.

I am, sir, &c.

The Honorable General SCHUYLER, Albany.

*Letter from the Secretary of War to the Rev. Samuel Kirkland.*WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 11th, 1791.*

SIR:

I have just received your letter of the 22d of April, for which I sincerely thank you. I highly approve of Captain Hendricks being employed, and will make good any reasonable allowance to him for his services. Let him call on Colonel Pickering, at Wyoming, who will furnish him with clothing and necessaries for the purpose. General Schuyler also mentioned an Oneida chief of great respectability, who I wish would also accompany the others. But, I imagine the Cornplanter has already anticipated the others, and gone forward.

Colonel Brandt is right as to the principles of the boundaries. The idea, in future, of conquest, ought to be relinquished, and fair purchase and optional sale take place.

I shall be glad to hear that you have pushed forward Captain Hendricks, and the Chief Peter.

I am, sir, &amp;c.

To the Rev. SAMUEL KIRKLAND.

*Letter from the Secretary of War to Governor Clinton.*WAR DEPARTMENT, *August 17th, 1791.*

SIR:

The President of the United States has commanded me to transmit to your Excellency, an extract of the report of Colonel Timothy Pickering, who acted as the commissioner of the United States, at a late council held with the five nations of Indians at the Painted Post, on the Susquehannah.

The object of the said council was, to conciliate the said Indians, and attach them to the United States; to prevent them listening to, or being combined with, the Western hostile Indians. The more effectually to carry this design into execution, it was thought proper to draw them to a greater distance from the theatre of war, and at a critical period to hold out an object of employment for the minds of their young men, who are with difficulty restrained from indulging their ruling passion for war.

These objects appear to have been executed with ability and judgment, and good consequences may be expected to flow from the council.

But it appears, that the commissioner's desire to accomplish the objects of his commission in the greatest degree, has led him incautiously, at the earnest request of the Cayugas present, to ratify and confirm a certain lease of lands, belonging to the Cayuga nation of Indians, to John Richardson, and to certify that a certain assignment of the Seneca Indians, to the daughters of Ebenezer Allen, was done at a public treaty, held under the authority of the United States. No copies, however, of either instruments, have been retained, or produced by the said commissioner.

The right of the State of New York, to the pre-emption of the Cayuga lands, is unquestioned, and also, that the said right embraces all possible alienations of said lands by the Indians, with the concurrence of the United States, according to the constitution and laws.

Therefore, I do, by command of the President of the United States, hereby transmit to your Excellency an explicit disavowal of the conduct of the said commissioner, relative to the said lease of the Cayuga lands to John Richardson, and also of the certificate relative to the Senecas' assignment of lands, to the children of Ebenezer Allen; and I am further ordered to inform your Excellency, that the said acts of the said commissioner were unauthorized by his instructions, and will be considered as entirely null and void by the United States.

But if, however, the State of New York should judge that it would derive any benefit from the due execution of said lease, the Executive authority of the United States will do every thing which may be proper, upon the occasion.

Colonel Pickering, who is going to New York, will personally wait upon your Excellency, to give you any further explanations which you may request.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

H. K.

His Excellency Governor CLINTON.

*Queries proposed by Captain Hendrick Aupamut, Chief of the Muhheconnuck (or Stockbridge) tribe of Indians, and the answers to those queries, by Timothy Pickering, Commissioner in behalf of the United States for holding a treaty with the Six Nations of Indians, at Newtown, in the State of New York, June 27th, 1791.*

*1st. Query.*—Whether, if he makes a visit to the hostile Indians, he may assure them that the United States are sincerely desirous of making peace with them?

*Answer.*—The most solemn assurances may be given: for the United States are sincerely desirous of making peace; and I have received pointed orders to give every possible facility to the messengers of peace.

*2d. Query.*—Whether, if the Western Indians consent to make peace, the United States will not, as a condition of peace, oblige them to give up part of their lands?

*Answer.*—The United States will require no such condition. The Western Indians will retain all their lands, agreeably to the treaties of peace subsisting between them and the United States, until of their own will and choice they shall fairly sell them; unless they should obstinately persevere in their hostilities, until the United States shall drive them from their country; and, in that case, their lands will never be restored to them.

*3d. Query.*—If the hostile Indians should be disposed to make peace, and be willing immediately to commence the negotiation, how shall the knowledge thereof be communicated so speedily as to suspend the operations of the army of the United States? Should messengers from those Indians, or he himself, attempt to go directly to the nearest post of the United States, they might be in the utmost danger of being killed by the scouting parties of white men.

*Answer.*—Should the hostile Indians be sincerely disposed to make peace, I have no doubt but they will hit on proper means of communicating a knowledge of it to General St. Clair, or the commanding officer of the troops of the United States in the Western territory; perhaps by sending some of their warriors, accompanied by one more of the white men living among them, with a white flag, or by getting some of those white men to come along with their message, and a letter from you. A direct communication in some such way is most to be desired; lest, if a circuitous route be pursued, our troops should begin to operate before the messengers of peace should meet them; and that a letter from you (who are not known to the officers commanding the troops of the United States) may be properly received, I will write to General St. Clair, informing him of your character and business, and assuring him that he may perfectly rely on the intelligence you shall give him; and that General St. Clair, or the commanding officer, may distinguish your letter of intelligence from a counterfeit, it may be proper for you, with your own hand, to write me a request to communicate a specimen of it to him, and underneath I will write the letter above proposed. This specimen I will transmit to General St. Clair, and a duplicate to the Secretary of War, to forward to General St. Clair without delay, so that when your letter of intelligence shall reach him, a comparison of the hand-writing may supersede or remove all doubts of its authenticity; and as you may be obliged, or find it expedient, to send runners to the Alleghany river with your intelligence for General St. Clair, I will write to Lieutenant Jeffers, or officer commanding at fort Franklin, (which is near the junction of French creek with the Alleghany river) desiring him to forward, without delay, any letters which you shall transmit to his care. This letter I will send by Captain Baldwin, who is now here, but who resides with the Cornplanter, in the neighborhood of fort Franklin.

*4th. Query.*—What treaties have been made with the Western Indians, relative to their lands?

*Answer.*—For your full information on this subject, and other concerns with the Western Indians, I will furnish you with copies of the treaties made by the United States, with the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Ottawas, and Chippewas, in the years 1785 and 1786. I will also give you a copy of the treaty made last year with the great Creek nation of Indians, by which you will see, strongly manifested, the good will of the United States towards the Indian nations: for, the benevolent spirit conspicuous in that treaty truly marks the kind disposition of the United States towards all the Indian nations within their limits.

These queries and answers I will transmit to the Secretary of War, and request him to give the necessary orders corresponding with these arrangements. With the same view, I will write to General St. Clair, by the way of fort Franklin.

*Copy of a letter from Colonel Timothy Pickering to the Secretary of War.*

PHILADELPHIA, 16th August, 1791.

SIR:

In addition to the information given in my report of the proceedings at the late treaty with the Six Nations of Indians, relative to the land assigned by the Seneca nation to the children of one of their women, by Ebenezer Allen, and to the Cayuga reservation, leased to John Richardson for twenty years, it may be expedient for me to mention more particularly the grounds and inducements to a public ratification of both at that treaty.

It appeared to be understood by the Senecas, that Messrs. Morris and Ogden, as the grantees of Massachusetts, had the right of *pre-emption* of all their lands. But, at the same time, there existed nothing to bar a *division of their whole country among themselves*; and if they could *divide* the whole, they could certainly *set off a part to two individuals of their nation as their share*. This is the object of their deed to Allen's children, whom they called *their children*, agreeably to the rule of descent among them, which is in the *female* line; and in this deed, the land assigned is declared to be in full of those two children's share of the whole Seneca country. Here was the ground of my ratification.

Now, you will be pleased to recollect, that before this matter was opened in council, I had repeated the law of the United States relative to the Indian lands, and the solemn declaration of the President, last winter, to the Cornplanter, that they (the Indians) had the right to sell, or to refuse to sell, their lands, and that, in respect to their lands, they might depend on the protection of the United States; so that on this head they had now no cause of jealousy or discontent. This being by them well understood, I saw no way of avoiding the ratification of the assignment to *their two children*, without reviving, or rather exciting, their utmost jealousy, as it would have been denying *the free enjoyment of their own lands, by some members of the nation, according to the will of the nation*; and a denial, I was apprehensive, would lead them to think that the solemn assurances of the President were made but to amuse and deceive. Here you see my great *inducement* to the ratification. Let me now remark, that every proposition made by me to the Six Nations, for introducing among them the primary and most useful improvements of civil life, (propositions grounded on the President's declarations to the Cornplanter, which I was enjoined to repeat, and on your particular instruction on this point) leads to a *separate occupancy and enjoyment of land*. The introduction of the art of husbandry, in its improved state, was the *great object*; but improvements in husbandry could not take place without exclusive property, that the improver might enjoy the fruit of his labor. Neither could the improving husbandman exist without the *smith* and the *carpenter*; and his *flax* and *wool* would furnish employment to the *spinner* and *weaver*. These were all the manual arts I mentioned. Instruction in the arts of *reading* and *writing* was at least equally desirable to the Indians; some of the chiefs have even manifested an anxiety to obtain such instruction for their children; and on this head the President was explicit, that they should receive the necessary aid. The obvious consequence of such improvements is the *separate enjoyment of lands*; the nature and advantages of such improvements were explained, and appeared to have been fully understood by the Five Nations, and they have explicitly agreed to adopt them. They only wait for that assistance which they were assured the United States were ready to afford them. Should that assistance prove successful, (for at this stage of the business I cannot entertain a *suspicion* that such assistance will not be furnished) it will tend to defeat the *pre-emption right altogether*, unless those improvements, by showing the Indians how small a portion of their lands, under proper cultivation, will suffice for their ample support, should induce them to part with the residue in exchange for a full supply of domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other necessaries adapted to their improving condition; and this, as I some time ago intimated to Mr. Morris, appeared to me to afford the only chance of extinguishing the Indian title to any of the lands he had bought of Massachusetts.

With respect to the Cayugas' reservation, I had determined to give no countenance to a lease of it. John Richardson applied to me about it before the Indians arrived. I told him that the *pre-emption right* was with the State of New York; that, if the Cayugas could lease it for five years, they might for ten, twenty, a hundred, or a thousand, and thus defeat the *pre-emption right* of the State. I heard no more of it until a few days before the treaty was closed. Then the Cayuga chiefs and Richardson made their applications, and then I was informed that a law of the State (passed as suggested, in consequence of the long lease obtained of the Indians by John Livingston and others) allowed of leases for any term not exceeding twenty-one years; and that, at the treaty last year, at fort Stanwix, Governor Clinton expressly assured the Cayugas that, if they pleased, they might lease their lands. The chiefs discovered much anxiety, and were importunate (the Fish-carrier, their head chief, in particular) to have the lease accomplished. I asked for the law referred to; the statutes were produced, but those at Newton did not reach down to that session of the Legislature in which it was said the law had been enacted. I was further informed, that, at a late session of the York Legislature, (I think the last winter) a petition had been preferred in behalf of a lessee from the same Cayugas, for the ratification of a lease of a small tract of land lying on the water communication of the Seneca and Cayuga lakes, for the term of fifteen years, and that the Assembly said a Legislative sanction was not necessary, *the lease being for a term less than twenty-one years*. All this information was repeated to me in such a manner as to afford a strong presumption of its truth; yet, that I might have all the evidence which the case would then admit of, I made inquiry of Colonel Brinton Paine, one of the judges of the county court at Newton, and he generally confirmed the information above recited. I then ratified the lease, as stated in my report, grounding the date on the information, and expressly referring to it. I have not a copy of the lease or of the ratification; the latter I wrote when I was in a very great hurry. I believe the last day I was on the ground; and, in transcribing it from my rough draught, I made divers alterations, which rendered the rough draught useless. The inducements to this ratification were similar to those in the case of the assignment to Allen's children. The ratification of that assignment I subjoin, as copied from my rough draught, in which I do not remember that any alterations were made.

The foregoing detail I have given as the matters rest upon my mind. I wished to have avoided meddling with them, but I could devise no way of doing it without exciting or confirming jealousies, which it was the great object of my mission to prevent or remove.

I have the honor, &c.

TIMO. PICKERING.

P. S. I might have mentioned, that Mr. Allen declared that he would make to Messrs. Morris and Ogden a reasonable compensation for their *pre-emption right* to the lands assigned to his children.

*Ratification of the deed of assignment executed by the chiefs of the Seneca nation, to the two Indian children of Ebenezer Allen; by Timothy Pickering, Esq. commissioner in behalf of the United States for the purpose of holding a treaty with the Six Nations of Indians.*

I certify that the instrument of writing contained in this sheet, and in the sheet of paper annexed to it, (on which also I have written my name) being an assignment made by the Seneca nation to their two children, Mary Allen and Chloe Allen, therein named, of the tract of land therein described, as their full share of the Seneca lands, was yesterday particularly explained by me, in full council of the said Six Nations; and, after I had explained the same, I asked them if they understood it: the sachems and chiefs of the Seneca nation answered, that the whole was well understood. The instrument having been thus agreed to, in full council, as aforesaid, was then signed, sealed, and delivered, in my presence, by all the sachems and chiefs, whose names appear in my hand writing, being the fifteen whose names are subscribed in the right hand column and one in the left hand column, save that the chief So-ne-aw-do-wau only signed and sealed the instrument in my presence.

In witness whereof, &c.

*Instructions to Major General Arthur St. Clair.*

SIR:

The President of the United States having, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed you a major general in the service of the United States, and of consequence invested you with the chief command of the troops to be employed upon the frontiers during the ensuing campaign, it is proper that you should be possessed of the views of the Government respecting the objects of your command. I am, therefore, authorized and commanded, by the President of the United States, to deliver you the following instructions, in order to serve as the general principles of your conduct.

But, it is only general principles which can be pointed out. In the execution of the duties of your station, circumstances which cannot now be foreseen may arise to render material deviations necessary. Such circumstances will require the exercise of your talents. The Government possesses the security of your character and mature experience, that your judgment will be proper on all occasions.

You are well informed of the unfavorable impressions which the issue of the last expedition has made on the public mind, and you are also aware of the expectations which are formed of the success of the ensuing campaign.

An Indian war, under any circumstances, is regarded by the great mass of the people of the United States as an event which ought, if possible, to be avoided. It is considered that the sacrifices of blood and treasure in such a war far exceed any advantages which can possibly be reaped by it.

The great policy, therefore, of the General Government, is to establish a just and liberal peace with all the Indian tribes within the limits and in the vicinity of the territory of the United States.

Your intimations to the hostile Indians, immediately after the late expedition through the Wyandots and Delawares; the arrangements with the Senecas who were lately in this city, that part of the Six Nations should repair to the said hostile Indians, to influence them to pacific measures; together with the recent mission of Colonel Procter to them for the same purpose, will strongly evince the desire of the General Government to prevent the further effusion of blood, and to quiet all disturbances. And when you shall arrive upon the frontiers, if any other or further measures to effect the same object should present, you will eagerly embrace them, and the reasonable expenses thereof shall be defrayed by the public. Colonel Procter's instructions, and the messages to the Miamies, &c. are annexed, marked A.

It is, however, important to be remembered, that all persons employed on this account, must, if practicable, return to fort Washington, on or before the 5th of May next, for the reasons which will hereafter appear.

But, if all the lenient measures taken, or which may be taken, should fail to bring the hostile Indians to a just sense of their situation, it will be necessary that you should use such coercive means as you shall possess, for that purpose.

You are informed that, by an act of Congress, passed the 2d instant, another regiment is to be raised, and added to the military establishment, and provision made for raising two thousand levies, for the term of six months, for the service of the frontiers.

The plan for raising the said levies is hereunto annexed, marked B.

The 2d regiment of regulars will be recruited in the four New England States, excepting one company, to be recruited in South Carolina, and another in the State of Delaware.

Recruits will be raised to complete the first regiment in the States from Maryland to New York, inclusively.

The recruits for the regulars, as well as levies, will, as soon as they shall be raised, be mustered by companies and marched to Fort Pitt, there to receive your further orders.

It is contemplated that the mass of the regulars and levies may be recruited and rendezvous at fort Washington, by the 10th of July. In this case, you will have assembled a force of three thousand effectives at least, besides leaving small garrisons on the Ohio, in order to perform your main expedition, hereinafter mentioned.

But, in the mean time, if the Indians refuse to listen to the messengers of peace sent to them, it is most probable they will, unless prevented, spread themselves along the line of frontiers, for the purpose of committing all the depredations in their power.

In order to avoid so calamitous an event, Brigadier General Charles Scott, of Kentucky, has been authorized by me, on the part of the President of the United States, to make an expedition against the Wea, or Ouianon towns, with mounted volunteers, or militia from Kentucky, not exceeding the number of seven hundred and fifty, officers included.

That you may perfectly comprehend this subject, copies of the instructions given Brigadier General Scott, and the powers vested in him, in conjunction with John Brown, Harry Innes, Benjamin Logan, and Isaac Shelby, and dated the 9th instant, are hereunto annexed, marked C.

You will perceive by the said instructions, that, if the said expedition be not prevented, by you, on or before the 10th of May next, it is to proceed according to the instructions.

The period of the 10th of May has been fixed, in order to afford time for Colonel Procter, and the other messengers, to return, before the commencement of the said expedition. You will observe, that Colonel Procter's instructions are pointed, as to the time of his return.

You will also perceive, by the instructions to Brigadier General Scott, that it is confided to your discretion, whether there shall be more than one of the said expeditions of mounted volunteers or militia.

Your nearer view of the objects to be effected, by a second desultory expedition, will enable you to form a better judgment than can at present be formed, at this distance. The propriety of a second operation would, in some degree, depend on the alacrity and good composition of the troops of which the first may have been formed; of its success; of the probable effects a second similar blow would have upon the Indians, with respect to its influencing them to peace; or, if they should be still hostilely disposed, of preventing them from desolating the frontiers by their parties.

It is to be observed, that, in case of a second or third desultory operation, that you will limit the numbers to be employed, to five hundred.

The manner of their being mustered, both before and subsequent to their march, are stated in Brigadier General Scott's instructions.

And you will also judge, how far a desultory operation, made at the time of the main expedition, would conduce to the general success of the service; or, if a party of mounted volunteers, or regulars, or levies, were to form

part of your main force. In case two such desultory operations should be formed, from Kentucky, and you should decide upon a third, of the same nature, to support, collaterally, the main expedition, I suggest the propriety of your employing Brigadier General John Sevier for the purpose.

If circumstances should lead you to decide in favor of employing him, you could send an express to him, between the forks of Holston and French Broad, so that he should have three weeks, or a month, to raise men; or perhaps it would be the best plan, to mount the battalion of levies, which is to be raised in the territory of the United States, south of the Ohio, and with such additions as you should order, put them under the orders of Brigadier General Sevier.

It is, however, proper to remark, that, as the expense of an expedition of a mounted corps would be very considerable, the probable advantages ought far to outweigh the risk and expense.

If such operations should be successful, and a considerable number of prisoners should be taken, particularly women and children, it would have the certain effect of humbling the Indians, and inducing them to sue for mercy.

You will observe, in the instructions to Brigadier General Scott, which are to serve as a basis for the instructions of the commanders who may succeed him, that all captives are to be treated with great humanity. It will be sound policy to attract the Indians by kindness, after demonstrating to them our power to punish them, on all occasions.

While you are making such use of desultory operations as in your judgment the occasion may require, you will proceed vigorously, in every preparation in your power, for the purpose of the main expedition; and having assembled your force, and all things being in readiness, if no decisive indications of peace should have been produced, either by the messengers, or by the desultory operations, you will commence your march for the Miami village, in order to establish a strong and permanent military post at that place.

In your advance, you will establish such posts of communications with fort Washington, on the Ohio, as you may judge proper.

The post at the Miami village is intended for the purpose of awing and curbing the Indians in that quarter, and as the only preventive of future hostilities. It ought, therefore, to be rendered secure, against all attempts and insults of the Indians. The garrison which should be stationed there ought not only to be sufficient for the defence of the place, but always to afford a detachment of five or six hundred men, either to chastise any of the Wabash, or other hostile Indians, or to secure any convoy of provisions.

The establishment of said post is considered as an important object of the campaign, and is to take place in all events. In case of a previous treaty, the Indians are to be conciliated upon this point, if possible; and it is presumed, good arguments may be offered, to induce their acquiescence.

The situation, nature, and construction of the works you may direct, will depend upon your own judgment. Major Ferguson, of the artillery, will be fully capable of the execution.

He will be furnished with three five and a half inch howitzers, three six-pounders, and three three-pounders, all brass, with a sufficient quantity of shot and shells, for the purpose of the expedition. The appropriation of these pieces will depend upon your orders.

Having commenced your march, upon the main expedition, and the Indians continuing hostile, you will use every possible exertion to make them feel the effects of your superiority; and after having arrived at the Miami village, and put your works in a defensible state, you will seek the enemy with the whole of your remaining force, and endeavor, by all possible means, to strike them with great severity.

It will be left to your discretion whether to employ, if attainable, any Indians of the Six Nations, and the Chickasaws or other Southern nations. Most probably the employment of about fifty of each, under the direction of some discreet and able chief, would be advantageous, but these ought not to be assembled before the line of march is taken up, because they are soon tired, and will not be detained. The force contemplated for the garrisons of the Miami village, and the communications, has been from a thousand to twelve hundred non-commissioned officers and privates. This is mentioned as a general idea, to which you will adhere, or from which you will deviate, as circumstances may require.

The garrison stationed at the Miami village, and its communications, must have in store, at least six months' good salted meat, and flour in proportion.

It is hardly possible, if the Indians continue hostile, that you will be suffered quietly to establish a post at the Miami village; conflicts, therefore, may be expected; and it is to be presumed that disciplined valor will triumph over the undisciplined Indians. In this event it is probable that the Indians will sue for peace; if this should be the case, the dignity of the United States will require that the terms should be liberal.

In order to avoid future wars, it might be proper to make the Wabash, and thence, over to the Miami, and down the same to its mouth at lake Erie, the boundary, excepting so far as the same should relate to the Wyandots and Delawares, on the supposition of their continuing faithful to the treaties. But, if they should join in the war against the United States, and your army be victorious, the said tribes ought to be removed without the boundary mentioned.

You will also judge whether it would be proper to extend the boundary, from the mouth of the River *au Panse* of the Wabash, in a due west line to the Mississippi. Few Indians, besides the Kickapoos, would be affected by such a line; this ought to be tenderly managed.

The modification of the boundary must be confided to your discretion, with this single observation, that the policy and interest of the United States dictate their being at peace with the Indians. This is of more value than millions of uncultivated acres, the right to which may be conceded by some, and disputed by others.

The establishment of a post at the Miami village will probably be regarded, by the British officers on the frontiers, as a circumstance of jealousy; it may, therefore, be necessary that you should, at a proper time, make such intimations as may remove all such dispositions. This intimation had better follow than precede the possession of the post, unless circumstances dictate otherwise. As it is not the inclination or interest of the United States to enter into a contest with Great Britain, every measure tending to any discussion or altercation must be prevented. The delicate situation of affairs may therefore render it improper at present to make any naval arrangement upon lake Erie.

After you shall have effected all the injury to the hostile Indians of which your force may be capable, and after having established the posts and garrisons at the Miami village and its communications, and placing the same under the orders of an officer worthy of such a high trust, you will return to fort Washington on the Ohio.

You will please to inform me of all the occurrences of your expedition, in order to be submitted to the President of the United States, together with such observations as may be necessary to form a comprehensive and precise judgment of the campaign, and of the further measures proper to be pursued by Government.

You will observe, by the treaties with the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees, heretofore annexed, marked D, that the President of the United States directed the observance thereof in his proclamation of the 26th of August, 1790.

This proclamation became necessary, as information had been received that certain companies had purchased of the State of Georgia the pre-emption to the almost entire lands of the said Indian nations, and that measures were taking, in pursuance thereof, to effect settlements on the said lands, in direct violation of the said treaties, and the peace of the United States.

And information has lately been received, that a certain Doctor O'Fallon is levying troops in Kentucky, and issuing commissions in an illegal manner, for the purpose of making certain establishments upon the said lands.

The conduct of the said Doctor O'Fallon is considered of such a nature as that the attorney of the district of Kentucky has been directed to commence a prosecution against him, according to law and the nature of his offence; and, in order that all concerned under him should be warned of their situation, the President of the United States has issued another proclamation, which is heretofore annexed, marked E.

It is presumed the arrest of Doctor O'Fallon, and the issuing of the proclamation, will operate to prevent the execution thereof; but, if they should not, and the party proceed in the execution of their plan, it becomes an important

consideration whether the military shall interfere to prevent them. This point is now under consideration of the legal department, and you shall be informed of the result.

A military post at Bear's Creek, called Occochappo, below the Muscle Shoals, upon the Tennessee, has been considered as proper to prevent the usurpation of the Indian land, and, also, at some proper place upon the Mississippi.

But, the approbation of the Indians is essential to the establishment of either. Governor Blount is to hold a treaty with the Cherokees in May next, and it is part of his instructions to render that nation cordial to the measure of establishing the proposed post upon the Tennessee. The post upon the Mississippi is attended with some difficulties, relative to the Spanish claims, and is not to be attempted at present.

Indeed, the force required for the main expedition will prevent the establishment of either post, until after the termination of said expedition. The object is now brought to your view, in order that you may, upon consideration, suggest such further measures, arising from information, as may be necessary to be adopted on the occasion.

It is proper to observe, that certain jealousies have existed among the people of the frontiers, relative to a supposed interference between their interest, and those of the marine States: that these jealousies are ill founded, with respect to the present Government, is obvious. The United States embrace, with equal care, all parts of the Union; and, in the present case, are making expensive arrangements for the protection of the frontiers, and partly in the modes, too, which appear to be highly favored by the Kentucky people.

The high stations you fill, of commander of the troops, and Governor of the Western territory, will afford you frequent opportunities to impress the frontier citizens of the entire good disposition of the General Government towards them in all reasonable things, and you will render acceptable service, by cordially embracing all such opportunities.

The discipline of the troops, and their economy in all respects, will come under your consideration.

Arrangements will be made for forwarding, with the first company which shall march, the arrearages of pay for the last year, as far as the same can be ascertained without the muster rolls.

The recruits, which shall be engaged for the first regiment and the artillery, will depend upon the surplus clothing on hand upon the frontiers. Reliance will be made upon the said surplus clothing for about five hundred and fifty complete suits. One-quarter part of the recruits of the first regiment and the artillery will be clothed, and all will have blankets. From the quarter part, which shall be completely clothed, the officers will make arrangements for rendering all the men comfortable. The second regiment will be clothed.

For the blankets which shall be issued here, of the number of which you shall be informed, a deduction must be made from the clothing for the troops on the frontiers, and the transfer thereof made to the Indian Department, for the purpose of the proposed treaty.

The goods necessary for a treaty shall be furnished, and your estimates upon this subject shall be duly regarded.

Medicines, instruments, tents, and ordnance stores, and all other articles necessary for the proposed expedition, will be forwarded.

Samuel Hodgdon, who has been appointed the quartermaster, under your directions, will repair to the frontiers as soon as he shall have made the necessary arrangements here of the supplies.

He will be entirely under your orders, in all respects; and he must produce your orders for all the general objects of expenditures—such as boats, horses, and other arrangements for transportation.

The provisions will be transported at the expense of, and by the means to be provided by, the contractors.

To the quartermaster's department will belong the transportation of the troops from Fort Pitt to the rendezvous, and the return transportation of the levies; the transportation by land of the ordnance stores, hospital stores, and such essential baggage as you may direct upon the expedition.

It would be unnecessary to be particular, to an officer of your experience, on the article of a great quantity of baggage. The nature of the service in which you will be employed will preclude the idea of all baggage which shall not be indispensable for the existence of the officers and soldiers.

The horses, therefore, that you may require for such objects, may not exceed the number of ——. As you will probably want them for several months, it will be more economical to purchase, than to hire them, and, after the expedition, to sell them again.

As Mr. Mentges, the inspector, will be upon the spot, you will direct him to muster and inspect all the troops as regularly as the service will permit. But the regulars and levies must be mustered on their first arrival at fort Washington.

You will please to appoint some skilful person to make actual surveys of your march, to be corrected, if the case will admit of it, by proper astronomical observations, and of all posts you may occupy, and transmit them to this office.

The paymaster will place in your hands the sum of three thousand dollars. This money will be for such contingencies as shall arise, either for intelligence or the objects of the Indian Department, and for which you account.

Besides the desultory operations before recited, for the protection of the frontiers, the President of the United States has been pleased to direct, that the lieutenants of the several frontier counties of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky, should be invested with the temporary authority, and under the restrictions contained in their instructions, of which the paper, marked K, is a copy.

You will perceive, that the authority given to the said county lieutenants has been great.

The continuance of the said authority will depend upon you. Although the protection to be afforded must be equal to the occasion, yet the expense ought not to be unnecessarily continued: you will, therefore, upon being convinced that the rangers which the county lieutenants may call out, in pursuance of the said authority, would not any longer be necessary for the protection of the inhabitants, direct the said lieutenants to discharge the same, on account of the United States.

It would be proper that, when you issue such orders, it should be done by some responsible character, who will certify to you the time of the delivery, in order that the public should not pay the expenses of the said rangers, after such notification.

You will judge how far a similar protection is to be extended to the settlements in the territory of the United States, northwest of the Ohio. The said copy has been transmitted, officially, to the secretary of the said territory.

Horses and equipments will be provided for the mounting of one hundred cavalry, for the purpose of the main expedition.

At the termination of the expedition, you will direct the quartermaster to sell the horses, excepting such a small number as you shall consider as indispensably necessary for the communication of the posts.

Although it is expected that you will have assembled at fort Washington, by the tenth of July next, a force of three thousand effectives, consisting of regular troops and levies, besides a sufficient number for the occupancy of the posts on the Ohio and Wabash, yet circumstances may possibly arise to prevent the expectation from being realized.

In this event, the expedition must not languish. In order, therefore, to supply the numbers essential for the expedition, you must call forth, in the name of the President of the United States, the militia of Pennsylvania, Virginia, or the district of Kentucky, for the purpose.

You will ground your orders, issued upon this occasion, upon the act of Congress, of the thirtieth of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety, and of the third of March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, and direct them to the lieutenants of such of the counties as will most readily afford the militia required, agreeably to the following form:

“SIR: The President of the United States has been authorized, by the two following acts, to call into service the militia of the several States, for the purpose of protecting the frontiers, to wit: An act, entitled ‘An act for regulating the military establishment of the United States,’ passed the thirtieth day of April, one thousand seven hun-



dred and ninety;' and an act, entitled 'An act for raising and adding another regiment to the military establishment of the United States, and for making further provision for the protection of the frontiers, passed the third day of March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.'

"And the President of the United States has, by his instructions to me as the commanding general of the troops of the United States, bearing date the twenty-first day of March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, and communicated to me by the Secretary for the Department of War, invested me with full authority in the premises. I do hereby require you, as the lieutenant of the county of ———, forthwith to detach, of the militia of said county, ——— non-commissioned officers and privates, and the following commissioned officers, to wit: ———. The said officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, to serve for ——— months, unless sooner discharged, and upon the same pay and rations as the troops of the establishment."

It will be important that the most perfect communication should be kept up between you and this office. The regular post proceeds from this city to fort Pitt every other Friday. An arrangement will be made, after the fifteenth or twentieth of next month, to obtain a rider to proceed to fort Pitt on the Fridays which the post omits, so that the communication will be weekly. I earnestly request that you would make an efficient arrangement from garrison to garrison on the Ohio, so that I may receive correspondent information from you of the state of affairs.

Mr. Duer, the contractor for provisions, is now in this city, making the arrangements with the Secretary of the Treasury for the furnishing of the provisions for the troops under your orders.

The number of rations will be estimated, after you leave fort Washington, at four thousand per day.

The contractor promises the highest exertions in order to furnish the rations which may be required in due season. As your arrangements and success will greatly depend upon his punctuality, it will be important that you should afford him all the facility which the public interests may require.

Such objects relative to the troops, or the proposed operations, as may not have been touched upon in the foregoing instructions, and which may hereafter occur, will be contained in future letters.

In the mean time I have the honor, with the greatest sincerity, to wish you all possible success.

Given at the War Office of the United States, in the city of Philadelphia, this twenty-first day of March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *March 28th, 1791.*

SIR:

I enclose you a representation of the Cornplanter, a chief of the Seneca Indians, to the President of the United States, complaining of the murder of some friendly Indians, on the 9th instant, who had been trading at Big Beaver creek.

This matter will be attended with the most pernicious consequences, unless instantly averted by decisive measures. I have stated the case to the Governor of this State, suggesting the propriety of demanding the accused for trial, of the State of Virginia, and such other steps as the occasion may require.

But, as the measures to be expected for a legal process will be both slow and uncertain, it is important that the General Government should do all in their power to express a marked disapprobation of the act, and to heal, if possible, the wound which the friendship of the Indians has received on this unfortunate occasion.

You will therefore please to inquire into the facts, and finding them as stated in the representation of the Cornplanter, you will, in a message to the aggrieved Indians, reprobate the murder in the strongest terms, and assure them that every legal step shall be taken to bring the accused to condign punishment.

You will also write the friends and relations of the deceased, together with the principal chiefs of the tribe to whom the deceased belonged, to meet you immediately at the place you shall mention. You will there repeat the abhorrence of the transaction, and the assurances of justice, and you will convince them of your sincerity by making liberal compensation to the relations for the loss of property sustained by the deceased Indians.

You will also transmit the enclosed answer to the Cornplanter's message, together with such further observations as you may think proper.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

General ST. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *March 29th, 1791.*

SIR:

In addition to my letter of yesterday, respecting the murder of the Indians at Big Beaver, on the 9th instant, I wish you would suggest to the proper magistrates, an inquiry upon oath, relative to the transaction; to be taken immediately, and forwarded to the Governor. This mode of procedure appears necessary, in order that the Governor should ground thereon the legal steps of demanding the accused of the State of Virginia.

With great respect, I am, &c. &c.

General ST. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *April 7th, 1791.*

SIR:

I have nothing in particular to add to my letters to you of the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth ultimo. I enclose you several of the Governor's proclamations.

As far as my information extends, the recruiting service, both in the regulars and levies, succeeds well. I hope in the beginning of May you will have some companies of levies at fort Pitt.

It will be important, if possible, to conciliate the relations of the friendly Indians, who were killed the 9th of last month at Big Beaver; and it will also be important that Colonel Procter should, if possible, be charged by you with conciliatory propositions relative to this subject.

We have learned accidentally of your being detained at Pott's Grove by the gout; but it is to be hoped that you will have it no more.

General Butler will set off to-morrow for Maryland and Virginia, to complete the arrangements for raising these battalions.

I am, &c.

General ST. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *April 19th, 1791.*

SIR:

I have not had the pleasure to hear directly from you since your departure on the twenty-third ultimo. I was sincerely sorry to learn casually you were detained by sickness on the road.

One act of violence of the lawless inhabitants of the frontiers seems to succeed another against the friendly Indians, until all the tribes will be constrained, from principles of self defence, to unite against us.

I am informed by a letter from fort Pitt, of the eleventh instant, that a party of militia, under one Major Gutrie, of Westmoreland county, in this State, has plundered a boat belonging to the contractor, which was on its way with a supply of provisions, to the garrison at Venango, and which also had on board the goods which the United States and the State of Pennsylvania presented to the Cornplanter and his party.

The direct consequence of this atrocious crime appears to be the loss of the garrison and post of Venango, and the enmity of the Senecas.



If Major Gutrie was called into service under the authority and at the expense of the United States, it would seem that he is liable to a trial by a court martial for his conduct, and to be punished capitally if convicted under the tenth article of the thirteenth section of the rules and articles of war.

If you should be of opinion that he is liable to a trial and capital punishment by a court martial, you will direct that he be secured for that purpose.

At any rate, you will take instant measures to give the most satisfactory assurances to the Cornplanter and his party, of complete indemnification for every article lost, and that proper lists for that purpose be forwarded to me immediately.

I hope, between the twenty-fifth instant and the first of May, that we shall march one company of levies from Trenton, and another from Carlisle; and two companies of regulars, one from Delaware, and the other from this city.

One hundred suits of clothing, for the upper battalion of the levies of this State, have this day been forwarded to fort Pitt; clothing for a company at Carlisle was forwarded seven days ago.

I shall write further by the post which will depart to-morrow.

I am, &c. &c.

General St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *April 21st, 1791.*

SIR:

The post arrived to-day, by which I have not received any information from fort Pitt, excepting two letters from the lieutenants of the counties of Washington and Ohio.

I have the honor to enclose you the copy of a letter, which I yesterday forwarded by the Viscount Malartie.

The information which I mentioned, not having been confirmed by the post, raises some doubts of its authenticity. I really hope that it has not been as stated. But, if it should have been as represented, I am persuaded you will take every legal measure, which the nature of the case may require, to bring the offenders to justice by a court martial. You have my letter of the tenth of March, and I now enclose the copy of a letter from Colonel Campbell to me, of the thirty-first of the same month.

It is proper I should mention to you, that, being strongly impressed with the importance of attaching the Five Nations to us in the approaching contest, I have desired Colonel Pickering to assemble them together, in order to take effectual measures to brighten the chain, and remove all causes of difference.

I expect him in this city every hour, when I shall be informed of the time and place of his meeting. If I receive any further information of the goods lost by the Cornplanter, I shall take arrangements for replacing the articles immediately, through Colonel Pickering.

One hundred of the Jersey levies will march from Trenton on the twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth instant, by way of Reading and Carlisle, for fort Pitt. About the same time, Armstrong's and the Delaware companies of regulars will also march.

I shall also hasten all the levies which shall be assembled at Carlisle.

I shall write you further by the next conveyance, which will probably be by Major Ferguson. The quartermaster will set out by the first of May, having put all the stores in motion before him.

I pray you to observe that, after the first of May, a post will regularly, once every week, set out from this place for fort Pitt, and so from that to this city.

I am, &c.

General St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *April 22d, 1791.*

SIR:

The bearer, Mr. Mentelle, has been recommended to me by Mr. Marbois, the consul of France in this city, as a young gentleman of good connexions, and one who is desirous of serving under your auspices as a volunteer.

As we have not any establishment for volunteers, I cannot do more than to recommend him to your protection, and such employment as you may think proper to give him, consistently with the establishment.

I have the honor to be, &c.

General St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *April 28th, 1791.*

SIR:

I have received your two letters, dated at Greensburg, the fifteenth instant. I lament sincerely the sickness and detention which you have suffered.

I write this by the chaplain, who will probably not travel very fast, and therefore I shall not be very particular. A detachment of one hundred and one levies, under Captain Snowden, marched yesterday from Trenton for fort Pitt, and, on the same day, Captain Armstrong's company from this city, and Lieutenant Platt's from Delaware, to the amount of about one hundred and fifty men. I have ordered all the levies assembled at Carlisle to march; and Colonel Gibson assures me there will be about two hundred and fifty of them. If so, these several bodies will make up the number of five hundred men, besides the number of the upper battalion, of which I have received no returns.

I have received nothing precise, either from Maryland or Virginia, but I understand the recruiting service goes well there.

The Jersey battalion probably will all march before the fifteenth of May.

None of the companies of the Eastern States are yet nearly completed; but I hope they will soon begin to forward some companies.

As soon as these detachments arrive upon the frontiers, I pray you to make such decisive arrangements of them as that the militia may be dismissed, at least as far as it respects the United States.

I shall write you by the post next week, and will make the arrangement that a post shall regularly set out from this place and fort Pitt.

I am, &c.

General St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 5th, 1791.*

SIR:

My last to you was of the twenty-eighth ultimo, a duplicate of which is enclosed. By a return of the levies at Carlisle, I find Colonel Gibson overrated the two hundred and fifty, there being only about one hundred and eighty in readiness to march. These had been inspected by Major Ferguson, and would move forward about the fourth.

By a letter from Major Craig, he informs me that you have gone down the river.

I have no specific report from Virginia relative to the levies; but General Butler writes me, from Baltimore, that the Virginia battalion would be completed by the tenth instant. The Maryland battalion will not be so forward, but I hope they will be at fort Pitt by the fifteenth of June.

As the county lieutenants have ordered out so great a number of men, it will be best to dismiss them all, but a small party of rangers, and substitute some of the levies, for the protection of the upper part of the Ohio. I presume you have directed this measure; but, lest it should be otherwise, I shall direct General Butler, if consistent with your orders to him on this point. This I pray you not to consider as interfering in the interior of your command, which is by no means my intention.

Upwards of one hundred more of the levies will march from Trenton, in a day or two, under Captain Piatt. The remainder of the Jersey levies will probably be completed, and march before the twentieth, at farthest; before which I hope two hundred more regulars will be moving forward.

The recruiting service in Massachusetts has not been any ways equal to my expectations; but I hope it will soon be better.

Colonel Pickering's treaty is appointed to be held at the Painted Post, above Tioga, on the seventeenth of June next.

I shall, after this period, write you weekly; and, by the next post, I shall fully reply to all that may be necessary in Brigadier General Harmar's letter.

The inhabitants, who have been compelled to abandon their settlements, will be so far entitled to the public attention, as to receive provisions at Venango, to carry them to the more interior settlements; but it cannot be expected that the public should maintain women and children, at an advanced post, with rations at a high price. This cannot be done.

I have the honor to be, &c.

General St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 12th, 1791.*

SIR:

I have received your several letters of the 19th, 21st, 22d, and 25th of April, from Pittsburg, with several letters enclosed, which have been forwarded according to their directions.

The present view of the force marching, and about marching, is pretty much the same as is contained in the duplicate of my letter enclosed, dated the 5th instant.

The upper battalion of levies of this State, does not appear to succeed. The lower battalion will be completed. The Jersey battalion will be full, and march, I hope, by the 25th. One hundred and ninety-six are already pushed forward. By the 20th, a very considerable portion of the Virginia battalion will be on the march; and I hope, a respectable detachment from the Maryland battalion.

The battalion south of the Ohio, to be raised under the direction of Brigadier General Sevier, will be retarded by his sickness, he having been confined at Richmond until the 20th ultimo; but as the clothing and all the equipments for that battalion moved forward on that day from Richmond, he writes me that he hoped to have the battalion completed by the 1st of June, so that it will be the 15th or 20th before it will reach fort Washington. It is to be remembered, that the said battalion is to consist of riflemen. But lest there should be any difficulty about arming them in that manner, I have directed Major Ferguson to transport arms and accoutrements for them from fort Pitt.

I hope that General Butler will be able soon to dismiss the militia of the counties, all but a few guards. The artillery, medicines, and the principal part of the stores, have been sent forward to fort Pitt, and the quartermaster will follow in a few days.

The cavalry horses will be purchased, and sent down the Ohio under an escort. The equipments, which are excellent, have been sent forward. The horses will be good.

Upon the formation of this corps, much will depend; and the sooner it shall be formed, the more it will be disciplined.

It will depend upon your judgment, whether to make the cavalry to consist entirely of regulars as to officers and men, or whether to make a mixture of regulars and levies. As you will require an efficient corps, you will undoubtedly pick all the officers, non-commissioned and privates, from the whole army. If you take any levy officers, I would recommend Captain Snowden, who was of Lee's legion; he is brave, and, by reputation, judicious.

I have heard nothing further from Colonel Procter, than was contained in your last letter of the 25th ultimo. As, in all probability, it will at least be the latter end of July, or beginning of August, before your force shall be assembled for the main expedition, it may be proper to arrange more than one expedition from Kentucky, provided the Indians continue their depredations. But of this you will judge from your nearer view of the subject.

A quantity of Indian goods shall be soon forwarded, in order to enable you to hold a treaty with effect, if you should be so fortunate as to have the opportunity.

I shall continue to write you weekly.

I am, &c.

General St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 19th, 1791.*

SIR:

I have this moment received your favor of the 1st instant.

The information the Wyandot Indian woman gave you of the disposition of the Wyandots and Delawares, seems probable. If it should be true, and the Cornplanter's and Colonel Procter's mission not be obstructed, the prospect of peace with the Indians, on proper terms, is not so hopeless as many people expect.

I am persuaded that you will leave no rational measures for that purpose unattempted.

The conclusion you seem to draw from the tranquillity of the frontiers at the time you wrote, seems to be just, to wit: that the Indians are not united among themselves, or decided upon their measures. They will not receive any countenance from the British; but it is probable they may receive ammunition from the traders.

I instructed Major General Butler, on the 12th, to make arrangements for the dismissal of the militia, consistently with your orders to him relative to the disposition of the levies; and I shall repeat the same to him by this post, as he is now about arriving at fort Pitt.

Colonel Sproat's services appear to be of such a nature as to deserve compensation. I will give the representations relative to his services mature consideration, and if I can, with perfect propriety, I will make some arrangements on that subject: if not, it must remain as it is, until the arrival of the President of the United States, to whom the affair shall be communicated.

My enclosed letter will inform you of the prospect of the recruiting service on the 12th instant.

The present prospects are, including the regulars and levies, that there will have marched from the respective rendezvous, about twelve hundred and fifty recruits, on or before the first day of June next, agreeably to the schedule annexed.

By the next post, I shall hope to be able to be more precise as to the expectations you may justly entertain of the subsequent force. But, independent of the regulars of the Eastern States, I do not foresee any material deficiency. The time of their arrival at fort Washington, will, however, be late in the month of July.

Orders are given for the purchase of a considerable part of the cavalry horses, which, with their equipments, shall be forwarded to fort Washington in the course of the month of June.

I am persuaded the arrangements you have made at Muskingum, will be just and proper.

I enclose you a list of Indian goods which will be forwarded to fort Pitt in the course of this month, and to be forwarded to fort Washington, to be in readiness for a treaty.

I have not heard any thing of Colonel Procter, but I entertain the opinion that he has gone forward under a strong escort of Indians, headed by the Cornplanter.

I am, &c.

General St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 26th, 1791.*

Sir:

Nothing material has occurred necessary for me to write you upon, since my last of the 19th instant, a copy of which is enclosed.

The frontiers of this State have, since the beginning of the present month, been much infested by predatory parties of Indians; but the arrival of the troops will probably push them to a greater distance.

The tardiness of the recruiting service will occasion some deficiency of the regular troops. But I do not foresee any deficiency of the levies, excepting of the upper battalion of this State. I flatter myself that the battalion raising under General Sevier, will join you at fort Washington before the 1st of July.

I have not heard any thing of Colonel Procter. If Major General Butler should hear any thing of him, he will communicate it of course.

I have the honor, &amp;c.

General St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *June 1st, 1791.*

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit you a duplicate of my letter to you of the 26th ultimo, since which nothing material has occurred.

On the 20th ultimo, marched from Winchester one hundred and seventy levies, and ninety followed from the same place on the 22d. One hundred and fifty levies were to march on the 28th from Hagerstown; the 30th, eighty-three levies from Trenton; and yesterday, Captain Shailer, with seventy-six regulars of the second regiment, marched from New Brunswick.

I am, &amp;c.

General St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *June 9th, 1791.*

Sir:

As I have mentioned to you in my former letters, I have not received any of your favors since the first of May.

I have written you weekly since the nineteenth of April, always enclosing a copy of the letter of the preceding week.

Colonel Procter arrived here on the seventh instant, by the way of fort Pitt; from that place he says he informed you fully of the failure of his object and the reasons thereof.

This obstruction being removed to the advance of the troops of General Scott, you will of course give them free scope.

I enclose you a schedule of the troops who have marched, and who will probably march in the course of the present month. Although a considerable number of regulars will probably be recruited in the Eastern States, after the present month, yet I do not estimate that they will be of service to your main expedition. They will, however, serve as a reinforcement, and to garrison the posts you may assume.

The force, contemplated in your instructions of the twenty-first of March last, was about three thousand effective for the expedition, besides the garrisons, which might be estimated at about three hundred more. From the present view of the subject, you will have about two thousand eight hundred troops, Sevier's battalion included, in addition to the old troops on the Ohio, which may amount to about three hundred and fifty. In this view, there would be a deficiency of one hundred and fifty. In order to supply this, I have authorized Major General Butler, who seems to be of opinion that a company could be raised in Fayette, to raise it, and three others, if he should be of opinion that they could be raised by the twentieth of next month.

He will communicate with you upon this subject, and you can take measures to supply any deficiency of numbers, by raising companies of levies in Kentucky, or calling out the militia of the district, or to call out a mounted corps to act collaterally with the main expedition, as you shall judge most proper. In case you should raise levies, you may take some of the continental clothing, in the store at fort Washington, for the same.

I am persuaded the force marched from their respective rendezvous will not exceed twenty-eight hundred men, and it may possibly fall short of that number two hundred; but that will not happen, according to present prospects.

All the ordnance, powder, lead, and quartermaster's stores, have been forwarded, and Indian goods, particular lists of which shall be forwarded by the next post.

The quartermaster, Mr. Hodgdon, did not set out until the fourth instant; he will be at fort Pitt about the twelfth. Besides the stores sent from hence, he takes with him the sum of twenty thousand dollars, to pay for boats, pack horses, and other articles for the campaign; one half of the sum necessary for the cavalry horses was before forwarded. Besides this sum, not more than fourteen thousand dollars of which being appropriated, the other six being for contingencies not foreseen, he has orders to draw for such further sums as you may certify to be necessary for the service.

The quartermaster will forward, from the upper parts of the Ohio, hardy horses, which have been used to the woods, for the cavalry.

According to Colonel Procter's verbal report, there will be a pretty general attendance of the Six Nations, at the Painted Post, the seventeenth instant.

It would also appear by the Colonel's statements, that Brandt has gone to the Western Indians, with the concurrence of the British officers, and that his design is peace; that they expect him back before the seventeenth instant, in which case part of the chiefs will attend at the Painted Post, and part go forward to persuade the Western Indians to peace.

I shall be extremely anxious to hear from you before the arrival of the President of the United States, who will be here about the twenty-fifth instant.

I cannot again too strongly mention the importance of frequently hearing from you.

I am, &amp;c.

P. S. I enclose for your information a copy of my letter to Major General Butler, of this date.

Major General St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *16th June, 1791.*

Sir:

I enclose you a copy of my letter to you by the last post, dated on the ninth instant. Your letter of the first of May is still the last I have received from you.

I presume Major General Butler informs you, by every opportunity, of the troops which arrive at fort Pitt, and of his disposition of them.

Captain Doyle has marched from this city, for Lancaster, and Captain Beatty will march to-morrow, or next day, from New Brunswick. These two detachments will make about one hundred and fifty. About the same number of regulars are at this time moving forward from New England, and will probably be at New Brunswick about the twenty-second instant.

I enclose you copies of the returns of ordnance and military stores, medicines, and hospital stores, and goods for the Indian Department, which have been forwarded to fort Pitt.

I have received Colonel Procter's written communications.

I think it appears pretty evident, that Brandt has gone to the hostile Indians, accompanied by Girty and McGee, with the concurrence of the British officers at Niagara; and that the object of his mission probably is to attempt a

peace between the said Indians and the United States. You will be able, by some signs or information, to judge of the effect of this interference.

The Virginia battalion of levies is completed, and the remainder marched from Winchester on the fourth instant, excepting about thirty, who are deficient by desertions, but who will be replaced.

The first division of the Maryland battalion, of which one hundred and eighty-eight marched on the twelfth from Hagerstown.

The eastern battalion of this State, and the Jersey battalion of levies, are still deficient about a company each, which will not probably be completed and marched until the latter end of this month.

The upper battalion of this State is about two hundred recruited, according to General Butler's information.

The President of the United States has not yet returned, but will be expected from the twenty-fifth to the thirtieth instant.

I am, sir, &c.

Major General ST. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 23d, 1791.

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose a duplicate of mine to you of the sixteenth instant, and also a copy of mine to Major General Butler of this date. I enclose you the last, for your information, and to avoid repeating the same things to you.

Captain Beatty marched from Trenton this morning, with about ninety regulars and twenty levies. *He has under his charge, seventeen thousand eight hundred and forty-four dollars and fifty cents, which he is to deliver to Mr. Hodgdon, the quartermaster. This money is intended as a sort of military chest, and to be issued from thence by your warrants. It would require about five thousand dollars to pay the old troops up to the thirty-first of March last, which you will do if you judge proper. The remainder would form one month's pay for your army. This you may issue at such times or seasons as your judgment shall direct.*

In my next, I shall be precise as to the number of the regular troops, who are on the way from the Eastward, which will not exceed two hundred. But it is possible, that one hundred more of regulars may be drawn from that quarter, for the purpose of the expedition, provided you do not move until the first of September. But I do not depend upon them. The recruiting service shall, however, be continued, and the recruits forwarded as fast as possible.

It is now pretty well ascertained, that, levies and regulars included, exclusive of the old troops on the Ohio, there will not be forwarded to you more than twenty-five hundred at the extent, and that some may be deducted from that number for sickness and desertion. You will know the number of old troops: for such additional numbers, then, as you may judge the campaign to require, you must depend on the frontiers. You will fix the number of additional, taking care to have a force adequate to the object. And you will also decide upon the species of troops, agreeably to my letter to you of the 9th instant.

If you could obtain them, it would seem, at this distance, that a corps of five hundred, or seven hundred and fifty Kentucky mounted volunteers or militia, would tend to give more efficacy to your operations, than any other species of troops.

Not having lately heard from Brigadier General Sevier, I cannot inform you any thing of the battalion he was to raise. I sincerely hope and believe, that he has effected the object, and that the advanced guard of his battalion are now with you.

Brigadier General Harmar having, by his letter to the President of the United States, dated the 23th of March, 1791, requested that a board of officers might be instituted for the purpose of inquiring into his conduct on the late expedition against the Miami Indians, the President of the United States, in a letter of the 17th instant, from Mount Vernon, has commanded me to direct, that such a board be instituted accordingly.

You will, therefore, sir, as soon as the public interests shall permit, direct, that a court of inquiry, constituted agreeably to the articles of war, assemble for the purpose of inquiring into the conduct of Brigadier General Harmar, the commanding officer upon the late expedition against the Miami Indians; and, that they report to you, a full statement of facts, with their opinion thereon.

The court ought to consist of characters of the highest rank in the service, and of the greatest impartiality; and the evidence ought to be delivered from the different species of troops who served on the expedition.

In the course of the investigation, it will be necessary to comprehend all the circumstances of the campaign, from the time the army departed, until it returned to fort Washington. This will embrace the personal conduct of the General, the organization of the army, the orders of march, encampment, and battle. The motives which influenced the detachments of the fourteenth, nineteenth, and twenty-first of October; and whether the said detachments were duly supported, and if not, the reasons which prevented the said support.

The articles of war specify, that courts of inquiry shall not give their opinion on the merits of the case, excepting they shall be specially thereto required. But this seems to be one of the cases in which an opinion seems requisite, as well for the reputation of Brigadier General Harmar, who has requested the court, as for the satisfaction of the public mind, and I presume he will fully concur in this idea.

Since writing the above, and in this moment, I have received a letter from General Sevier, dated the Ceded Territory, the fifth instant, who informs me, that "about three companies of the levies are raised, and will march for fort Washington in a few days."

I have the honor, &c.

General ST. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 30th, 1791.

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose you a duplicate of mine to you, of the 23d instant, enclosing a copy of mine of the same date, to Major General Butler; and I also enclose a copy of mine to Major General Butler of this date, by which you will observe the measures directed, relative to the additional battalion of levies, and the other objects therein mentioned. Your letter of the first of May is still the last of your communications.

I hope, before this time, that the battalion raised by Brigadier General Sevier, has principally, or entirely joined you.

As all the troops, (excepting a small deficiency of the Jersey, and the lower battalion of levies of this State, and perhaps a deficiency of the levies of Maryland,) are now to move forward, it seems highly proper that the troops, already arrived at the upper parts of the Ohio, should rendezvous at head quarters; and I have, as you will observe, written to Major General Butler accordingly.

I shall hope, by the next post, to transmit you a return of all the troops who have actually marched, but I am persuaded they will not exceed the number I have mentioned, to wit: twenty-five hundred.

Aware that your regular force may be inferior to the demands, I shall continue the recruiting service, and forward the recruits to head quarters.

But I depend much, that you will be able to obtain from the levies, upon or before the expiration of the service, a considerable accession to your regular regiments; probably you may make use of the moneys in Mr. Hodgdon's hands, for the bounties.

Judge Innes, and the other commissioners at Kentucky, have informed me of the departure of General Scott on the twenty-third ultimo, and that it was expected he would make a stroke about the thirtieth ultimo; we shall be anxious to hear of the result.

You will judge, from the effect of this expedition, and from the view of the time of your general operations, whether to form another such desultory expedition. If, to you, it should appear to have a decidedly good effect, to humble the Indians and prepare them for peace, I am persuaded the expenses thereof will be cheerfully borne by the public.

The President of the United States will arrive here about the 4th of July.

I am, &c.

General St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *July 7th, 1791.*

SIR:

I have the satisfaction to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the twenty-sixth of May to Captain Pratt.

I have written you regularly by the post, every Thursday, and I flatter myself you have received them.

I am sorry that Brigadier General Harmar should take the resolution to resign, as, with you, I esteem him to be a good officer, notwithstanding the loss sustained on the late expedition. I sincerely hope he will reconsider that resolution, and continue in service at least for the campaign.

The copies of my letters to Major General Butler, will inform you of the measures which have been executed for the discharge of the militia, and of the guards which he will call out after the troops shall descend the Ohio. I enclose you a copy of mine to him of this date. And I also enclose you a schedule of the troops who have marched, and who will march, in the course of this month. I think this schedule may be depended upon as the extent, excepting such additions as Major General Butler may raise; of the number of which, I confess I am not very sanguine.

If, therefore, from your own view of the object, you should require additional force, you will obtain it in the manner, and of the species of troops, you may judge proper. If General Scott's expedition should be successful, and satisfactory to the people of Kentucky, there could be no doubt of your raising such another body of mounted volunteers; although a less number, perhaps five hundred, would be sufficient.

I mean that this body is to make up deficiencies, to form part of your army, and act under your immediate orders. With such a body of light troops, well commanded, and mixed with your regular cavalry, it would appear that your movements would be irresistible. I should think, at this distance, the expense would be amply repaid by the services of such a corps. They might be engaged for such time, and be discharged when you shall judge proper.

But of this, or any other effective arrangement, you will be the judge. I will write to the Governor of Virginia, that, if there should be any collateral orders to be issued by him, he will please issue them immediately.

I am not satisfactorily informed of the means the contractor has prepared for the transportation of the rations on the expedition; but, if there should be any deficiencies of any sort in his department, you will not suffer the service to be delayed thereby, if in the power of the quartermaster to remedy them. You will also take care not to interpose but in case of necessity, in which cases you will have a full statement of the circumstances transmitted, so that the contractor may be properly accountable for the deficiencies at the treasury.

The President of the United States arrived here yesterday, in perfect health.

I have the honor to be, &c.

General St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *July 14, 1791.*

SIR:

On the eleventh of this month, I had the satisfaction to receive your favor of the first of June.

The fate of General Scott's incursion must have been decided long ere this, but we are in the dark as to the result. It was reported at fort Pitt, on the seventh instant, that he had succeeded greatly, but the particulars of the report were not transmitted to me.

The letters from Major General Butler, at fort Pitt, are encouraging as to the supplies, the state of the river, and the general tranquillity of the frontiers.

General Butler has, most undoubtedly, transmitted you Rhea's affidavit. Although some things contained therein may be doubted, yet there are strong causes to believe that others are true. I transmit you a copy of my letter to General Butler, on receiving Rhea's information.

We must, by all means, avoid involving the United States with Great Britain, until events arise of such quality and magnitude as to impress the people of the United States, and the world at large, of the rank injustice and unfairness of their procedure. But a war with that Power, in the present state of affairs, would retard our power, growth, and happiness, beyond almost the power of calculation.

The information of Rhea will serve to guide your measures, and seems to strengthen and rivet the propriety of assuming the position with a strong hand, mentioned in your instructions.

I enclose you duplicates of my letters to you and Major General Butler, of the 7th instant, a duplicate of the schedule therein enclosed, a duplicate of mine to General Butler, of the 12th, and of mine to him of this date.

The hundred regulars, mentioned in the schedule to march by the first of August, will, I hope, be increased to one hundred and fifty. I judge from appearances, but it may be doubted whether these will arrive in time for the expedition, which I presume you will be in readiness to commence, at the furthest, the first of September.

I shall, with the approbation of the President of the United States, continue the recruiting service in the Eastern States until the first of October, during which time it may be expected we may obtain two hundred and fifty, or three hundred regulars, in addition to those specified in the enclosed schedule.

I hope, however, that you will be able, with the bounty of six dollars, to fill up your regular regiments from the levies. You will please let me have your opinion of the probability of this event.

I am, &c.

General St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *July 21, 1791.*

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th of June, by the post of this morning, and I enclose you a duplicate of mine of the 14th inst. the copy of the contract of provisions, and a letter from the President of the United States to the marshal of Kentucky, a copy of mine to Major General Butler, of the fourteenth, and of mine to him of this date.

By my letter to Major General Butler, combined with those written to you, you will observe the progress of your force, and the orders I have given him from time to time.

As Captain Phelon will probably be the last of the troops who will march from the eastward of fort Pitt, so as to be of service in your expedition, you will, before this, have formed your judgment of the auxiliary force you will require from Kentucky, and have made your arrangements for obtaining it accordingly.

I have urged Mr. Duer repeatedly, to take all the necessary steps relative to an ample supply of provisions, and to obtain the means necessary for the transportation thereof, and I am given to understand that he has made the arrangements accordingly. I sincerely hope this to be the case. But as he is not personally present, some doubts arise as to the arrangements of his substitutes.

At this distance, I only repeat the observation which I have had the honor to make to you before, that, in the present stage of public credit, the public interests must not suffer in any wise; that, if the contractor's agents shall not have provided the articles necessary in his department, you will make effective arrangements to supply the deficiencies. That, in all cases of this nature, you will, of course, transact the requisitions upon the contractor's agents in writing, and obtain their answers in the same manner. That you will transmit these several papers, in order that they may be properly acted upon at the treasury.

I omitted, in my last, to reply to your observation relative to Colonel Sargent.

The office of adjutant general is not provided for by the laws. In case, therefore, of an officer of that description being appointed, as seems to be indispensably necessary, he must depend upon an after provision being made for him by Congress, of which there will be very little doubt. It must be left to your view of the subject, to determine the rank and pay which shall be offered such an officer for the expedition, but they certainly ought not to exceed that of a lieutenant colonel.

We have had, for a week past, reports, by the way of fort Pitt, and of Kentucky, of the favorable issue of General Scott's expedition, but nothing to be entirely depended upon.

If Colonel Edwards, lieutenant of Bourbon, should go upon the expedition you mention, it is to be hoped he will meet with some marked success. I have no information of Colonel Pickering's treaty yet being closed. It was attended by about eight or nine hundred of the different tribes, men, women, and children; as he has nothing to request of them but to be quiet, there is little doubt but his mission will be successful.

I enclose you a copy of De Bartzchi's information, which has been sent by Major General Butler, who may not have taken a copy of it. This information and the speech appear to be such as to deserve some credit. I therefore enclose it, that it may be associated and compared with other information.

The President of the United States has commanded me to urge, that, as soon as your troops are assembled, or such portion thereof as you may judge proper, that you commence the establishment of such of your posts of communication, to which your force may be adequate.

He is greatly anxious that the campaign be distinguished by decisive measures, so that the expense incurred may be manifestly useful and important.

I am, &c.

General Sr. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 21st July, 1791.

SIR:

The bearer, Doctor Grasson, is one of the emigrants from France, who has decided to incorporate himself among our citizens.

He is recommended to me as a gentleman of science, and professional knowledge as a surgeon.

I have recommended him to Major General Butler, to have him examined by professional characters, and, if the report should be favorable, to appoint him to one of the vacant battalions of levies. In case the said vacancies should be filled up, I recommend him to you for such temporary employment in the medical line, as you may with propriety employ him.

I am, sir, &c.

General Sr. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 4th of August, 1791.

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter by the post this morning, of the 6th of July, covering a duplicate of yours of the 26th of June, containing Brigadier General Scott's enclosures. Your letter of the 23d of June, and the first of yours, of the 26th of June, have not yet been received.

Brigadier General Scott's despatches were received by Lieutenant Belli, on the 26th ultimo.

The success of his expedition will probably be attended with exceedingly beneficial consequences, and prepare the minds of the Indians for that peace, which only can save them from destruction.

I should hope, by the time you can receive this letter, you will also receive the whole of your force from fort Pitt, Phelon's detachment included.

I have not heard from General Sevier since the fifth of June; he then informed me that nearly three companies were completed, and would march in a few days. As he was furnished with money for all objects, and clothing, I hope there will not be any failure.

But, as Phelon is considered as the rear guard of your troops, for the expedition, of which you have been informed; as you possess all the information of your force which is in my power to afford; and as you embrace the objects to be performed, and the difficulties to be surmounted; you will be entirely competent to decide upon the additional force to be required; and I am persuaded that you have taken efficient arrangements to obtain such additional numbers from Kentucky, and of such species, as you shall judge adequate to make up all deficiencies.

Captain Newman marched from this city, with eighty-three non-commissioned and privates, regulars, on the thirtieth ultimo, and Captain Buell will march from Brunswick, on the tenth instant, with detachments from New England, and such numbers as are in this city, to make up, probably, about one hundred and twenty regulars more. But neither of these detachments will arrive in time to make part of your army.

In addition to these detachments, I presume there will be about two hundred and fifty, or three hundred more regulars enlisted and marched, between the tenth instant and the first of October, after which it is probable the recruiting service will be suspended during the winter season.

But, as I have before intimated, it is most probable you will be able to fill up your regular regiments by recruits from the levies.

The powder and lead which you request, were early forwarded from this city to fort Pitt, and ought to have formed part of Major Ferguson's convoy. The quartermaster will forward them. The five and a half inch shells and the shot you request, shall be forwarded immediately; but it is not possible for them to arrive in time for your expedition. The quantities you have on hand will probably be sufficient in the first instance for your posts, and as many as you can carry.

On the seventeenth of March, I ordered two hundred shot and shells to be forwarded for each piece of artillery, then directed for the posts. Mr. Hodgdon depended on a furnace at fort Pitt for these articles, by which the transportation would be saved.

He on the twenty-eighth of July writes me word they cannot be had.

You mention that you have directed the contractor's agent to make a provisional agreement for eight hundred pack-horses, to transport the provisions for the army. I am persuaded that you will direct no more than shall be requisite to give efficacy to your movements, and your judgment must be definitive on the case. But I am apprehensive, from a conversation between you and the contractor in my office, that he has calculated on a far less number. The idea was then entertained that posts of communication were to be established, and the supplies carried from one to the other.

I shall inform him of your opinion, and request him to extend his arrangements to the number you may direct.

As you will take as little baggage with you as possible, the number I have contemplated in the quartermaster's department will not exceed three hundred pack-horses; but I have directed him to comply with your orders, for such further numbers as you may direct.

Major General Butler writes, that Lieutenant Jeffers is arranged at fort Franklin, agreeably to your orders.

Major General Butler will inform you particularly of the arrangements he has made for the defensive protection of the upper counties of the Ohio. The liberal provision he has made will most probably be satisfactory to the people of that part of the frontiers. You will also please to state particularly the arrangements you may think proper to make on the parts of the Ohio below the Kenhawa.

It will be highly proper to check the spirit of desertion which you mention, by some early and decided examples.

The rules and articles of war will probably undergo a revision at the next session of Congress, and, if possible, some grades of punishment be obtained, between one hundred lashes and death, which, as you justly observe, are almost infinitely disproportionate.

It is said, and it is probably true, that Brandt has returned to Niagara from the Miami town, and that he has brought some Western Indians with him; if so, and their designs are for peace, we shall soon hear from them.

The Indians at Buffalo creek, and those at Colonel Pickering's treaty, asserted that Brandt went forth for the purpose of peace, and intimations to that effect are also constantly given in this city by a gentleman in the confidence of Lord Dorchester: and it is said, that Sir John Johnson is to assemble the Five Nations at Buffalo creek immediately. The indications which shall result from this council and Brandt's messages will probably give a decided complexion, for the present, to Indian affairs.

If the British policy frowns upon Indian hostilities, and the Six Nations keep quiet, your operations, and your intimations of the disposition of the United States to be at peace with all the Indian tribes, will, in the course of the season, effect the object, and you will probably be suffered to establish your posts without opposition.

I enclose you duplicates of Col. Pickering's letter to you, of the 8th ultimo, and of the queries and answers of Captain Hendricks.

The treaty closed the fifteenth, and the Indians returned satisfied. Colonel Pickering did not attempt to persuade any of them to join our army, as he found such a proposal would be very disagreeable to them. But Big Tree came from O'Beel's town with a proposition to assist our army to make peace. This was debated and refused.

The President of the United States still continues anxious that you should, at the earliest moment, commence your operations.

I enclose the copy of a letter to Major General Butler, of this date, which I presume will be the last he will receive for the present at fort Pitt.

Major General St. CLAIR.

I am, sir, &c.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August 11th, 1791.*

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose you a duplicate of my last letter to you of the 4th instant, and a copy of mine to Major General Butler of the same date, and of the one to him of this day.

The President of the United States is exceedingly anxious that the troops upon the upper parts of the Ohio should be assembled at fort Washington, at as early a period as possible, so that you may commence and effect your operations in due season.

Nothing occurs as necessary or proper to be given you as additional instructions. You are fully informed of the objects to be accomplished, the means furnished you for that purpose, and authority to supply all deficiencies.

The President of the United States is convinced that you are deeply impressed with the national importance of the force entrusted to your direction, and that you will use it in such a seasonable and decisive manner as shall at once reflect honor on yourself and the army, and the public character of the United States.

I have received a letter from Governor Blount and General Sevier, of the 15th July, which mention that great difficulties had arisen in raising the corps in the Ceded Territory; that two hundred had marched under Major Rhea, and were then probably at fort Washington; and that the remainder would be forwarded immediately.

Governor Blount, on the 2d of July, concluded a satisfactory treaty with the Cherokees; all is, therefore, quiet at the southward, excepting a few rascally Indians, probably Creeks, have been committing some depredations on the Cumberland settlements.

I am, sir, &c.

General St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August 18th, 1791.*

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose a duplicate of mine to you of the 11th instant, and also a duplicate of mine to Major General Butler, of that date, and of this day.

I presume Captain Newman will not arrive at fort Pitt until the 25th instant, and Captain Buell about the 10th of September. No other troops are on their march excepting a party of about thirty from New Hampshire, who have not yet arrived at Brunswick. Buell's detachment consists of about ninety-two regulars.

All the stores which have been written for have been forwarded, either from fort Pitt or this place, excepting the 5½ inch shells, which cannot be obtained in season for the campaign; as the most expeditious mode, I have sent for some to West Point, and expect them here hourly; when they arrive they shall be forwarded.

Some reports have recently been raised in this city, as if the powder furnished Mr. Hodgdon, by Mr. Joseph Miller, was not of a good quality, especially that made by his foreman, Jacob Keyser. I have had some powder of Jacob Keyser's make proved, by taking one ounce of each sort, to wit: cannon, musket, and rifle, and projecting a 24 lb. ball out of a 5½ inch mortar, elevated at 45° placing the powder in the chamber of the mortar loose, and putting a piece of paper over the mouth of the chamber; the powder to be well dried in the sun. This is the surest possible mode of proving powder, and the powder so proved had been manufactured from damaged public powder, and was found upon trial to be equal to the best proof powder. It is considered, that, if one ounce will, under the above circumstances, project a 24 lb. ball thirty yards, it is sufficiently strong. Most of the powder which was tried as above, projected the ball, on an average, forty yards.

Mr. Miller has made an affirmation that the powder furnished the public was made of refined salt-petre, and was at least equal, if not superior, to that which has been proved here.

I mention this circumstance to you lest the report may have reached you by some other channel; you will, of course, direct the powder to be proved in the manner stated by Major Ferguson; I have no doubt that you will find it full proof.

You will readily perceive that this is a sort of suspicion which must be kept carefully from the troops; for unless they rely with confidence on the goodness of the powder, no dependence can be placed on their exertions.

The report here I am pretty confident originated in a jealousy of some dealers in the same article.

I sincerely hope that you will have received your whole force, and have commenced your operations by the time you will receive this letter, which I consider as the last you will receive at fort Washington.

I cannot easily express to you the anxiety of the President of the United States, that the campaign should be entirely successful, and issue in a just and honorable peace with all the tribes: he is persuaded you will brace to exertion every nerve under your command, and that you will establish a sure mode of communication with this office, while you are on the expedition.

With great respect, &c.

Gen. St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August 25th, 1791.*

SIR:

I enclose you a duplicate of my letter of the 18th instant, and of one to Gen. Butler, of the same date, and also of mine to him, of this date.

The President of the United States laments exceedingly, the unfortunate detention of the troops on the upper parts of the Ohio, for which no reasons sufficiently strong have been assigned.

This detention will undoubtedly retard the commencement of the operations, and require the highest exertions to accomplish the objects of the campaign.

The President reiterates his confidence in your activity, and that every thing will be put in motion, on the arrival of the rear of your troops, under Major General Butler.

The quartermaster will give you horses for the cavalry and baggage; and, if you require more than he has provided, he must obtain them.



I have repeatedly written to you, that, if the contractor's arrangements, either in his supplies of provisions, or the transportation of them, should be deficient, that such deficiency must be supplied by your orders, and the contractor made answerable. The public service cannot be retarded or injured by any deficiencies in that line.

I have also written you several times relative to any deficiency of troops, in order that you might make such seasonable arrangements for supplying such deficiency as you should think proper. All of which, no doubt, has been done on your part.

I have the honor, &c.

Major General St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *September 1st, 1791.*

SIR:

I transmit you a duplicate of my last to you, of the 25th ultimo, and to Gen. Butler, of the same date, and of mine to him, of the present date.

A company of regulars will march from this place and Brunswick by the 10th instant; either Captain Haskell or Cushing will command it.

I have nothing to add to my former communications, excepting that the anxiety of the President of the United States still continues exceedingly great for the success of the campaign; he is fully aware, that vigor of operation, and the success of the campaign, will reflect honor on you, your troops, and the Government; and that languor and want of success will be attended with consequences directly the reverse. He therefore enjoins you, by every principle that is sacred, to stimulate your operations in the highest degree, and to move as rapidly as the lateness of the season, and the nature of the case, will possibly admit. Pray establish a mode by which we shall be regularly informed of your movements, and the events of your operations.

I have the honor, &c.

Major General St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *September 9th, 1791.*

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose you a duplicate of the Secretary of War's letter to you, dated the 1st instant, and also a duplicate of his letter to Major General Butler, of the same date.

I am, &c.

JOHN STAGG, *Chief Clerk.*

Major General St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *September 22d, 1791.*

SIR:

I have received your letters of the 8th of August, from fort Washington, and of the 24th, from Danville; but yours of the 3d of August, and the one you mention from Lexington, are both missing.

Captain Haskell marched, two days ago, with eighty men, for fort Pitt, and thence to descend to fort Washington; about the same number are on their way from New England, and more will follow.

As this letter will not reach you at fort Washington, I have done no more than to acknowledge your letters.

I have the honor, &c.

Major General St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *September 29th, 1791.*

SIR:

I have received from Brigadier General Wilkinson, a copy of his report to you, relatively to his expedition against l'Anquille.

As his conduct and his services on the occasion merit public thanks, I have transmitted him a letter, of which the following is an extract:

"I have, by this post, instructed Major General St. Clair to thank you, if he had not already performed that pleasing duty, in the name of the President of the United States, for the zeal, perseverance, and good conduct, manifested by you in the command of the expedition, and for the humanity observed towards the prisoners whom you captured; and also to thank the officers and privates of the volunteers, for their activity and bravery while under your command; and to express his hope, that you and they may enjoy, in future, entire peace, as a reward for your services."

If you should not have previously thanked him, you will please to do it according to the ideas expressed to him.

I have the honor, &c.

General St. CLAIR.

Per post, to the care of Major Craig, at Pittsburg. Duplicates forwarded the 6th of October, 1791.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *September 29th, 1791.*

SIR:

I enclose you a duplicate of mine, of the 22d inst. since which I have received your letters with their several enclosures: July 6th, a duplicate; August 3d and 8th, both duplicates; August 17th and 29th; all of which have been duly considered.

But as it is highly probable that you are not at fort Washington, and that it will be some time before you will receive this letter, I shall not particularly reply to your several communications.

But if, by circumstances, this letter should reach you, I beg leave to express an entire reliance, that you will endeavor to fill the companies of the first regiment, and corps of artillery, which are with you, *at a proper season*, out of the levies. Captain John Smith and Captain Pratt are recruiting their companies, and will probably have them completed by the first of November; and by the same period I hope the companies of the second regiment will also be completed. But, lest it should be otherwise, I think it would be proper, if convenient, that you should also enlist one hundred men on account of the second regiment.

It is presumed that you have made a perfect arrangement for the quantity of provisions, which is to remain as a stock in the garrisons you shall establish.

I have the honor, &c.

General St. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *September 30, 1791.*

SIR: I omitted, in my letter of yesterday, to state, that, on the 15th July, I wrote a letter to the Governor of Virginia, to instruct the county lieutenants of Kentucky to obey your call for militia, of which the enclosed is a copy. I was in hopes General Scott would have received these orders from the Governor, so that you would have experienced no difficulty in obtaining the additional militia you might require.

I am, sir, &c.

General St. CLAIR.

Delivered to Lieut. Belli. Duplicate forwarded 6th October, to Major Craig, at Pittsburg.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *October 13, 1791.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, of the 18th ultimo, from fort Washington, by the contractor's light canoe, which refers to a former letter, by some other conveyance, not yet come to hand.

Captain Haskell will have arrived at fort Pitt by this time; Captain Cushing will probably march from Brunswick, with at least ninety men, on the 18th instant.

We shall be exceedingly anxious to hear from you while upon your expedition, which I pray God may succeed in all its parts.

As you will not probably receive this letter, until your return from the expedition, I shall not enter into details. The President of the United States is absent in Virginia, and will not be here until the 20th.

I am, sir, &amp;c.

General ST. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *October 20, 1791.*

SIR:

The President of the United States having long since received an application from the Baron de Steuben, relative to a young man by the name of George Demelar, who went from New York to the Ohio, some time past, where he has been employed in surveying lands, I request that you will please to make inquiry respecting this person; and, if his character is good, you will appoint him an ensign in the second regiment of infantry, and notify me of the same. As Mr. Demelar has been absent a considerable time, the Baron solicits that this inquiry, relative to his conduct, should be made, before the appointment is decisive.

I have the honor, &amp;c.

General ST. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *December 2, 1791.*

SIR:

My last letter to you was dated the 20th of October, duplicates of which have been transmitted. I have not written since, as it was presumed you had departed upon your expedition; and, also, because nothing occurred of any considerable importance.

But as the period has arrived when your operations may be drawing to a close, and you about to return to fort Washington; and having a safe opportunity, by the troops hereinafter mentioned, about to descend the Ohio, which will be the last for the season, on account of the probable difficulty of navigating the river, it seems proper that a full communication should be made to you, at this time, of such circumstances as the public service may require.

I have conceived it important, as well for the comfort of the levies and militia, acting under your orders, as for the reputation of the Government, that the said troops should have their accounts adjusted at fort Washington, and each man paid the balance that may be found due to him before his discharge.

I have therefore sent Mr. Caleb Swan, of this office, to perform the business of settling the said accounts, and making the payments; and he is accordingly furnished with fifty thousand dollars, which is estimated as sufficient for this object.

Mr. Swan is well used to accounts of this nature, having been employed in the pay office upwards of five years; and he is furnished by Mr. Howell, acting as paymaster, with the necessary information.

Mr. Swan will report to you the balances, and receive your warrants for the payments, and he will take a number of blank warrants for your use.

I have entire confidence in Mr. Swan's integrity. But it will be proper that every check be devised and executed to render the business perfectly clear. I enclose you a copy of his instructions; and if there should be any additional guards proper, I pray you to use them.

It will be proper that the levies and militia, although discharged at fort Washington, have such additional allowance, both of pay and rations, as shall be sufficient to carry them to their respective battalion rendezvous at which they were recruited, estimating each day at one ration and fifteen miles; the commissioned officers to be allowed their full rations. The levies and militia will of course be mustered to the time of their leaving fort Washington, to which must be added such further time as the aforesaid fifteen miles per day will entitle them to.

Mr. Swan, besides the aforesaid sum, estimated as sufficient for the levies, has the further sum of ——— dollars, judged sufficient, with the 17,000 dollars which were entrusted in Mr. Hodgdon's hands, for this object, to pay the artillery, and the parts of the two regiments of infantry, their full pay to the first of January, 1792.

But if the said seventeen thousand dollars, or any part of it, should have been distributed to the troops, it will lessen, according to its amount, the sum to be paid out of the sums now sent by Mr. Swan.

I have but little doubt, from the estimates, that the money on hand, and now forwarded, will be ample for all the payments to be made to the levies and militia, and most probably complete the payments of the regulars for the present year.

I estimate that you have enlisted, or will enlist, at least five hundred of the levies. But, if there should be any deficiency, it must fall on the regulars and not on the levies, who ought to be entirely paid up at the time of their discharge, with such additional allowances, both of pay and rations, as will serve them to the rendezvous at which they were recruited: to wit, Trenton, in New Jersey; Carlisle and fort Pitt, in Pennsylvania; Hagerstown, in Maryland; Winchester, in Virginia; and Jonesborough, in the Southwestern territory.

The levies, originally, were to have had only one pair of linen overalls, and two pair of shoes, which would have borne a proportion to the clothing of a continental soldier, as the six months, the time for which the levies were engaged, would to the twelve months clothing for the continental soldiers. But, at a subsequent period, two thousand additional overalls, and two thousand additional pairs of shoes, were forwarded for the levies, with the intention of charging them therewith. But, as the said troops have undergone considerable hardships, and as they probably will be detained longer in service than the six months, it would, perhaps, be rather more rigid and economical than politic, and, perhaps, unjust, to charge them with the said articles.

The said articles will not, therefore, be deducted from the pay due the levies.

As the levies will, most probably, have to return by the way of the wilderness, it will depend upon your judgment as to the manner of their return. You will, without doubt, order them up the Ohio, if the weather and state of the river will permit, at least as far as Marietta or Wheeling. It would, most certainly, more comport with good order, that they should preserve their military consistence and organization, until they should reach their respective battalion rendezvous; and that each major should command his battalion. But there might be inconveniences in this arrangement, independent of the expense, and loss of arms and accoutrements; provided circumstances of danger, in returning, should be such as you should direct that they should retain their arms and accoutrements, or a proportion thereof, until they should arrive at the battalion rendezvous.

It will be proper, and important, that you should not permit more arms to be taken, by the discharged troops, than shall be necessary for their safety; and, for such, the field officers ought to be responsible, and to receipt to you for the same, and their receipts to be transmitted to me. But the officers ought, by all means, to command the men until they arrive at their respective rendezvous. To this end, the officers should possess the discharges of the men, and not to deliver them until a suitable time; and it might, also, be proper, that some of the pay should be delivered to an officer, of each battalion, to be delivered to the men at the place of their dismissal.

But in this case, the men ought to appoint the officer who is to be their agent; each individual to know the precise sum he was to receive. The public, by this arrangement, would be exonerated from any demands, in case of deficiency. But, upon more mature reflection, it will be the least exceptionable to pay the men, at fort Washington, *their whole arrears.*

But, if you should judge that the discharged levies should preserve a military form, it will be necessary that the contractors should make an arrangement to furnish them with provisions on their route, and also to pay any small contingencies of their march, such as straw, fuel, &c.

In case of the levies returning in military form, they must have a proportion of tents, delivered under the same guards and restrictions as the arms and accoutrements.

The orderly and comfortable dismissal of the levies, is a point of some importance; I am persuaded, therefore, that you will take such arrangements upon the subject, as shall at once be regular, convenient, and economical.

Permit me to urge you, in the strongest terms, to direct that all the spare arms and accoutrements be collected, repaired, and put in such situation, as to be fit for immediate use, and a return thereof to be made to this office.

No doubt can be entertained, but that you have, agreeably to your original instructions, furnished the post you may have established at the Miami village, and its communications, with six months' salted meat, and a due quantity of flour. This circumstance omitted, the safety of the said posts must be considered as extremely precarious. If there should have been any defects in the contractor's department, it is to be hoped that you have remedied them, according to my several letters to you upon that subject.

Upon the return of the troops at fort Washington, you will, I am persuaded, have made the best possible arrangement of the sale of the spare cavalry and pack-horses, so that the public may sustain as little injury upon that subject as possible.

The expense of the quartermaster's department has far exceeded my estimates. But I flatter myself, that the excess has been dictated by such sound principles, that, when they are developed, they will appear not only reasonable, but inevitable.

A new contract for the supply of provisions, for the year 1792, has been entered into by the Secretary of the Treasury, with Elliot and Williams, the former contractors, a copy of which is herein enclosed.

I enclose you a list of the officers as they now stand. In this, you will perceive, that General Wilkinson is appointed the lieutenant colonel-commandant of the second regiment of infantry. I hope he will merit your approbation, and that his conduct will reflect honor on his country and the troops.

It is the expectation of the President of the United States, that, at the expiration of the campaign, the necessity of an adjutant general will cease, and that the duty may be performed consistently, by the inspector; and it is also his expectation, at the expiration of the campaign, that Major General Butler will retire with the levies. He was appointed specially for them, and under the law by which they were raised; and however desirous the President of the United States might be to retain him in service, he would not have the power, without a new law for the purpose. You will, therefore, intimate to him, in handsome terms, this order. His pay and emoluments will, however, be continued him, until his arrival at fort Pitt.

I have detained Captain Haskell's company for some time past at fort Pitt, as a substitute for the dismissal of the militia. But Cushing's company having arrived at that place, they will be detained no longer than the arrival of Mr. Swan, who will, with his money, be under their protection. Either Major Trescott, or Major Burnham, will command these two companies.

There are recruits, to the amount of two other companies, ready to march, to wit: Captain Mills, from this city, and Captain Cass, with detachments from New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut; but they cannot possibly arrive in time to descend the Ohio this winter. I have, therefore, caused a provisional arrangement to be made for them at fort Pitt, for the winter.

Captain Hunt's company will be raised during the winter, in Massachusetts; Captain Pratt's, in Connecticut; and Captain John Smith's, in New York. I had ordered Captain Hughes to join his company, but it is probable he will be ordered to recruit a full company this winter.

These four companies will probably be in readiness to join you early in the spring.

Some disturbances have lately been excited among the Creeks, by one Bowles, styling himself General William Augustus Bowles. He has set himself up in opposition to M'Gillivray, and has prevented running the line, agreeably to the treaty at New York. It seems probable, that either M'Gillivray or Bowles must fall. The United States will support the former, who appears to have conducted with propriety and sincerity.

Brigadier General Harmar has arrived, and the proceedings of the court of inquiry are in the press. He has intimated his intention of resigning, but has not yet executed it.

Since mine of the 20th of October, I have received your several letters of the 4th, 15th, 16th, 23d, and 25th of September; and we have heard of you and the army, on the 8th of October.

As those several letters contain information only, it is unnecessary to reply particularly thereto.

Your anxiety at the detention of the troops, at the upper part of the Ohio, must indeed have been great, to whatever cause it was owing.

The arrangements you made in Kentucky, relatively to the calling out the militia, were highly judicious, and extremely satisfactory to all the people of that district. Every such instance of conciliating and proper conduct, is extremely gratifying to the President of the United States, who is desirous of the utmost harmony subsisting between all parts and branches of the Government.

The bills which Mr. Ludlow drew for the pack-horses, have been protested by Mr. Duer, he stating, that Mr. Ludlow had no authority from him for the purpose, and that he made another arrangement, for the purchases of the said horses. But these bills were endorsed by you, in behalf of the United States, and they have been regularly paid. The affair has been stated to the Secretary of the Treasury, and the business will be adjusted by the Comptroller, upon proper principles.

I sincerely hope, by the time this letter arrives, you will have returned to fort Washington, crowned with success, having made an equitable and lasting peace with the poor Indians, and entirely fulfilled all the objects of the campaign.

But although entire confidence is reposed in your talents and arrangements, we shall entertain a painful anxiety until we shall be relieved by your despatches.

I have the honor to be, with very great respect, your most obedient, &c.

Major General ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

*Instructions to Major General Butler.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 5, 1791.

SIR:

The public service requires that you should immediately set off for the States of Virginia and Maryland, in order to put into immediate operation the measures necessary for the raising of the two battalions of levies assigned to said States.

The first object demanding your attention will be the appointment of the officers. Colonel Henry Lee having declined the command of the first regiment, it has been, by order of the President of the United States, offered to Colonel Josias Carvell Hall, residing near Baltimore. If he should accept, you will, with him, make a perfect arrangement of the officers for the Maryland battalion. I herewith deliver you a list of officers suggested to the President of the United States by his Excellency the Governor of Maryland. This list must be respected, and the appointments conformed to it, so far as the officers may reside near to, and have influence within, the local districts of Maryland most likely to afford the recruits.

Colonel Rawlings, of Fredericktown, has had the offer of being major of the battalion, but I have received no information of his acceptance or otherwise.

It has been decided that Hagerstown should be the principal rendezvous in Maryland, with one or more subordinate rendezvous for the companies; but it is to be observed that numerous rendezvous create additional expense, and therefore ought to be avoided.

As soon as the arrangements are made in Maryland, you will proceed to Virginia, and there appoint the officers of the battalion; any lists or intimations you may receive upon this subject from the President of the United States, you will, of course, obey.

Winchester is to be the principal rendezvous in Virginia, with a subordinate rendezvous or two if necessary.

Joseph Howell, the paymaster, will deliver you two thousand one hundred and seventy-two dollars and eighty cents, for each of the battalions, being for the objects specified in the enclosed schedule, (marked A) and also the sum of one hundred and forty-four dollars and forty cents, being for the lieutenant colonel-commandant and surgeon.

In case Colonel Josias C. Hall should decline the appointment of lieutenant colonel-commandant, the offer of it is to be made to Colonel Moses Rawlings, unless you should be otherwise directed by the President of the United States.

Mr. Duer, who has contracted to furnish the rations and supplies which may be required in Maryland and Virginia, and thence to the Ohio, has engaged to send a suitable person to Winchester and Hagerstown, to make the proper arrangements, and at such subordinate places as you shall judge requisite.

You will direct the major who shall be appointed to each of the battalions, as soon as a sufficient number of recruits shall be assembled, either at Hagerstown or Winchester, to form a company, that it be marched to Redstone, there to embark for fort Pitt.

This measure may, for a time, occasion some intermixture of companies, but a more perfect arrangement will take place when the levies shall be assembled together.

The company officers to be commissioned on condition of each recruiting the number of twenty-eight non-commissioned and privates, on or before the first of June next.

This condition is essential, as the deficiency of the levies must then be made up by draught of the militia.

The clothing for the Maryland and Virginia battalions is now preparing, and a sufficiency for the half of each battalion will be forwarded in about fourteen days hence, from this place.

The arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, for the said battalions, are lodged at fort Pitt, and will be delivered at that place.

You have herewith delivered to you the arrangement of the battalions, for the levies, by which you will observe the number and rank of the officers to be appointed for each battalion. (marked B.)

You have also herewith delivered, the establishment of pay, rations, and forage, for the levies, which is the same as to the troops of the United States.

You have also herewith delivered, twelve copies of the Baron Steuben's instructions, thirty Articles of War, thirty recruiting instructions, and thirty blank bonds, which the officers are to sign upon receiving their recruiting money.

To you, who are sensible of the urgency of affairs which requires the highest possible despatch, it would be unnecessary to say any thing to give vigor to your measures; but you will urge the officers whom you may appoint, by the most cogent arguments, to use the greatest diligence and activity.

The lieutenant colonel-commandant must be alternately at both rendezvous of Winchester and Hagerstown; but each major must constantly superintend at the rendezvous of his battalion, and stimulate the exertions of the officers.

The majors must weekly report to this office the state of the recruiting service. In short, that nothing must be omitted which would give a spring and vigor to the recruiting service.

You will write to me twice a week of your proceedings.

With great respect, I am, sir, &c.

Major General BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 8, 1791.

SIR:

Since writing the foregoing letter, I have received the enclosed letter from the President of the United States, dated the 4th instant, by which you will observe, that he has taken measures for the appointment of the officers of the Virginia battalion, and has directed the major to call upon me for orders.

You will endeavor, in your journey, to find out this person, and give him the money and orders necessary for his battalion; in which case you need not proceed to Virginia.

I have received an answer from Colonel Rawlings, declining to accept the Maryland battalion. Although he declines the battalion, yet probably he would accept the regiment, in case Colonel Hall should decline accepting it. On this point you will consult him personally, before any offer of the lieutenant colonel-commandant shall be made to any other person.

But, in case he should entirely decline, you will endeavor to find some suitable character of the late war, either from Virginia or Maryland, to accept the regiment.

When you shall have finished the business in Virginia and Maryland, you will please to repair to Carlisle, in this State, and complete any deficiencies which may be in either of the battalions or levies to be raised within the State; and, as soon after as possible, you will repair to the frontiers, there to take the command of Major General St. Clair.

You will keep me constantly informed of all public objects necessary for me to know.

I have issued my warrant on the paymaster, in your favor, for the sum of two hundred dollars, on account of your extra expenses, incurred in travelling to Virginia and Maryland; for which sum you will account.

I am, sir, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 15, 1791.

SIR: Colonel Hall declines: Colonel Darke, of Shepherdstown, therefore, must be appointed, agreeably to the letter of the President of the United States of the 7th instant.

As you are the pivot upon which all things turn relative to raising the two battalions in Maryland and Virginia, I flatter myself that you will urge every part of the business with a vigor which will delight and surprise the public.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 21, 1791.

SIR: I write you this letter to meet you by hazard. Lieutenant-colonel Darke accepts the command, which you probably know.

One hundred and thirteen suits of clothing, and tents for one company, were sent from this city yesterday, by land, to Winchester, in Virginia, and the same quantity necessary to Hagerstown, and the quantities necessary to complete each battalion will be forwarded in ten days, hence.

I have not received any information of the levies of this State; part of the clothing has been forwarded, and the remainder will follow in quick succession.

One hundred levies of the Jersey battalion will march from Trenton, on the 25th or 26th instant, and about the same time, the companies of Armstrong, and of the State of Delaware; and I shall, to-morrow, send some person to march those who shall be at Carlisle. Much injury has arisen for want of a major at that place.

I pray you to make every arrangement in Virginia and Maryland entire, and enjoin on the commanding officers a correspondence with me.

With great respect, I am, sir, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 5th, 1791.*

SIR:

I have received your letter from Baltimore, of the 30th ultimo. The clothing and tents, for upwards of two hundred men, have been forwarded to Hagerstown, and the same to Winchester, and the remainder, to complete the Virginia battalion, will be forwarded to-morrow, together with camp kettles and some canteens.

As I presume you have made a perfect arrangement relative to both the Virginia and Maryland battalions, I shall say nothing further upon that subject, excepting that I have received no more information, either from you or Colonel Darke, than is contained in your letter.

Mr. Swan, from my office, will set out from hence the next day after to-morrow, to inspect and muster the companies as they shall assemble at the rendezvous of Winchester and Hagerstown.

Captain Snowden marched from Trenton on the 27th ultimo, with one hundred and one levies; Captain Armstrong, from this city, and Lieutenant Platt, from Christiana bridge, on the same day; and Major Ferguson informs me that one hundred and sixty levies will immediately march from Carlisle.

Captain Piatt will march from Trenton in a day or two, with upwards of one hundred more of the levies of Jersey; and I have but little doubt of the battalion of that State being completed and on its march before the 20th instant.

I pray you to urge the completion of the battalions of this State.

Major General St. Clair, I am informed, has descended the Ohio. It is to be presumed he has left orders for you at fort Pitt. In these orders, I hope he has directed part of the levies to be posted for the covering of the upper parts of the Ohio, so that the militia who have been called out by the county lieutenants, under the directions of the President of the United States, as contained in my letter of the 10th of March, should be discharged. But, if he should not have instructed you upon this point, and has left it discretionary with you, as to the disposition of some of the levies, and it should be your judgment that they may be used for the temporary purpose of covering the frontiers on the upper parts of the Ohio, I pray you to dispose of them accordingly.

In this case you will instantly despatch the most pointed orders to all the county lieutenants of Pennsylvania and Virginia, so protected by the levies, to discharge all the militia called out by virtue of the President's directions contained in my letter of the 10th of March last, except such small parties as you may judge indispensable to serve as scouts or rangers, to give the alarm.

The great expense incurred by the militia, renders it necessary that this object should be attended to, as soon as the arrival of the levies will render it proper.

In the temporary disposition of the levies, you will pay a just regard to the protection of the settlements of Marietta, and the French settlements below, both of which are entitled to protection in the same manner as the inhabitants on the south of the Ohio.

I suppose General St. Clair will have directed that all the regulars, and probably part of the levies, descend the Ohio to head quarters. It is far from my intention of interfering in the least degree with his orders. My object is to discharge the militia consistently with the other objects of the troops.

I shall expect to hear from you every opportunity, until you descend the Ohio.

I am, sir, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

SIR:

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 12th, 1791.*

Your letter of the 30th of April, is the last I have received from you.

I have sent Mr. Swan to Hagerstown, in Maryland, and Winchester, in Virginia, in order to muster, inspect, and march all the levies at those places.

He is furnished with money and orders to supply any defects which may have arisen on the part of the contractors, either with respect to rations or transportation, and he has, also, all the commissions for the Virginia and Maryland battalions.

I have information from Captain Freeman, whom I despatched upon other public business, that the recruiting of the Virginia battalion has succeeded well, and from his information, I should hope that the greater part of that battalion will be in readiness to march from Winchester on or before the 20th instant.

Tents, clothing, and knapsacks, have been forwarded complete, for the Virginia, and the same articles have gone forward, or are about setting out, for the Maryland battalion at Hagerstown.

I have, therefore, the persuasion in my mind, that you have completed all the arrangements with which you are charged, relative to the said Virginia and Maryland battalions, and that they will be completed in due season.

The Jersey battalion will probably be completed and marched before the 20th or 25th. Captain Pike marched with a detachment from Trenton on the 9th, which makes one hundred and ninety-six non-commissioned and privates of that battalion, which have already marched.

The completion of the battalions of this State will claim your highest exertions. The lower battalion, it is to be presumed, will be completed in due season; but the upper battalion does not succeed so well; pray urge the business by all possible inducements.

The battalion to be raised under the orders of Brigadier General Sevier, will not be so forward as I expected, owing to his falling sick at Richmond.

But as the clothing, and all equipments for it, had gone forward on the 25th ultimo, he writes me he had no doubt of the battalion being completed by the 1st of June.

The recruiting in the Eastern States, for the regular troops, has not succeeded well, but I hope, from the measures taken, it will soon be better. Captain Shaylor, with a company from Connecticut, will, I expect, be shortly at Brunswick, in New Jersey, on its way to Fort Pitt, and I expect, in the course of this month, that Beatty and Doyle's companies will be completed.

I enclose you a duplicate of my letter to you of the 5th instant.

I pray your immediate attention to the objects contained in it, relative to the dismissal of the militia of the frontier countries, as soon as the arrival of the levies will admit of the measure.

If you have not orders from Major General St. Clair, relative to the time of your going down the Ohio, I wish it might be delayed, conceiving your presence will be essentially necessary at fort Pitt, in order to arrange and forward the service. As soon as the major of the Carlisle detachment shall be appointed, you will order Colonel Gibson to Fort Pitt.

I am, sir, your's, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

SIR:

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 19th, 1791.*

I have received your favor, dated at Carlisle, the 11th instant.

Mr. Swan will be able to remedy all defects in Maryland and Virginia, either with respect to provisions or transportation.

I depend upon your appointing the major to the Carlisle battalion.

I am well satisfied you have gone forward to fort Pitt. The Indians have lately committed some depredations on Westmoreland county; the mischief most probably has been committed by a few Indians, but the people seem greatly alarmed.

The Governor of this Commonwealth has again applied to me for arms and ammunition, and I have directed Major Craig to furnish two hundred arms and accoutrements, with a proportionate quantity of ammunition, to the orders of Colonel Biddle, quartermaster general of the State.

I have furnished to the order of Major Smith, of Carlisle, the further sum of one thousand dollars, on account of Mr. Duer, the contractor.

I have not received any precise information relative to the upper battalion of this State. I have written to Major Clark for information, and shall hope to receive it either from him, but more especially from you.

I have been informed that, as no men were called from Fayette county, it is unfortunate that one company had not been raised in that county. I trust that, if there is still a deficiency in other places, you will immediately attempt to raise men in Fayette.

I depend greatly on your presence to give a due stimulus to the upper battalion.

I am persuaded, were a proper distribution to be made, by posting a company of levies at fort Franklin for the present, and until they would be wanted for the active operations of the campaign, and by dismissing the Westmoreland militia, all but a few, who might act as rangers for quieting the minds of the inhabitants, that Major Clarke's battalion would immediately feel the good effects of the measure.

I trust you will take decisive measures, as soon as the nature of the case will admit, consistently with the protection of the frontiers, to dismiss all the militia called out by the county lieutenants, as far down the Ohio as the Great Kenhawa. General St. Clair will take care of all below the Kenhawa.

The dismissal of the militia must be entrusted to you, who will be upon the spot. The expense is a grievous circumstance, and ought to be terminated as soon as possible, consistently with the security of the inhabitants.

When the levies shall arrive, if you shall have the disposal of them by the general's orders, (for I wish not to interfere with the disposition of the troops after their arrival at fort Pitt) it will be important that they should be arranged so as to cover the counties for the present, in order that the militia may be discharged.

The troops which have marched, and which will march, from the respective rendezvous, for fort Pitt, before the first of June, will probably amount to twelve hundred, besides Captain Montfort's company of North Carolina, which amounts to upwards of sixty, and which has marched from Staunton by the Great Kenhawa.

Mr. Hodgdon has employed Colonel Marshall, of Washington county, to purchase fifty horses for the cavalry, and he has or will make arrangements for the purchase of the other fifty. All the stores for the campaign, together with the quartermaster, will set out before the first of June.

I enclose a duplicate of my letter to you of the 12th instant.

I earnestly request that I may hear from you by every post.

I am, sir, with great respect, &c.

Major-General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 22d*, 1791.

SIR:

I have the honor to inform you that the bearer, James Woodhouse, is appointed a surgeon's mate to Major Clarke's battalion of levies, and, by order of the Secretary of War, repairs to fort Pitt to join his corps, and to receive any further directions from you that may be necessary.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN STAGG, *Chief Clerk*.

Major-General RICHARD BUTLER.

SIR:

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 26th*, 1791.

I have received yours, dated at Turtle creek, thirteen miles east of Pittsburg, on the 19th instant.

As the Virginia levies are marching without arms, and, as it appears from your last letter there may be some danger on the route to Pittsburg, it will be all important that you use the armed troops in such manner as to prevent a possibility of injury to the unarmed levies, or the stores, which are on the way to fort Pitt. You could detach arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, to meet the levies before they arrive upon dangerous ground.

I have directed arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, to be forwarded to the Maryland levies, and I would do so by the Virginia levies, but it appears, from the information from Mr. Swan and Colonel Darke, that all the Virginia levies would be in motion before the first of June. One hundred and thirteen were to march from Winchester on the 18th, so that they will arrive at fort Pitt previously to this letter. The levies from Carlisle and Trenton will also be armed.

I enclose you a schedule of the troops which have actually marched, and which will probably march, before the first of June.

By the 10th of June, I expect we shall march one hundred and fifty regulars, under Beatty or Doyle, and, by that time, the remainder also of the Jersey battalion, which will probably be about sixty.

The recruiting service at the Eastward is exceedingly dull: we shall probably fall short in that quarter. In a few days I shall be able with certainty to estimate the force which will march in the course of June.

Besides the request herein contained, relative to the safety of the unarmed parties, I shall write to Colonel Gibson to make use of Purdy's company, which is about marching for the upper post.

I am anxious to hear of Colonel Procter. You will please to give me, and Major General St. Clair, the earliest information you shall have relative to him. And you will also keep me constantly informed of every thing necessary for me to know.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

Major-General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *1st June*, 1791.

SIR:

This will be delivered to you by Mr. Hodgdon, the quartermaster to the army. You will please to give him your advice and directions for such preparations as shall be essential to the campaign.

I am, &c.

Major-General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *2d June*, 1791.

SIR:

The Secretary of War being absent for a day or two, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to him, dated the 22d ultimo, with its enclosures.

Mr. Hodgdon, the quartermaster, sets out this morning for Pittsburg, and will hasten his journey, in order to make whatever arrangements may be found necessary in his department, and to receive your further commands. By the next post, the Secretary of War will write you more particularly.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN STAGG, *Jun. Chief Clerk*.

Major-General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *9th June*, 1791.

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 22d and 29th ultimo, and of the 1st instant. The clothing and canteens for Clarke's battalion must have all reached fort Pitt on or about the 1st instant.

Sheet iron was sent forward, in order to make the camp kettles at fort Pitt. Camp kettles, ready made, would have been rendered useless by the transportation.

The knapsacks were neither painted nor strapped, but the quartermaster was to forward both paint and straps. But, in order to remedy this matter entirely, I have directed a sufficiency to be painted and strapped here, and they will be forwarded in a few days.

The quartermaster says, that he consulted good judges on the articles of the pack saddles; but I believe, from your representation, that he has been mistaken.

I am satisfied that you have employed some persons to make trees for other saddles. If the materials you mention, to make up the pack-saddles, have not been already forwarded, which I believe is the case, it shall be done immediately.

The quartermaster made an arrangement for boats and the cavalry horses. I have conceived that Kentucky was the proper place to purchase the pack-horses, and have directed it accordingly. Mr. Hodgdon, the quartermaster, set out from Carlisle on the 7th instant, and will be at fort Pitt by the 12th or 13th. He is amply furnished with the means of obtaining every thing that shall be wanting for the campaign, and I have directed him to take your advice upon such preparations as you may deem essential, and which have not already been done.

As the representative of the public in the preparations of the campaign, I feel it my duty, and it is most certainly my inclination, that every article, however minute, should be furnished, and I have given the directions accordingly.

From the activity of Mr. Hodgdon, and his ample funds, I have no doubt that all things in the quartermaster's department will be prepared in due season.

By the returns of the provisions which you transmitted me, it appears that such a quantity of flour is already purchased, that no apprehensions may be entertained on that account. Until the expedition shall take place, and during the operations of the troops, dependence must be placed on live cattle. The posts to be established will require six months' salted meats, and the other parts of the ration in proportion. This object the contractor has promised to attend to, and from his information there will be no disappointment.

There are no light fuzees for the levy officers. The French arms which have been forwarded, are not heavy; and I should presume would answer the purpose of all the officers very well.

As the parties of levies, excepting the Virginians, who are yet to march forward, will be armed, the arms requested by the State might have been delivered.

The colors for the levies have not been deemed essential; but at your request, they shall be forwarded.

There are plenty of tents gone forward, but there are no marquees; the nature of the campaign will render it very improper that heavy tents should be used on the expedition. But the quartermaster can modify those already gone, according to the directions of the general officers.

I am well satisfied that Major Butler has been appointed to the command of the eastern battalion of levies in this State. I hope the remaining company will be soon filled and marched.

The object of Colonel Procter's mission having failed, of which he informed you, General St. Clair will no longer restrain the expedition under Brigadier General Scott.

I am persuaded that you transmitted to General St. Clair the whole of Colonel Procter's despatches, because, on his early receipt thereof, much will depend.

You will not retain more troops on the upper parts of the Ohio than shall be necessary for the defensive protection of the frontiers. All beyond that number you will order down the river to head quarters.

You will also make a perfect arrangement for the collection of those who shall be employed in the defensive protection, at the time they shall be required for the expedition.

I enclose you, *in confidence*, an estimate of the troops who have marched, and who will march during the present month.

The recruiting service has been very dull in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island. In Connecticut it has been better. I hope, however, to march about five hundred regulars, or three years' men, in the course of the present month; but this includes Doyle and Beatty's, and all others to the eastward. This number is contemplated in the number of the enclosed estimate.

As we shall not have all the three years' men I was induced to hope, and as you seem to think that a company of levies could be raised in Fayette, I hereby authorize you to raise one, two, three, or even four companies, or a battalion of levies, provided the object could be certainly accomplished by the 15th or 20th of July, in the upper counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

If you go into this measure, you will immediately inform me and General St. Clair thereof. For the bounties and advance pay, you will draw upon the paymaster. A great part of the clothing is ready made, and shall be immediately forwarded upon your notification.

You could appoint the officers, and, as soon as the President of the United States shall arrive, which will be about the 23d instant, the commissions shall be forwarded upon the names of the officers being certified by you.

I am afraid of the instability of gentlemen volunteers, and therefore cannot give any encouragement to the idea. The organization of the corps of cavalry is with Major General St. Clair, who will take regulars or levies, or both, as he shall judge proper.

The equipments are excellent, and I hope the corps will be of that description. I have suggested Captain Snowden, who was of Lee's corps, as an officer of horse.

I consider that all the troops mentioned in the enclosed schedule will be at head quarters by the 15th of July at farthest, the greater part long before, as I presume that two thousand three hundred will have marched from their respective rendezvous on or before the 22d instant. But this includes Sevier's battalion.

There is no frontier battalion of Virginia. Sevier's battalion is of the territory of the United States south of the Ohio. There are six battalions of levies only, to wit: Sevier's, Virginia, Maryland; these compose the first regiment of levies; the second is composed of the two battalions from this State, and one from New Jersey.

You mention your taking some measures with the Six Nations. This must not interfere with the treaty which is to take place at the Painted Post, to be held there by Colonel Pickering on the 17th instant.

I am of your opinion, that the Indians must join one side or the other, and that the Senecas and others had better join ours than the enemy. Colonel Pickering is instructed upon this point.

You will, I am persuaded, join at head quarters at fort Washington, so soon as that you shall judge that the service does not longer require your presence at fort Pitt, or as soon as you receive the orders for that purpose from General St. Clair. In this case you will undoubtedly give the necessary orders to be observed relative to the collection and transportation of the troops.

But, as I have before mentioned to you, it is my desire to avoid the least interference with the orders of Major General St. Clair; his orders are therefore to be obeyed in all respects.

I am, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 16th June, 1791.

SIR:

I have received your letter of the 9th instant. It may be expected that your arrangements will give protection to the upper parts of the Ohio. I am persuaded you constantly inform General St. Clair of your arrangements.

The circumstance of the want of beef is a strange and unlooked for event, as the contractor has given me assurances of a full supply of provisions. Lest his agents should omit to give him full information upon the subject, I have written him, and enclosed a copy of your letter, and urged him to take the necessary measures for a full supply.

The quartermaster is furnished with a sum of money for exigencies. The troops must not suffer for want of provisions while he has money or credit.

The contractor entered into engagements with the Secretary of the Treasury for to supply the troops with rations of provisions, for which he is responsible. He says his arrangements are adequate to the end. I am not informed of the details, but should suppose that General Neville could inform you of the arrangements for the supplies.



I generally knew that it was not intended that the troops should remain a long time in the upper parts of the Ohio, and that the main part of the supplies were supposed to be required at or near fort Washington.

But the arrangement of keeping the troops a short time on the upper parts of the Ohio, must occasion some change in the contractor's arrangements.

I shall apply to the postmaster to order that the post rider may stay longer at fort Pitt.

It is not probable that your letter to the Five Nations will be received at Niagara, unless you have entrusted it to a special messenger. Colonel Pickering's treaty is to be held the 17th, at the Painted Post. I hope your arrangements will not interfere with him.

Neither of the remaining companies of the Jersey and eastern battalions of this State are completed, nor will they be, in less than the latter end of the month.

I am assured that all the tents and clothing for Clarke's battalion, and canteens, have gone forward some time ago; the painted knapsacks will be sent forward to-morrow.

As Captains Hannah and Darke's companies marched the 4th instant from Winchester, they must have arrived by this time at fort Pitt.

Only a few now remain to complete the Virginia battalion, the deficiency being occasioned by desertions.

The first division of the Maryland battalion, consisting of one hundred and eighty-eight, marched about the 12th instant.

Captain Doyle has marched for Lancaster, and Captain Beatty will march from Brunswick to-morrow or next day. These two will make about one hundred and fifty.

Two companies of regulars are about embarking from the Eastern States, and will, I hope, be at Brunswick about the 20th, to commence their march forward.

Hospital stores, and other articles necessary for the campaign, are about being sent forward to fort Pitt. I enclose you a copy of my last letter.

I am, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 23d June, 1791.

Sir:

I have received your letter of the 16th instant, and I am very sorry to learn that you were unwell, but which I sincerely hope will be of short continuance.

I have communicated to Mr. Duer, the contractor, the embarrassments relative to beef. From the liberal supplies of the treasury, I flatter myself he will instantly take effectual measures to prevent a repetition of any cause of complaint on this head.

It affords me great satisfaction to learn from you that every other part of the preparations are going on well.

I have communicated to Major General St. Clair, the power entrusted to you of raising another company of levies, or another battalion, if necessary. All the troops who are to be depended upon for the campaign, are, or soon will be, in motion forward. The recruiting service in New England has lately taken a spring, which may, perhaps, afford us another company, or perhaps one hundred more than as mentioned in my last. But it is my judgment, that, if we could raise another battalion of levies to supply deficiencies, it had better be done. If it could not be done within your sphere, it might be done lower down, under the immediate direction of Major General St. Clair.

I shall immediately forward about two hundred additional suits of clothing for the levies, to fort Pitt, for the above purpose of additional companies. You will judge what part of these to retain, or what to forward.

I shall also direct two thousand pairs of large shoes to be forwarded as soon as possible, which, however, must be deducted from the pay of the levies. If they should not arrive in time for the campaign, I judge there are a sufficiency on hand at fort Washington.

The colors for the levies will be forwarded next week.

The Quartermaster will inform you of the additional supplies forwarded, among which are the boots and spurs for the cavalry.

Colonel Pickering, who is at this time holding a treaty with the Six Nations at the Painted Post, has directions to aim at the same thing that you are attempting, to wit: to obtain a body of their warriors to join the army. If he shall be successful, I have directed that the route of the Indians be from the Cornplanter's town to fort Franklin, and that Lieutenant Jeffers would there join them, and proceed as you shall direct. A party of sixty Indians has been contemplated; but I have mentioned to Colonel Pickering, that, if more should offer, would not be material. But, unless they could be at fort Franklin by the 20th of July at farthest, the arrangement would be useless.

I pray you to attend to this point particularly, and to give such orders relative thereto, as to preclude a possibility of the Indians, in case they join us, being injured by our own citizens: for, if such an event should happen, the Six Nations must and will be our enemies.

I am satisfied that Mr. Hodgdon will answer the public expectation as quartermaster, and that, by his actual supplies, credit, and resources, there will not be a deficiency of any sort or kind.

Before you receive this letter, it is probable that you will have received ultimate orders from Major General St. Clair, relative to forwarding the troops. *His orders you will obey.* But in case you should not receive them, it will be proper that you should forward the troops down to fort Washington. The collection of them at that point, will awe the Wabash Indians, and prevent their striking the upper parts of the Ohio; and they will probably have the same effect on the Wyandots and Delawares, if they should continue refractory.

Before the troops depart, it will be highly proper that an arrangement should be made for the defensive protection of the exposed counties; you, being on the spot, will be the judge of the proportions each county ought to be permitted to have, at the expense of the United States. But the number ought to be limited to the state of things; and all those called out under the authority of the United States, must be regulated according to my letter of the 10th of March last, written by order of the President of the United States.

This matter of the defensive protection, therefore, is hereby confided to you, and you are requested to make the arrangements accordingly. For the detachments which shall be so called out, and belonging to counties not before supplied with ammunition, it would be proper to issue a reasonable quantity of powder and ball.

The contractor who carries the mail to Pittsburg agrees that the mail shall arrive there at ten o'clock in the morning, and stay until three in the afternoon, and that, upon your special request, he shall stay until five o'clock. I enclose you a copy of my last letter, dated 16th instant.

I am, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 30th June, 1791.

Sir:

I enclose you a duplicate of my letter dated the 23d instant, and transmitted by the last post, and I have the honor to acknowledge your favor of the 23d instant.

I am satisfied at your opinion, that an additional battalion can be raised upon the frontiers. I have directed Mr. Howell, by this post, to forward Mr. Hodgdon a month's pay for the commissioned and non-commissioned officers and privates, and the bounties for the non-commissioned and privates of a complete battalion. This money will be paid to your order.

The two hundred powder horns, and two hundred bullet or shot pouches, which you request, shall be forwarded immediately. The four bugle horns are gone forward.

As the clothing for nearly two hundred levies is in store, it shall be completed to that number; and as it may be uncertain whether you obtain a full battalion, I shall forward no more clothing. But if you should be fortunate in raising a full battalion, you will be able to get them clothed at fort Washington, out of the clothing of the regulars, of which there are at that place several hundred spare suits.

I mention this as a resource; but, perhaps, if you succeed, it may, upon further consideration, be proper to procure here an additional quantity, which may be done in a few days.

Two thousand pair of large shoes are in hand, and will be forwarded as soon as finished.

You mention the levies have only one pair of overalls; this was indeed the original arrangement; but afterwards, an additional pair was furnished, of sheeting, to be deducted from the pay of the men. Please to inquire of Mr. Hodgdon upon this subject.

Apprehending that the levies might require some more pay, I had directed a sum, equal to a month's pay, to be forwarded by Captain Beatty to Mr. Hodgdon, to be by him issued, as Major General St. Clair may direct. This money will, therefore, be delivered at head quarters. I should apprehend some embarrassment if it should be delivered before; but if it should, in your judgment, be indispensable to advance some small sum on account, and you can arrange it with Mr. Hodgdon, so as to avoid confusion, I shall have no objection.

Arms and accoutrements for the additional battalion, are at fort Pitt. I leave the one hundred riflemen to your judgment. The arrangement you make of paying for the rifles in case of being lost, and also of their being repaired, is right; but each person ought to have something for the use of it.

I shall have no objection to your taking some shoes from the parcel you mention, belonging to Mr. Duer, if they are good, and at a reasonable price; but they must be deducted from the pay of the levies.

Brigadier General Sevier writes me on the 5th instant, that three companies of the Southern battalion were raised, and about to march. These were all riflemen.

The arrangement of your force appears highly judicious for the object; and I am persuaded, you will not suffer a moment to elapse, longer than necessary, before you make the troops descend the Ohio; but the time has arrived, which renders the collection of the force, at head quarters, necessary.

The regulars and levies are designed for active and offensive operations; and are, therefore, excepting a few guards at the posts, all to descend the Ohio to fort Washington. If the frontiers, on the upper parts of the Ohio, require defensive protection, the militia of the respective counties must perform that service. On this point, I wrote you fully on the 23d instant, the duplicate being herein enclosed, and constituted you the judge of the number to be permitted at the expense of the Union. I am persuaded the public will find sufficient security in your character, and in your intelligence, that this power will be exercised with entire discretion and judgment.

For the militia, who shall be so called out for guards, it will be proper that the county lieutenants make arrangements to furnish the rations, agreeably to my letter of the 10th of March last.

I have informed Mr. Duer, regularly, of the complaints relating to the beef. He is expected here daily, when, it is to be presumed, he will make more perfect arrangements.

About one hundred and seventy-five regulars, from New England, have probably arrived at Brunswick, and about commencing their march. I have no information from Major Butler by this post, relative to the deficiency of the Carlisle battalion of this State. There is, also, a deficiency of the Jersey battalion, of about fifty, which are recruiting slowly. I have not heard of the last part of the Maryland battalion being forwarded.

Brigadier General Scott, with a body of about eight hundred mounted volunteers, crossed the Ohio, on the 23d of last month, and was expected to strike the Ouatanon towns, on or about the 30th of May; we may, therefore, expect to hear from him hourly.

I am, sir, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 7, 1791.

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge your favor of the 30th ultimo, and enclose a duplicate of mine of the same date.

I am happy to learn the state of the Ohio, as I am persuaded it will be improved to the utmost.

I enclose you a schedule of the troops, which you will keep to yourself. Captain Phelon, with nearly two hundred regulars, will march from Trenton this day. The deficiencies of the levies, and the one hundred regulars, will all, I hope, move forward in a few days. This schedule does not include the additional levies which you are authorized to raise; but pray make it certain that you can raise the additional levies, before you incur any expense. If they cannot be raised, and Major General St. Clair should think proper, he will raise a corps of volunteers, from Kentucky, to join, or act collaterally with the main expedition; therefore, pray inform him of the certainty of the prospects, relative to the *additional levies*, as his measures will depend upon your information.

I have regularly stated to Mr. Duer, the deficiencies, and urged him to take the proper measures to remedy the defects. A Mr. Mitchell passed through here a day or two ago, and informed me, that he was charged with money, to a large amount, for the contractor's agents; and I have learned, that a Mr. Wilkie is charged with the transportation of the provisions, and that he is furnished by the contractor with the means of purchasing or hiring the pack-horses, for that purpose.

I have forwarded a copy of the contract for provisions to Mr. Hodgdon, agreeably to his request, by which it will appear, that the contractor is to furnish, at the places therein mentioned, the rations specified. If he executes it well, it will be for his interest; if he does not, he must sustain the consequences. But the public service must neither be delayed or injured, for want of provisions, and I have written to the quartermaster to this effect; but any interposition on his part, or of any of the generals, must be only in cases of extremity.

I am highly satisfied, that Mr. Hodgdon meets your approbation; I am persuaded, from long experience of him, that he will amply fulfil the expectations formed of him.

The colors are not sufficiently dry to send yet, but they will be forwarded very soon. The clothing, and all the other supplies, are forwarded.

I have received a letter from Major General St. Clair, dated the 26th May. But I have not yet heard of the issue of General Scott's expedition.

It has now become important that the troops should immediately descend the Ohio. I depend upon your executing the transportation of them as fast as possible; and that you make the arrangements for calling out the guards for the counties, as mentioned in my former letters.

In order that every part of the arrangements may harmonize, and to avoid repetitions, I transmit to Major General St. Clair copies of my letters to you.

Major Patterson is about setting out for fort Pitt. Major Butler I have ordered to go on as soon as possible.

I am, sir, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 12, 1791.

SIR:

Yesterday morning, at eight o'clock, I received your favor of the 2d instant, by the express, James McClellan.

The information of Thomas Rhea, whose affidavit you transmitted, was, indeed, of the importance to justify a special express. It has been submitted to the President of the United States, who will take it into his most serious consideration. To quarrel, and come to an open rupture with the crown of Britain, would, in the present situation of this country, be a very serious affair, and to be avoided, if possible, consistently with national honor and dignity. There is a time for all things; and it may happen, hereafter, that the conduct of the British, in the present case, will amount to a heavy charge, which must be paid with interest. Indeed, it is hardly to be doubted, if the facts alleged by Rhea be true, but this instance of aid to the Indians, will be followed by others, which must also be minuted down: for it cannot be supposed that the aid has been dictated by the spontaneous impulse of the commanding officer.

It will be proper, that you obtain attestations of Rhea's credibility, from respectable and known characters. It must be our duty to mind our business, and accomplish the objects of the campaign; which, if as successful as all things promise, will give a new aspect to the security of the frontiers.

Captain Phelon, with about two hundred men, mostly regulars, is at Reading, and will move on steadily to join you.

Continue to forward the troops with all possible despatch, to head-quarters. I presume you have communicated Rhea's information to Major General St. Clair, to whom, I pray you, send also a copy of this letter.

I shall write you more particularly by the post, on the 14th instant. In the meantime,  
I am, sir, with great respect, yours, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 14, 1791.

Sir:

I have received your two letters of the 7th instant. I am happy to learn, that all arrangements are in the promising train you state.

You will report, particularly, the arrangements you make with the county lieutenants, during the absence of the army.

The defects relative to beef, I am assured, have been remedied.

I hope the reports relative to General Scott's success may be true to the utmost extent; but I am ignorant of what they are, not having received any information upon the subject.

Captain Phelon did not march on the day I expected; he will probably halt to day at Reading, and move on to-morrow. He will take under his orders, at Carlisle, all the levies who may be there. Any deficiencies in Major Butler's battalion must be attempted to be completed by Captain Smith, who may continue recruiting until the 25th, when he must march.

I write by this post to Major Butler to repair immediately to fort Pitt.

Major Patterson having left this city some days ago, will be at fort Pitt before this letter.

About one hundred recruits of the regulars from the eastward, are directed to move on. But they cannot arrive at fort Washington much before the first of September, therefore I do not estimate them for the expedition. The deficiency must be made up by the general, from the district of Kentucky, of such species of troops as he shall judge proper.

All the Jersey levies who shall be recruited by the 25th, shall, at that time, move forward; perhaps they may amount to twenty-five or thirty.

Doctor Slough having resigned, you will appoint a successor, and inform me thereof. I really believe Dr. Brown, one of the mates, would well answer the purpose.

I presume the Maryland and Virginia battalions have mates.

I am, sir, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 21, 1791.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant, and to enclose a duplicate of mine of the same day.

I have also received a letter from Major General St. Clair, of the 13th of June, at which time no troops had arrived. But, on the 14th and 15th, Major Ferguson, with Kirkwood's and Armstrong's companies, and also Montfort's, from North Carolina, arrived.

It affords me great satisfaction to learn of the detachment's descending the river, under Major Gaither, on the 13th instant.

I most earnestly request that all the troops be instantly collected and embarked for head quarters, with all possible despatch.

Captain Beatty will have reached you by this time. Captain Phelon, with about two hundred and fifty regulars and levies, will leave Carlisle to-morrow.

Captain Newman, with about sixty regulars and levies, will leave this city on or about the 25th, and about one hundred more will arrive at Brunswick in a few days. But I do not estimate that these will arrive in time for the expedition.

Major Heart will set out from this city to-morrow. The shoes and colors will also leave this to-morrow.

I have urged Mr. Duer, the contractor, to take all necessary measures relative to provisions, which I have been assured has been done. Major General St. Clair, in his letter of the 13th, writes thus:

The contractors have got forward about a thousand barrels of flour, and Elliott and Williams have likewise about a thousand at this place, which, should it be wanted, I consider as so much in the hands of the public, and the contractor's agent is gone to Kentucky to purchase beef, in which he will meet with no difficulty. How they propose to transport the flour, by and by, I know not, nor have they any person here who can inform me.

Major Heart has informed me that John Rhea's character is truly infamous, and no dependence to be placed thereon. Were one to form a judgment of the conduct of the British, by what appears to be their true interest, they cannot urge the Indians to a war with the United States, and their agent here is pretty strenuous in asserting the contrary of Rhea's information.

De Bartzchi's information, as transmitted by Captain Slough, appears probable; there cannot be any doubt, from Colonel Procter's information, but that Brandt went to the Miami towns, and probably for the object of peace; and it is not improbable but Sir John Johnson's proposed treaty is to the same effect.

Colonel Pickering informs me, that, as it would be impossible for the Indians to be at fort Franklin by the 20th instant, he shall not attempt to influence any of them to join our army, and that he has understood that any such attempt would be ill received.

The great object of Colonel Pickering's treaty was, to keep the Six Nations quiet, and to prevent their joining the opposite side, by drawing them a different way.

It was, indeed, added, that it might be an additional cement to obtain a party of sixty or seventy of their young warriors, who could with difficulty be restrained from joining one side or the other.

We have yet no official news from Scott; the reports from Kentucky are, that he has succeeded, which I sincerely hope may be the case.

I am persuaded you will descend the Ohio at the earliest moment the service will require. *Indeed, it will be proper that both you and the quartermaster should be at head-quarters as soon as possible.* Colonel Gibson or Colonel Darke may be left to superintend the remaining embarkation. But every sort of stores for the campaign, which shall be arrived at fort Pitt, must precede or accompany Captain Phelon.

The President of the United States, to whom I have submitted your letter of the 14th instant, is exceedingly anxious that Major General St. Clair should commence his operations at as early a period as possible; and he has commanded me to urge that you, and all the troops within your orders, descend the Ohio immediately.

I have heard nothing from Brigadier General Sevier since the 5th of June, when he informed me of three companies being raised, and soon to march.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *July 21st, 1791.*

SIR:

The bearer, Doctor Grasson, is one of the emigrants from France, and is recommended to me as a gentleman of science and professional knowledge.

I request that you would be pleased to cause him to be examined by professional characters, and if the report should be favorable, that you would appoint him a surgeon's mate to any of the vacant battalions; and if there should not be any vacancy, that you would permit him to repair to head-quarters.

I am, sir, &amp;c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August 4, 1791.*

SIR:

This morning I have been honored with the receipt of yours of the 28th ultimo. It affords great satisfaction to learn that all the troops and stores are in readiness, and will descend the Ohio immediately.

The President of the United States is extremely anxious that the troops should be immediately assembled at fort Washington. I am persuaded, from your former letter, that they have all descended the Ohio; and, therefore, I shall be very brief in this letter.

I calculate that Captain Phelon will be at fort Pitt about the 6th or 8th.

Captain Newman marched, with about eighty-three non-commissioned and privates, from this city, on the 30th ultimo; and Captain Buell will probably march from New Brunswick on the 8th or 10th instant. But neither of these are estimated for the campaign. The recruiting service for the regulars will still be continued, and the recruits forwarded by companies.

I enclose you the certified list you request. As a board of officers will adjust the rank of all the officers, I conceive it would be improper to give any opinion relative to the rank of Colonels Darke and Gibson.

I hope you have taken effectual measures to suppress the officious interference of De Bartzchi, the Frenchman, or any other person, with the Indians; such conduct is pernicious, and no good can result therefrom.

Colonel Pickering's treaty is finished satisfactorily. I have not received the particulars, but I expect him in town daily.

Colonel Pickering did not propose that any of the warriors should accompany our army; he found that such proposition would not be acceptable.

It is probable Sir John Johnson has called the Indians to a treaty at Buffalo creek. The object we shall endeavor to learn.

It is well Brandt has returned; and if it be true, he has brought some Western Indians with him, it is most probable we shall soon hear from them.

With great respect, sir, &amp;c.

Major General BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August 11th, 1791.*

SIR:

I have received your letter of the 4th instant. It is considered by the President of the United States as an unhappy omen, that all the troops for the campaign had not descended the Ohio at the time you wrote.

No retardment of the essential objects of the campaign should be permitted under the idea of defensive protection of the frontiers, against a few straggling Indians. The counties are sufficiently strong for that purpose.

If you should, therefore, be still at fort Pitt, it is the decided orders of the President of the United States that you repair to head-quarters with all possible despatch, together with all the troops, officers, and stores, destined for the campaign.

It has been constantly intimated that Captain Phelon was the rear of the troops for the campaign; and that no dependence would be placed on those who should arrive after him.

Captain Newman will be at fort Pitt in less than fifteen days from the present time, and Captain Buell in not less than one month, as he only marched from Brunswick this day. Colonel Gibson, therefore, cannot have any object at fort Pitt, and he must instantly repair to head-quarters.

If there should be any deficiencies, the commanding general has the authority for supplying them.

Any levies raised by Captain Falkner, or any other person, after the present moment, will not be of any service, and are, therefore, to be suspended. I send a commission for Doctor Brown.

Three blank commissions shall be prepared and forwarded by the next post.

The same sort of defensive protection is to be provided for Marietta and Gallipolis, in proportion to their numbers, as the other exposed places.

I am, sir, &amp;c.

Major General BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August 18th, 1791.*

SIR:

I have received your letter of the 11th instant, and which has been submitted to the President of the United States. I enclose a duplicate of mine to you of the same date.

You will receive, herewith, the commissions for Major Clarke's battalion, according to the list you sent, of which the enclosed is a copy; and also, the blank commissions for the additional company which, it is presumed, has gone down the Ohio with you.

As you will probably receive this at head quarters, I shall not have any thing to add to my former communications.

The information you transmitted in your last, of the harmony among the troops, is highly pleasing, and, it is to be hoped, will pervade all the army. I most sincerely hope that the campaign will be conducted with the highest vigor and success, so as to cover all concerned, from the General, down to the private, with glory and satisfaction.

I have the honor to be, sir, &amp;c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August 25, 1791.*

SIR:

I have received your letter of the 18th instant, which has been submitted to the President of the United States, and I am commanded to inform you that he is by no means satisfied, with the long detention of the troops on the upper parts of the Ohio, which he considers as unnecessary and improper.

And, that it is his opinion, unless the highest exertions be made by all parts of the army, to repair the loss of the season, that the expenses which have been made for the campaign, will be altogether lost, and that the measures, from which so much has been expected, will issue in disgrace.

I have the honor, &amp;c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *September 1st, 1791.*

SIR:

I have received your favor of the 25th ultimo, and I now enclose you a duplicate of mine of the same date. As Captain Newman marched from Bedford, on the 20th of August, it is a little surprising that he had not arrived at fort Pitt, the time your letter was written; but it is presumed he would arrive before your departure from that place.

The several objects of your letter will be attended to, and the name of your nephew will be placed on the list, and submitted to the President of the United States, with the other candidates.

It is devoutly to be hoped, that you will have a speedy passage down the Ohio, so that the remaining part of the season may be embraced for effective operations.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

Major General BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *September 9th, 1791.*

SIR:

In the absence of the Secretary of War, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th of August; and I now transmit you a duplicate of his letter of the 1st instant.

I have the honor, &amp;c.

JNO. STAGG, Jun. *Chief Clerk.*

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *September 22d, 1791.*

SIR:

I acknowledge to have received your letter of the 5th of September, but, as this letter will not reach you for some time, I shall not add any thing more.

I am, &amp;c.

Major General BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *October 13th, 1791.*

SIR:

I have received your favor of the 18th ultimo. I am happy that you all have arrived safely, and I pray God that the operations of the army may be adequate to the object proposed, which is, the establishment of a peace upon the terms of moderation and justice.

The President of the United States has been exceedingly apprehensive, that the detention of the troops on the upper parts of the Ohio, might frustrate the campaign. It is hoped, however, that the army will have sufficient time to make the necessary establishments.

I am, sir, with great respect, &amp;c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

*Instructions to Samuel Hodgdon, Quartermaster to the troops of the United States.*

SIR:

You, having forwarded the most material articles in the quartermaster and ordnance departments, are immediately to repair to fort Pitt, in order to prosecute all further preparations in the quartermaster's line.

The first great objects which must engross your attention, are, the completion of the hundred horses for the cavalry, with an overplus of ten, making, in all, one hundred and ten cavalry horses; the boats, for the transportation of the troops, and ordnance, and military stores, down the Ohio; the pack-horses for the campaign. From all the information I have received, Kentucky will be the most proper place in which to purchase these horses. The number which I have estimated as necessary for the transportation of the baggage of the army, the artillery, and the hospital stores, may amount to about three hundred. But this number is independent of the transportation of provisions, which will be provided for by the contractor. But, if, in the opinion of the General, it should be too small, the number ought to be increased accordingly to his directions.

For all the other objects of the quartermaster, or other staff departments, the duties of which are assigned to you by the commanding officer of the troops on the Ohio, you will receive his directions.

It will, therefore, be necessary that you should descend the Ohio from fort Pitt, as soon as effective arrangements shall be made for the transportation of the troops and stores from that place.

You will keep all your accounts in a fair and clear manner, so that they may be settled after the campaign, in a manner entirely satisfactory to the public, and honorable to your own character. You will, therefore, constantly bear in your mind, that the greatest economy must be observed in all expenditures.

The important station in which you are placed, of Quartermaster to an army destined to great activity in a wilderness, will call for the exercise of your highest exertions, and all your talents for resource. The moving the army in due season, and its ultimate success, will depend materially upon your arrangements; and your reputation for ever stands pledged for the perfect performance of your duty.

The money which is placed in your hands, being the sum of twenty thousand dollars, will be sufficient, it is presumed, for the purposes of the campaign; if, however, it should be otherwise, you will be enabled to draw for such further sums as the general commanding the troops shall certify, taking care, always, to specify the objects for which all sums, so drawn for, shall be required.

Your bills on the paymaster to be drawn at ten days sight.

Given at the War Office of the United States, this thirty-first day of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*WAR DEPARTMENT, *9th June, 1791.*

SIR:

I received yours from Carlisle, dated the sixth instant. I pray you to revise all the preparations for the campaign, before you descend the Ohio. If there should be any deficiencies, inform me thereof, and the articles wanting shall be forwarded.

I shall order a sufficient number of knapsacks, for all the troops marched forward, to be painted and strapped. General Butler complains much upon this article.

I shall also send forward, port wine, sugar, tea and coffee, as hospital stores.

Hasten the collection of the cavalry horses, and send them to head quarters, with cavalry equipments, under a safe escort.

Consult Major General Butler upon the objects of the preparations, and as soon as possible repair to head quarters.

I am, sir, &amp;c.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 23d June, 1791.

SIR:

I have received yours of the sixteenth from Pittsburg. Acquainted, as you are, with the objects of the campaign, and furnished as you are with the means, I possess the highest confidence that no part of the necessary preparations will languish.

Every thing which you have written for, and which may not have been anticipated, shall be forwarded.

I enclose a list of articles, which have lately been transported, as given by your assistant. We have had made one hundred common and twenty horsemen's tents additional; and also the boots for the cavalry.

I shall send to you Captain Houdin, for employment. He is a very honest man; was a Captain in the service during the late war, and has suffered greatly. You will avail the public of his services in the ordnance, or quarter master's departments, at a moderate rate of pay. Let me know when you descend the Ohio.

I am, sir, &amp;c.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 30th June, 1791.

SIR:

I have received your letters by the post of this day, dated the seventeenth, nineteenth, and twenty third of June, for which I thank you.

You will find that the post is arranged as you desired.

All the Indian goods are to be forwarded to head quarters.

The contractor is to transport the provisions upon the expedition.

I have not calculated that you will have to furnish more than three hundred pack and artillery horses at the extent. If you do purchase more, they must be for the transportation of provisions in case of the failure of the contractors. But for this you must have the special warrant of the commander-in-chief.

The paymaster has forwarded to you a large sum of money, for the pay of the troops, to be paid to the warrants of the commanding General. General Butler requests that the levies may have some money advanced them on account. I am apprehensive of confusion in this business, unless it be issued at head quarters; but I have informed him, that, if he conceives it indispensable to advance a small sum on account, and can arrange it with you, so as to avoid confusion, I cannot have any objection.

The paymaster has also by this post forwarded two thousand two hundred and twenty-four dollars and sixty cents, being intended for the bounty of three dollars and the advanced pay of an additional battalion of levies. This money you will pay to the officers who may be appointed, to the order of Major-General Butler.

As soon as Mr. Swan shall return from Maryland, I shall direct him to repair to head quarters, as an auditor to the army accounts, and to settle the advances which have been made. He will report to the commanding officer of the troops, and you will act as paymaster, paying only on the warrants of the commanding General. This arrangement will save you trouble and avoid confusion.

I am, sir, &amp;c.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 7th July, 1791.

SIR:

I have received your letter of the twenty-eighth of June, which is highly satisfactory. I enclose you a copy of my last, of the thirtieth, and also, agreeably to your request, a copy of the contract for provisions.

I am decisively of opinion, that the purchase of the pack-horses is greatly preferable to the hiring of them, having no doubt on this point, from having weighed the subject. I request you, with the approbation of the commander-in-chief and Major-General Butler, while you are at fort Pitt, to proceed accordingly.

The contractor is to deliver the provisions for the time which the army shall operate; of course, he must be at the expense and trouble of the transportation.

I hope, for the public interests, as well as his own, that there will be no deficiencies of his agents, from any cause whatever. But in case there should be, I rely upon it that you will administer the proper remedies. But there must not be any interposition on your part, unless in cases of extremity; you will then interfere upon the orders of the commander-in-chief; and the advances you make must be settled at the treasury, with the contractor, according to the contract.

I learn that a Mr. Wilkie is to furnish the pack-horses for the contractor, and that he is provided with the means for that purpose.

The price of rations of forage is fixed by law; on the expedition it will be furnished by the public, or not at all; in the first case, the public will pay for the forage, and in the other, the officers will be paid by the paymaster.

I am highly pleased that Major General Butler entirely approves your conduct. I am persuaded it will be the same with the commander-in-chief and the public.

I am, sir, &amp;c.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 14th July, 1791.

SIR:

I have received your letter of the seventh instant. The information which you transmit is peculiarly satisfactory. I am confident all things will be well arranged in your department.

The clothing has gone forward, and I believe every other thing; the additional shoes and colors excepted, which will be in motion in a few days.

Mr. Swan has not yet returned from Maryland, but I expect him daily; upon his arrival, if the employment is agreeable to him, he soon will join you. Captain Houdin will set out to-day.

I hope all good reports respecting General Scott may prove true, but I am ignorant of what they are.

As you soon will descend the Ohio, if the pack-horses should be deficient, the General will direct you to furnish the number which shall be necessary.

I am, sir, &amp;c.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 21st July, 1791.

SIR:

I have received yours of the fourteenth instant. The advances you have made to the contractor's agent must be repaid to you again; all payments are made for provisions at the Treasury. One Mr. Mitchell passed through here, time enough to have been at fort Pitt, when you wrote your last, with money for the contractor's agent.

The point is simply this: the contractor has entered into engagements with the Secretary of the Treasury, to furnish provisions to the troops on the frontiers. If he executes it well, he will be paid the sum stipulated; if he does not, he will be subjected to the consequences of the penalty.

But the public service must not be delayed or injured by the contractors' deficiencies. But any interference must be by the express orders of the General, to whose charge the public interests are committed.

I shall hope next post to learn, that all the troops arrived at fort Pitt, have descended to fort Washington.

I have written to Major General Butler that it will be necessary for him, and you also, to repair to head quarters, as soon as the public interest will admit.

You will make arrangements, before you leave fort Pitt, for the transportation of Captain Phelon's detachment, which may consist of about two hundred and fifty. He will leave Carlisle to-morrow. In addition to his detachment, there may be transportation to be provided for about three hundred more troops; Major Craig will, I presume, be empowered by you on the subject.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

I am, sir, &c.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *4th August, 1791.*

SIR:

I have received your letter of the twenty-eighth ultimo, by the post, and also yours of the ninth ultimo, which has been lately received. The bills for twelve hundred dollars, which you have drawn, shall be duly paid. It is an unfortunate circumstance, to be sure, that any additional stores should be required at this time. The shells cannot be obtained in season for the campaign, but every thing possible shall be attempted. The dependence upon Turnbull & Marmie's furnace has turned out ill.

I shall be unhappy if you receive this letter at Pittsburg. The President of the United States, the commanding general, and the public service, all unite in requiring that all the troops and stores shall have descended the Ohio. Captain Phelon, I expect, will arrive about the eighth or tenth at fort Pitt.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

I am, sir, &c.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August 11th, 1791.*

SIR:

I enclose you a duplicate of my letter to you of the fourth instant. I have nothing material to write. It will afford me the greatest pleasure to hear of your safe arrival at head quarters, and that the stores have descended the Ohio, to fort Washington, without any accident.

I need not repeat to you, that much is expected from your exertions and activity, and that the greatest reliance is placed upon the good dispositions to be made in your department.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

I am, sir, &c.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August 18th, 1791.*

SIR:

I have received your two favors of the 6th and 11th instant. I have nothing material to add to my former communications, excepting that all the stores have been ordered on which have been written for, agreeably to the within schedule. (a.) But it is extremely doubtful whether any 5½ inch shells can be obtained, on this side West Point, from which place I expect some hourly, and they shall be forwarded instantly, but they cannot be in readiness for the campaign.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

I am, &c.

(a.) *Return of stores, forwarded to Pittsburg, from August 4th to 9th, 1791.*

lbs. Powder.	lbs. Musket Balls.	lbs. Sheet Lead.	lbs. Sheet Iron.	lbs. Nail Rods.	Cannon Balls, 3 pr.	Reams M. C. paper.	Yards Bunting.	lbs. Thread.	Flints.	Canteens.	Felling Axes.
4,000	4,700	402	560	560	600	45	503	1	20,000	100	33

WILLIAM KNOX, *for*  
SAMUEL HODGDON, *Q. M.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August 25th, 1791.*

SIR:

I have received your letter of ——. The troops were detained on the upper parts of the Ohio too long; they arrived in readiness to descend, and would require nothing but boats and provisions.

If boats have been wanting, it will be unfortunate for you, as well as the public. I have ventured to assert, that nothing has been delayed in your department, and I hope it will prove so, but you ought personally to have been at head quarters long ago, and of which, the commander-in-chief complains.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *September 1st, 1791.*

SIR:

Your letter of the 25th has been received. Your bill, in favor of Major Craig, shall be paid; but, for all bills, estimates ought to be forwarded, in order that a judgment should be formed of the expenses, which seem to exceed the previous estimates. I hope in God that the troops may not have been detained at fort Pitt, for want of boats or any other thing in your department.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

I am, &c.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *September 9th, 1791.*

SIR:

In the absence of the Secretary of War, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th ultimo.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

I am, &c.

JNO. STAGG, *Chief Clerk.*



WAR DEPARTMENT, *September 22d, 1791.*

SIR:

Your letter of the 5th instant has been received.

I am, sir, &amp;c.

SAMUEL HODGSON, Esq. *Quartermaster.**A view of the troops authorized by the acts of Congress, for the campaign of 1791.*

Regulars.—By virtue of the act of the 30th April, 1790: One battalion of artillery	-	-	-	304
First regiment of infantry	-	-	-	912
Act of 3d March, 1791: Second additional regiment ditto	-	-	-	912
				<u>2,128</u>
A corps of levies, for six months, consisting of	-	-	-	2,000
				<u>4,128</u>
Establishment of regulars and levies, non-commissioned and privates	-	-	-	<u>4,128</u>
Actually in service, of regulars	-	-	-	1,634
Levies	-	-	-	1,674
				<u>3,308</u>
Deficient	-	-	-	820
				<u>4,128</u>
Regulars and levies	-	-	-	<u>4,128</u>
Distribution of regulars and levies, on the Ohio, 27th September	-	-	-	(a.) 2,699
in Georgia	-	-	-	219
recruited at the respective rendezvous, and on the march to the	-	-	-	
frontiers	-	-	-	873
at West Point	-	-	-	17
				<u>3,308</u>
(a.) Of the troops on the Ohio, amounting to 2,699, deduct for sick, garrisons, artificers, and non-effectives, 699, which leaves non-commissioned and privates for the expedition	-	-	-	2,000
Add Kentucky militia, taken from the musters	-	-	-	418
				<u>2,418</u>
Total non-commissioned and privates	-	-	-	<u>2,418</u>

WAR DEPARTMENT, *December 26th, 1791.*H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.**Narrative of Mr. Thomas Rhea, who arrived at Pittsburg, from captivity, the 30th of June 1791.*

On the 5th day of May, 1791, I was taken prisoner at a place called Cussawaga, and plundered of seven horses, by a party of five Indians, partly Delawares, partly Munsees, among whom was one called Captain Peter, a Munsee, and one called Jacob Philips, who both talk English; *Philips is well known at Detroit* as a Delaware.

They also took, at the same time, Cornelius Van Horne, and two horses, part of the above seven, and killed and scalped William Gregg. They proceeded with us to Sandusky, by the way of the mouth of Cayahoga river, and the Moravian town, which is evacuated, and the people moved beyond the Detroit river, to a spot near one Captain Elliott's, of the Indian department, where they have planted corn. We arrived at Sandusky the 12th day, which made it the 16th of May. At this town was a Captain Coon, with from one hundred and fifty to two hundred Indians, beside some war parties, who had brought in negroes, horses, and other property, also a white prisoner, who was left at a village seven miles up the Sandusky. During my stay at Sandusky, which was seven days, I was chiefly employed in planting corn; the eighth day, which was the 24th of May, an Indian came in with the news-halloo, and information that a large body of troops were discovered, moving, he said, towards the Miami towns, in three columns; on which the Indians were much alarmed, and immediately destroyed the corn which had been planted, burned their houses, and moved to the great crossing of the Miami or Ottawa river, called Roche-de-boon, where we arrived the fourth day. This made it the 28th of May. During the eight days I was at Sandusky, several war parties came in with prisoners and scalps. At this place, *the Miami*, were Colonels Brandt and McKee, with his son Thomas; and Captains Bunbury and Silvie, of the British troops. These officers, &c. were all encamped on the south side of the Miami, or Ottawa river, at the rapids above lake Erie, about eighteen miles; they had clever houses, built chiefly by the Pattawatamies and other Indians; in these they had stores of goods, with arms, ammunition, and provision, which they issued to the Indians in great abundance, viz: corn, pork, peas, &c. The Indians came to this place in parties of one, two, three, four, and five hundred at a time, from different quarters, and received from Mr. McKee, and the Indian officers, clothing, arms, ammunition, provision, &c. and set out immediately for the Upper Miami towns, where they understood the forces of the United States were bending their course, and in order to supply the Indians from other quarters collected there. Pirogues, loaded with the above mentioned articles, were sent up the Miami river, wrought by French Canadians. About the last of May, Captain Silvie purchased me from the Indians, and I staid with him at this place till the 4th of June, (the king's birth day) when I was sent to Detroit. Previous to leaving the Miami river, I saw one Mr. Dick, who, with his wife, was taken prisoner near Pittsburg, in the spring—I believe by the Wyandots. Mr. McKee was about purchasing Mr. Dick from the Indians, but found it difficult. Mrs. Dick was separated from him, and left at a village at some distance from this place. I also saw a young boy, named Brittle, who was taken in the spring, from near a mill, (Captain O'Hara's) near Pittsburg; his hair was cut, and he was dressed and armed for war; *could not get speaking to him*. About the 5th June, in the Detroit river, I met from sixty to one hundred canoes, in three parties, containing a large body of Indians, who appeared to be very wild and uncivilized; they were dressed chiefly in buffalo and other skin blankets, with other skin and other fur breech cloths, armed with bows, and arrows, and spears; they had no guns, and seemed to set no store by them, or know little of their use, nor had they any inclination to receive them, though offered to them. They said they were three moons on their way. The other Indians called them *Mannitoos*. About this time there was a field day of the troops at Detroit, which I think is from five to six hundred in number; the next day a field day of the French militia took place, and one hundred and fifty of the Canadians, with some *others*, turned out volunteers to join the Indians, and were to set off the 8th for the Miami village, with their own horses, after being plentifully supplied with arms and ammunition, clothing, and provision, &c. to fit them for the march. While I was at the Miami, or Ottawa river, as they call it, I had mentioned to Colonel McKee, and the other officers, that I had seen Colonel Procter, on his way to Fort Franklin; that I understood he was on his way to the Miami, or Sandusky, with some of the Senecas, and that he expected the Cornplanter would accompany him, in order to settle matters with the hostile nations; and that he expected to get shipping at Fort Erie, to bring him and these people to the Miami, or Sandusky, &c. That the officers, in their conversation with each other, said, if they were at fort Erie, he should get no shipping there, &c. That the Mohawks and other Indians, that could speak English, declare that if he, (meaning Colonel Procter) or any other Yankee messenger, came there, they should never carry messages

back. This was frequently expressed by the Indians; and Simon Girty, and a certain Patt Hill, declared Procter should not return, if he had a hundred Senecas with him; and many other such threats were used, and every movement, appearance, and declaration, seemed hostile to the United States. And I understood that Colonel McKee, and the other officers, intended only to stay at the Miami till they had furnished the war parties of Indians with the necessaries mentioned above, to fit them for war, and then would return to Detroit. That Elliott had returned to Detroit, and Simon Girty, and that Girty declared he would go and join the Indians, and that Captain Elliott told him he was going the next day, with a boat load of goods, for the Indians, and that Girty might have a passage with him. That, on the 7th of June, the ship Dunmore sailed for fort Erie, in which I got a passage. We arrived there in four days. About the 12th June, I saw taken into this vessel, a number of cannon, eighteen-pounders, with other military stores, and better than two companies of artillery troops, destined, as I understood, for Detroit and the upper posts; some of the artillery-men had to remain behind, for want of room in the vessel. I have just recollected that, while I was at the Ottawa river, I saw a party of warriors come in with the arms, accoutrements, clothing, &c. of a sergeant, corporal, (and they said) twelve men, whom they had killed in some of the lower posts on the Ohio; that a man of the Indian department offered me a coat, which had a number of bullet and other holes in it, and was all bloody, which I refused to take, and Colonel McKee then ordered me clothes out of the Indian store.

ALLEGHANY COUNTY, }  
Pittsburg, July 2d, 1791. }<sup>ss.</sup>

Personally appeared before me, one of the justices of the court of common pleas, in and for the aforesaid county, the subscriber, Thomas Rhea, and being sworn, according to law, depose, that the above narrative is a true state of facts, to the best of his knowledge and recollection.

THOMAS RHEA.  
JAMES BRISON.

## B.

### *Statement relative to the Frontiers Northwest of the Ohio.*

In obedience to the commands of the President of the United States, the Secretary of War respectfully submits the following statement relatively to the frontiers northwest of the Ohio; and also a plan of such further measures as the existing state of affairs, and the national interest, seem to require. That, in order to obtain a general knowledge of this subject, it would be proper to review, in a summary manner, the conduct which the United States have observed to the neighboring Indian tribes, both during the late war, and since the peace with Great Britain. This inquiry seems necessary, to enable the mind to form a judgment how far a further prosecution of hostilities against the Indians would comport with that justice and dignity, which ought to be the pride and ornament of every free government.

That it will appear by the journals of Congress, in the earliest stages of the late war, how solicitous the United States were to live upon terms of peace and friendship with all the bordering Indian tribes.

That, although the public endeavors were then unsuccessful in preventing the depredations which desolated the frontiers, from Georgia to Canada, yet, as soon as circumstances would permit, those endeavors were revived, with great ardor and better effect.

That, in the year 1784, a treaty was formed with the hostile part of the Six Nations, at fort Stanwix.

That, in the commencement of the year 1785, a treaty was formed at fort McIntosh, with the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, and Chippewas; that, during the same year, treaties were formed at Hopewell, on the Keowee, with the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, to the southward: and that, in the early part of the year 1786, a treaty was formed with the Shawanese, at the mouth of the Great Miami of the Ohio.

That it appears that certain malignant and turbulent characters excited uneasiness and complaints among some of the Northern and Western Indians, against the said treaties of fort Stanwix and fort McIntosh.

That it appears that Congress, in order to accommodate all differences satisfactorily to the said Northern and Western Indians, did, in 1788, direct that another treaty should be held, to which all the said Indians should be invited.

That a new treaty was accordingly held and concluded at fort Harmar, in January, 1789, with a representation of all the Six Nations, the Mohawks excepted, and with the representatives of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, Chippewa, Pattiwatima, and Sac nations, in which nearly the same boundaries, stipulated by the prior treaties, were recognised and confirmed. That it is, however, to be understood, that, although the Miami and Wabash Indians were invited to this treaty, they did not attend. That, notwithstanding the said Wabash and Miami Indians, with certain other banditti, formed of the remnants of the Shawanese, with some outcast Cherokees, still continued their depredations, they were warned, by directions of the President of the United States, to abstain from any further violence, and invited to repair to a place appointed by the Governor of the Western territory, in order to adjust all differences, in an amicable manner. At the same time, the people of Kentucky, who, in consequence of repeated depredations, were meditating a blow against the said Indians, were prohibited from crossing the Ohio.

That the invitations of the United States, which were delivered to all the tribes residing upon the river Wabash, and the Miami towns, were treated not only with neglect, but outrages were renewed with still greater violence than ever, and, in some of their towns, the most shocking cruelties were exercised upon their prisoners. In this state of things, it became necessary to make an experiment of the effect of coercion. Accordingly, the operation under Brigadier General Harmar was directed, but without having the desired success. A larger force was raised for the year 1791, and the command thereof given to Major General St. Clair, to be employed (all other means failing) to bring the said Indians to a just sense of their situation.

That pacific measures were attempted, and strong assurances given, through the Cornplanter, an influential chief of the Six Nations; by the intended mission of Colonel Procter; and the instructions to General St. Clair; that we wanted nothing from them but peace, and were disposed to do them strict justice. But, being unable to succeed in this object, and the event of this expedition having also proved unfortunate, it may be proper to inquire into its object, the cause of its failure, and the probable consequences thereof.

It will appear, by a reference to report A, which accompanies this report, that the great object of the late campaign was to establish a strong military post at the Miami village, lying upon the river of that name, which communicates with lake Erie; and that subordinate posts were also to be erected, as well on the Wabash as on the said river Miami.

That, by an examination of the position of the said Miami village, and its contiguity to, or connexion with, the waters of the river St. Joseph's of Lake Michigan, and the river Illinois, and thereby the Mississippi; the Wabash, and, thereby, with the Ohio; the Miami, and, thereby, lake Erie; its short distance from the Miami of the Ohio, which, at times, may afford considerable facility to transportation; it will appear that the said position, with its proper communications, is greatly superior to any other, in order to serve as a barrier to protect essentially a frontier of upwards of eleven hundred miles, stretching from the upper parts of the Alleghany to the lower parts of the Ohio.

That it was intended to garrison the said post at the Miami village and its communications with one thousand or twelve hundred troops, and have it always well stored with provisions, &c. That, from the said number, a detachment generally might be spared, of sufficient magnitude to chastise any of the neighboring villages or tribes, separately, who might have dared to commit depredations; or be a place to which mounted militia might suddenly repair, draw supplies, and act in conjunction, in case of a combination of the several towns or tribes in acts of hostility.

That, by having such a force, so circumstanced, and always in readiness to fall upon the refractory tribes, it was conceived that it would awe, and mostly, if not entirely, restrain, any further depredations.

That the principal causes of the failure of the expedition appear to have been as follows: 1st. The deficient number of good troops, according to the expectation, in the early part of the year. 2d. Their want of *sufficient discipline, according to the nature of the service.* 3d. *The lateness of the season.*

That these several causes are explained in the aforesaid collateral papers accompanying the report A.

That, in addition thereto, another cause may be added, which was not originally estimated, to wit: an increased number of Indians: for information has been received, by three separate channels, that the Indian warriors who opposed our army may be estimated at a number somewhere about three thousand.

The hostile Indians were before estimated at twelve hundred, and to them it was possible might be added the Wyandots, Delawares, and Pattiwatimies, in all amounting to about one thousand more. The excess of these two numbers probably came from the waters of lakes Superior, Michigan, and Huron, and are denominated Ottawas and Chippewas.

That, in contemplating the probable consequences of the late defeat, the situation of the Southern tribes deserves consideration. The number of warriors of the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Cherokees, are about fifteen thousand. The hostile Indians can easily, and will, probably, repeat their invitations to the Southern tribes during the present winter. It is true, the United States have treaties with all the Southern tribes, and that all of them appear at present tranquil, except the Creeks.

This nation has lately had disturbances excited among them by an adventurer of the name of Bowles, who has acquired a sufficient influence to prevent the boundary being marked, agreeably to the treaty.

It is at present difficult to conjecture the turn which Bowles' interference at this crisis may give to the affairs of the Southern frontier.

But, although the United States have treaties with the Southern tribes, yet, it is to be remembered, that the flames of war have been but recently extinguished with the Creeks and Cherokees.

That the new peace is irksome, not only to the young warriors, whose education and habits make them pant ardently for war, but also to a number of malignant whites, who either reside among the Indians or upon our frontiers, and who are, from some sinister motives, ever desirous of confusion.

That the emissaries of the hostile Indians will be disseminated among all the Southern tribes. Councils will be held, and the passions of the young men will be inflamed with the tales of prowess and glory acquired by the hostile Indians. If these ideas be just, it may become extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to restrain the young warriors of the south from aiding directly or collaterally with the hostile Indians of the West.

To the danger of the Southern tribes joining the hostile Indians, may be added the danger from part of the Northern, or Six Nations. The danger from the latter, however, is far less than from the former; and, besides, is under circumstances more manageable.

These circumstances are mentioned in this place as evils which will probably spring out of the late disasters, and for which a remedy will be mentioned hereafter.

Hence, it will appear that an Indian war, of considerable extent, has been excited, not only contrary to the interests and intention of the General Government, but by means altogether without its control.

That it is the public interest to terminate this disagreeable war, as speedily as possible, cannot be doubted; and it will be important to devise and execute the best means to effect that end. That, upon due deliberation, it will appear that it is by an ample conviction of our superior force only, that the Indians can be brought to listen to the dictates of peace, which have been sincerely and repeatedly offered to them. The pride of victory is too strong at present for them to receive the offers of peace on reasonable terms. They would probably insist upon a relinquishment of territory, to which they have no just claim, and which has been confirmed by the several before recited treaties.

The United States could not make this relinquishment, under present circumstances, consistently with a proper regard to national character.

But, considering the dignity and superior intelligence, as well as power of the United States, compared with the said Indian tribes; weighing the probable opinion of the disinterested, but perhaps uninformed part of mankind upon this subject, who may be apt to consider the Indians as oppressed, it is submitted, that every reasonable expedient be again taken to induce the said hostile Indians to peace, that the nature of the case, and a just regard to the national reputation, will admit. But, at the same time, it is suggested, that it would be altogether improper to expect any favorable result from such expedients.

That the United States, having a frontier of immense extent, surrounded by barbarous Indians, are bound, by all the sacred obligations of sovereignty, to protect effectually their exposed citizens against the cruel inroads of such an enemy.

That defensive measures only, in the present case, appear utterly inadequate to such protection, but that it would require a strong coercive force.

That previously, however, to any conclusion upon the policy of raising such a force, it may be necessary to examine whether the prosecution of the war with the Indians is supported by the principles of justice.

It will appear clearly, by a recurrence to the severally before-recited treaties, and the documents relatively thereto, that neither the Miami, Wabash, or banditti Indians, composed of some Shawanese and outcast Cherokees, had, or have, any just claim to the land contained within the boundaries recapitulated and confirmed by the treaty of Fort Harmar, in January, 1789. Nor does it appear, by any information possessed by the subscriber, that any such claim has been urged by the said Wabash, Miami, or banditti Indians.

That, instead of a claim of boundaries, it will appear that the source of the present hostilities originated in the war with Great Britain; and that the said hostilities have continued, in different degrees, from that to the present time, and that, in no instance, have we passed the boundaries ascertained by the aforesaid treaties; that ever since the peace with Great Britain, there has been an unceasing train of depredations upon the frontiers lying along the Ohio; that these have generally been committed by the Wabash and Miami Indians and the aforesaid banditti; that the plunder and trophies acquired (generally with impunity) by the said Indians, have gradually drawn the other neighboring tribes, who had formed treaties with us, into a participation of the sweets and guilt of their incursions.

Hence it would appear, that the principles of justice as well as policy, and, it may be added, the principles of economy, all combine to dictate, that an adequate military force should be raised as soon as possible, placed upon the frontiers, and *disciplined according to the nature of the service*, in order to meet, with a prospect of success, the greatest probable combination of the Indian enemy.

Although the precise manner in which the force to be raised should be employed, cannot be pointed out with propriety at this time, as it will depend on the circumstances of the moment, yet it may not be improper to observe, that, upon a review of the merits of the main object of the late campaign, to wit: the establishment of a strong military post at the Miami village, with the necessary posts of communication, the necessity and propriety thereof remain the same; that this necessity will probably continue until we shall be possessed of the posts upon Lake Michigan, of Detroit, and Niagara, withheld from us by Great Britain, contrary to treaty. Without remarking upon the principles of this conduct, it may be observed generally, that every arrangement in the power of the United States, for establishing the tranquillity of the frontiers, will be inferior to the possession of said posts. That it is, however, considered, that, if the said posts were in our possession, we ought also to have a strong post at the Miami village, in order to render the protection effectual, and that the posts above-mentioned will require garrisons whensoever they shall be given up.

The subscriber having deliberately contemplated the present state of affairs upon the frontiers, from the south to the north, having recurred to the past in order to estimate the probable future events, finds himself constrained, by his public duty, although with great reluctance, to state, as the result of his judgment, that the public service requires an increase of the military force, according to the following arrangement:

## THE PLAN.

That the military establishment of the United States shall, during the pleasure of Congress, consist of five thousand one hundred and sixty-eight non-commissioned, privates, and musicians.

That the said non-commissioned officers and privates shall be enlisted to serve three years, unless sooner discharged.

That the pay of the said non-commissioned and privates shall be as follows, clear of all deductions, to wit:

A sergeant-major and quartermaster sergeant to each battalion,	- - -	\$6 per month.
A sergeant and chief musician, each,	- - -	5 do
Corporal,	- - -	4 do
Private,	- - -	3 do
Musician,	- - -	3 do

That the said troops be organized as follows:

One squadron of cavalry, of four troops, each of 76 non-commissioned and privates,	- - -	304
It should be a stipulation in the engagements of these men, that they should serve on foot whenever the service requires the measure.		
One battalion of artillery, of four companies each, to consist of 76 non-commissioned and privates,	- - -	304
Each company of artillery to have, as part of its composition, ten artificers each, including the pay of artillerists to have 10 dollars per month.		
Five regiments of infantry, one of which to be riflemen entirely, each of three battalions; each battalion of four companies; each company of 76 non-commissioned and privates; amounting, for each regiment, to 912,	- - -	4,560
		<u>5,168</u>

The annual expense of pay, clothing, subsistence, and forage, for such an army, according to the estimate hereto annexed:

No. 1 would be	- - -	\$782,197 42
That for the extraordinary expense of equipments, transportation, &c. for the campaign, would amount, as per estimate No. 2, to	- - -	244,279 63
		<u>\$1,026,477 5</u>
That from these sums are to be deducted for appropriations to the War Department, for the year 1792,	- - -	350,526 97
		<u>Balance, - - - \$675,950 8</u>

That, in addition to the foregoing arrangement, it would be proper that the President of the United States should be authorized, besides the employment of militia, to take such measures, for the defensive protection of the exposed parts of the frontiers, by calling into service expert woodsmen, as patrols or scouts, upon such terms as he may judge proper. That he be further authorized, in case he should deem the measure expedient, to engage mounted militia for defensive operations, for such time, and on such terms, as he may judge equitable. That he be further authorized, in case he should deem the measure expedient, to employ a body of Indians belonging to tribes in alliance with the United States, to act against the hostile Indians; and that he be authorized to stipulate such terms as he shall judge right.

That it does not seem essential, at this time, that there should be any special appropriations for the defensive protection, the mounted militia, or the employment of Indians, although the actual expenses for those objects may amount to considerable sums, because the estimates, before mentioned, comprehend the entire expense, for one year, of the proposed establishment as complete. But, let the exertions to complete it be ever so great, yet it is probable a deficiency will exist, which will of course occasion a less expense. The moneys, therefore, which may be appropriated to the establishment, and not expended, may be applied to the extra objects above mentioned. If, however, there should be a deficiency, it may hereafter be provided for. That the nett pay of the private soldier, at present, free of all deductions, is two dollars per month. But, as the experience of the recruiting service, of the present year, evinces that the inducement is insufficient, it seems necessary to raise the pay to three dollars per month, free of all deductions; and the non-commissioned officers in proportion. The rifle corps will require more. But whether, under present circumstances, even the additional pay, and an extension of bounty to eight dollars, would give such an impulse to the recruiting service, as to fill the battalions immediately, remains to be tried. Nothing has been said upon an increased pay to the commissioned officers, because a memorial upon that subject has been presented to Congress. But it cannot be doubted that a small increase would be highly grateful to the officers, and probably beneficial to the service. The mounted militia is suggested to be used during the preparation for the main expedition, (and afterwards, if circumstances should render it indispensable.) The effect of such desultory operations upon the Indians will, by occupying them for their own safety, and that of their families, prevent their spreading terror and destruction along the frontiers. These sort of expeditions had that precise effect during the last season, and Kentucky enjoyed more repose, and sustained less injury, than for any year since the war with Great Britain. This single effect, independent of the injury done to the force of the Indians, is worth greatly more than the actual expense of such expeditions. But, while it is acknowledged that mounted militia may be very proper for sudden enterprises, of short duration, it is conceived that militia are utterly unsuitable to carry on and terminate the war in which we are engaged, with honor and success. And besides, it would be ruinous to the purposes of husbandry, to keep them out long, if it were practicable to accomplish it. Good troops, enlisted for a considerable period, armed and well disciplined in a suitable manner, for the nature of the service, will be equal, individually, to the best militia; but, when it is considered to these qualities are added, the obedience, the patience, the promptness, the economy of discipline, and the inestimable value of good officers, possessing a proper pride of reputation, the comparison no longer holds, and disciplined troops attain in the mind, and in actual execution, that ascendancy over the militia, which is the result of a just comparative view of their relative force, and the experience of all nations and ages. The expediency of employing the Indians in alliance with us, against the hostile Indians, cannot be doubted. It has been shown before, how difficult, and even impracticable, it will probably be, to restrain the young men of the friendly tribes from action, and that, if we do not employ them, they will be employed against us. The justice of engaging them would depend upon the justice of the war. If the war be just on our part, it will certainly bear the test of examination, to use the same sort of means in our defence, as are used against us. The subscriber, therefore, submits it as his opinion, that it would be proper to employ judiciously, as to time and circumstances, as many of the friendly Indians as may be obtained, not exceeding one thousand in number.

All which is submitted to the President of the United States.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

*An Estimate of the expenses of an army of five thousand one hundred and sixty-eight officers, non-commissioned and privates, organized to the following arrangement:*

No. 1.

		PAY.	
		Per month.	Per annum.
1 Major General,	-	\$125	\$1,500
2 Aids-de-Camp,	-	40	960
1 Adjutant Generals,	-	60	720
2 Inspectors,	-	30	720
2 Brigadier Generals,	-	94	2,256
2 Aids-de-Camp,	-	40	960
1 Quartermaster General,	-	60	720
4 Assistants,	-	40	1,920
2 Deputies,	-	30	720
2 Chaplains,	-	50	1,200
			<u>\$11,676</u>
INFANTRY.			
<i>Five regiments, each to consist of</i>			
1 Lieutenant Colonel-commandant,	-	\$60	\$720
3 Majors,	-	40	1,440
12 Captains,	-	30	4,320
12 Lieutenants,	-	22	3,168
12 Ensigns,	-	18	2,592
1 Paymaster,	-	5	60
1 Adjutant,	-	10	120
3 Quartermasters,	-	5	180
1 Surgeon,	-	30	360
4 Surgeon's mates,	-	24	1,152
3 Sergeant-majors,	-	6	216
3 Quartermaster-sergeants	-	6	216
48 Sergeants,	-	5	2,880
48 Corporals,	-	4	2,304
3 Senior musicians,	-	5	180
21 Musicians,	-	3	756
792 Privates	-	3	28,512
			<u>\$49,176,</u>
	Is, for five regiments,		245,880
ONE BATTALION OF ARTILLERY.			
1 Major-commandant,	-	\$45	\$540
4 Captains,	-	30	1,440
8 Lieutenants,	-	22	2,112
1 Adjutant,	-	10	120
1 Quartermaster,	-	5	60
1 Paymaster,	-	5	60
1 Surgeon's mate,	-	24	288
1 Sergeant-major,	-	6	72
1 Quartermaster-sergeant,	-	6	72
16 Sergeants,	-	5	960
16 Corporals,	-	4	768
1 Senior musician,	-	5	60
7 Musicians,	-	3	252
224 Privates,	-	3	8,064
40 Artificers,	-	10	480
			<u>15,348</u>
CAVALRY.			
1 Major-commandant,	-	\$45	\$540
4 Captains,	-	30	1,440
4 Lieutenants,	-	22	1,056
4 Cornets,	-	18	864
16 Sergeants,	-	5	960
4 Farriers,	-	12	576
4 Saddlers,	-	12	576
4 Trumpeters,	-	3	144
276 Privates,	-	3	9,936
			<u>16,092</u>
HOSPITAL.			
1 Director,	-	\$60	\$720
4 Surgeons,	-	45	2,160
8 Surgeon's mates,	-	24	2,304
1 Purveyor,	-	40	480
12 Matrons,	-	8	1,152
			<u>6,816</u>
QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT.			
1 Principal artificer,	-	\$30	\$360
2 Second do.	-	22	528
50 Artificers,	-	12	720
			<u>1,608</u>
	Total,		<u>\$297,420</u>

		SUBSISTENCE.		Rations per day.	Per year.
	1 Major General,	-	-	15	5,475
	2 Aids-de-Camp,	-	-	4	2,920
	1 Adjutant General,	-	-	6	2,190
	2 Inspectors,	-	-	3	2,190
	2 Brigadier Generals,	-	-	12	8,760
	2 Aids-de-Camp,	-	-	4	2,920
	1 Quartermaster General,	-	-	6	2,190
	4 Assistants,	-	-	4	5,840
	2 Deputies,	-	-	3	2,190
	1 Lieutenant Colonel-commandant, with the emoluments of a Brig. Gen.	-	-	12	4,380
	4 Lieutenant Colonels-commandant,	-	-	6	8,760
	17 Majors,	-	-	4	24,820
	69 Captains, including cavalry, and one principal artificer,	-	-	5	75,555
	74 Lieutenants, including cavalry, and two second artificers,	-	-	2	54,020
	64 Ensigns, including four cornets,	-	-	2	46,720
Hospital	1 Director,	-	-	6	2,190
	4 Surgeons,	-	-	4	5,840
	8 Mates,	-	-	3	8,760
	1 Purveyor,	-	-	4	2,920
	5 Surgeons,	-	-	3	5,475
	21 Surgeon's mates,	-	-	2	15,330
					289,445,

Rations, or money in lieu thereof, at the option of said officers, at the contract price, at the ports, respectively, where the rations shall become due.

- 4,560 Infantry, non-commissioned officers and privates.
- 304 Artillery, do. do.
- 304 Cavalry, do. do.
- 50 Artificers and quartermasters.
- 12 Matrons, hospital.

5,230, one ration per day, } 2,920  
 } 1,907,490

Rations, at thirteen and a half cents per ration, } 2,199,855  
 } \$296,985 42

		FORAGE.		Per month.	Per year.
	1 Major General,	-	-	\$20	\$240
	2 Aids-de-Camp,	-	-	10	240
	1 Adjutant General,	-	-	12	144
	2 Inspectors,	-	-	10	240
	2 Brigadier Generals,	-	-	16	384
	2 Aids-de-Camp	-	-	10	240
	1 Quartermaster General,	-	-	12	144
	2 Assistants,	-	-	10	240
	2 Deputies,	-	-	10	240
	1 Lieutenant colonel-commandant, with the emoluments of a Brigadier General,	-	-	16	192
	4 Lieutenant Colonels-commandant,	-	-	12	576
	16 Majors,	-	-	10	1,920
Hospital	1 Director,	-	-	12	144
	4 Surgeons,	-	-	10	480
	8 Surgeon's mates,	-	-	6	576
	1 Purveyor,	-	-	10	120
	5 Surgeons,	-	-	10	600
	21 Surgeon's mates,	-	-	6	1,512
	5 Adjutants,	-	-	6	360
	16 Quartermasters,	-	-	6	1,152
	6 Paymasters,	-	-	6	452
					\$10,176

		FOR CAVALRY.		Per month.	Per year.
	1 Major,	-	-	\$10	120
	12 Commissioned officers,	-	-	6	864
	304 Non-commissioned and privates,	-	-	6	21,888
					22,872
					\$33,048

		CLOTHING.		Per month.	Per year.
	4,560 Infantry.	-	-	-	-
	304 Artillery.	-	-	-	-
	304 Cavalry.	-	-	-	-
	50 Artificers, quartermasters.	-	-	-	-
	5,218	-	-	-	-
	432 contingencies.	-	-	-	-
	5,650 suits, at twenty dollars per suit,	-	-	-	\$113,000 00

		BOUNTY.		Per month.	Per year.
	4560 Infantry.	-	-	-	-
	304 Artillery.	-	-	-	-
	304 Cavalry.	-	-	-	-
	50 Artificers, Quartermasters, at	-	-	-	-
	5218	-	-	\$8	\$41,744

## No. 2.

## HORSES FOR CAVALRY.

20 For commissioned officers,	-	-	-	\$ 100	\$2,000
304 For non-commissioned officers and privates,	-	-	-	80	24,320
					<u>\$26,320</u>

## EQUIPMENTS FOR CAVALRY.

13 Officers,	-	-	-	\$ 18 25	\$237 25
304 Saddles,	-	-	-	7 33	2,229 33
304 Bridles,	-	-	-	2 00	608 00
304 Cartouch boxes,	-	-	-	66	202 66
304 Sword belts,	-	-	-	60	182 40
12 Bugle horns,	-	-	-	8 00	96 00
304 Pairs of holsters,	-	-	-	3 33	1,013 33
304 Bags,	-	-	-	66	202 66
304 Swords,	-	-	-	10 00	3,040 00
304 Pairs of pistols,	-	-	-	6 00	1,824 00
304 Horsemen's caps,	-	-	-	4 00	1,216 00
304 Pairs of boots and spurs,	-	-	-	2 00	608 00
					<u>\$11,459 63</u>

## ORDNANCE.

1,000 Rifle guns,	-	-	-	\$12	\$12,000 00
Equipments for 12 pieces of cannon, and stores for ditto,	-	-	-		2,000 00
5,000 New cartridge boxes,	-	-	-	1 50	7,500 00
					<u>\$2,1500 00</u>

## HOSPITAL DEPARTMENT.

For medicines, instruments, furniture, and stores for the Hospital,	-	-	-		<u>\$15,000 00</u>
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## QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT.

1,000 Pack-horses,	-	-	-	\$25 00	\$25,000 00
(Perhaps oxen, or other means, may be adopted in lieu of horses, which may lessen the expenses.)	-	-	-		
1,000 Common tents,	-	-	-	6 00	6,000 00
100 Horsemen's tents,	-	-	-	12 00	1,200 00
12 Marquees,	-	-	-	30 00	360 00
100 Boats,	-	-	-	50 00	5,000 00
The transportation of the recruits, ordnance, and military stores, clothing, and all the articles in the Quartermaster's and Hospital departments, to the frontiers; the purchase of axes, camp-kettles, pack-saddles, iron, fuel, boards, nails, paint, company books, stationary, and every other article in the Quartermaster's department,	-	-	-		82,440 00
					<u>\$120,000 00</u>

## CONTINGENCIES OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

For the loss of stores and objects which cannot be foreseen, estimated at,	-	-	-		<u>\$50,000 00</u>
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It is to be observed upon this article, as well as every other of this estimate, that, for every cent expended in pursuance thereof, vouchers must be produced at the treasury, excepting, perhaps, the sums which might be expended for *secret intelligence*, whereof the names might be important to be concealed; but, for the propriety of the small sums which might be so expended, the reputation of the commanding officer is pledged to the public.

## RECAPITULATION.

Pay,	-	-	-		\$297,420 00
Subsistence,	-	-	-		296,985 42
Forage,	-	-	-		33,048 00
Clothing,	-	-	-		113,000 00
Bounty,	-	-	-		41,744 00
Horses for cavalry,	-	-	-		26,320 00
Equipments for cavalry,	-	-	-		11,459 63
Ordnance,	-	-	-		21,500 00
Hospital Department,	-	-	-		15,000 00
Quartermaster's Department,	-	-	-		120,000 00
Contingencies of the War Department,	-	-	-		50,000 00
					<u>\$1,026,477 05</u>

## TO BE DEDUCTED, INCLUDED IN THE ESTIMATE FOR 1792.

Pay of the troops,	-	-	-	\$ 102,686 00	
Subsistence,	-	-	-	119,688 97	
Forage,	-	-	-	4,152 00	
Clothing,	-	-	-	48,000 00	
Hospital Department,	-	-	-	6,000 00	
Quartermaster's Department,	-	-	-	50,000 00	
Contingencies of the War Department,	-	-	-	20,000 00	
					<u>\$350,526 97</u>
To be provided for,	-	-	-		<u>\$675,950 08</u>



2d CONGRESS.]

No. 24.

[1st Session.

## CHEROKEES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 18, 1792.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

I lay before you the communications of a deputation from the Cherokee nation of Indians, now in this city, (Philadelphia) and I request your advice whether an additional article shall be made to the Cherokee treaty, to the following effect, to wit:

That the sum to be paid annually by the United States to the Cherokee nation of Indians, in consideration of the relinquishment of lands, as stated in the treaty made with them on the second day of July, 1791, shall be one thousand five hundred dollars, instead of one thousand dollars, mentioned in the said treaty.

UNITED STATES, *January 18, 1792.*

GEO. WASHINGTON.

On the 20th January, it was

*Resolved*, Two-thirds of the Senators present concurring, that they advise and consent to the additional article in the form above proposed.

The following Cherokee chiefs and warriors arrived at Philadelphia on the 28th of December, 1791, by the way of Charleston, South Carolina, bringing with them evidence from Governor Pinckney and General Pickens, of the authenticity of their mission, to wit:

NENETOYAH, or Bloody Fellow,  
CHUTLOH, or King Fisher,  
NONTUAKA, or the Northward,  
TEESTEKE, or the Disturber,  
KUTHAGUSTA, or the Prince,  
GEORGE MILLER, and  
JAMES CAREY, *Interpreter.*

Having been clothed, they were, on the 4th of January, 1792, introduced to the President of the United States, who desired them to communicate their business to the Secretary of War. They were assembled for this purpose, at his house, on the fifth, when the Secretary of War addressed them in the following manner—(Colonel Thomas Procter and Constant Freeman, being present, besides James Carey, and a young Indian warrior named George Miller, who jointly acted as interpreters.)

## CHIEFS AND WARRIORS OF THE CHEROKEE NATION:

As you are now recovered from the fatigues of your long journey and voyage, we will proceed to business. But before you mention the objects of your journey, it is proper that I should inform you, that the President of the United States gives you a hearty welcome to this city. He has commanded me to assure you, that your arrival makes him glad; that he will kindly hear every thing you have to say; and he hopes that you will open your hearts fully, and conceal nothing from him, as it is his desire that the white and red people should become one people, and live together like brothers, on the same land. Speak, therefore, without reserve: for you speak to your real friends.

THURSDAY, *January 5th.**Conference of the Chiefs of the Cherokee nation with the Secretary of War.*

BLOODY FELLOW.—I am come a long journey, by the direction of my *whole nation*, and *others our neighbors*, to take the President of the United States and yourself by the arm. But I am not prepared at present, to make a full communication of my business. One of the councillors is sick, and left behind. I cannot, therefore, before the next day after the morrow, Saturday, make you acquainted with my particular business.

It was the wish of my nation, when I left it, that all speeches, both on their part, and the answers thereto by the President of the United States or yourself, should be committed to writing and transmitted to them.

I will explain myself fully, agreeably to the desire of my nation, and I hope so fully to your and their satisfaction, that an everlasting white cloud will be over them.

[The Bloody Fellow then presented the Secretary of War with two silver medals.

These medals were presented by Colonel Martin, about four or five years ago, but as some disturbances have since happened, they are now returned, to obtain others from the United States. Medals are valuable to the Cherokees, and when accompanied with speeches, are monuments of friendship to their nation.

As the Bloody Fellow and the other chiefs had [nothing more to communicate on this day, it was agreed that they should again meet at the house of the Secretary of War, at 11 o'clock on Saturday morning.]

SATURDAY, *7th January.*

BLOODY FELLOW.—On Thursday last, I was not prepared to enter upon business, as one of the chiefs was then sick. I am now desirous of entering upon business.

About two years ago, *Nontuaka* was chosen by his nation to go to New York, to the great beloved man, at the great white house. When he was there, he had not a good interpreter, and not well understanding the English language, he could not receive so much advantage from his journey as his nation expected. When he returned, the whole nation was assembled, and were disposed to enter upon the business of peace between them and the United States.

I shall now enter upon the business in behalf of my own and other nations.

[The Bloody Fellow then produced a string of white wampum, which he held in his hand until the business of the day was finished.]

I wish you, if you are not already, to be made acquainted with the use and value of these beads, which, among the Cherokees, answer the same purpose as letters with you, and are held in the highest estimation.

George Miller, one of our own people, has been brought to attend this treaty, both as a witness, and that he might assist the interpreter in explaining our talks, as he understands the English language.

It was early in the summer, soon after the treaty with Governor Blount, that the whole Cherokee nation was assembled, and we delegated on this treaty. The whole nation were assembled at the great beloved town, Estanaloee, (on the waters of the Mobile) when it was agreed on to send an embassy to Philadelphia, to see the President of the United States and yourself.

The talks to *Nontuaka*, delivered by the President and you, are now in the beloved town, Estanaloee, and these talks have induced us to come to this place. In these talks, you informed us, that, as North Carolina had not joined the Union, our business could not be attended to. But, as that State has since joined, we hope our business may be now accomplished.

Before I left my nation, it was determined that a stop should be put to the further effusion of blood, and that they should take the United States by the arm with a warm heart.

The talk which I am now delivering to you, is the talk of the beloved men of my nation, with a desire that their children might grow up on the land in peace, and this is the talk of our beloved men.

Among us, we have two kings to look up to, but you have only one; who, we hope, will extend his eye over all, both red and white. We have put ourselves under the protection of the United States, and from them only do we expect justice, and we wish to become as one people. We wish our talks may be attended to, and we have that justice which is the portion of all.

We remember the talks of our forefathers, who told us of the first coming of the white people over the great waters; that they were few in number, and settled on the lands of the red people; they have now become so numerous as to be able to overpower them; but we still expect we shall have justice done us.

Last summer we received talks from Governor Blount, informing us that he was authorized to hold a treaty with us; we accordingly repaired to the place appointed.

When we left our country, we all rejoiced in the expectation of having something done for us in regard to our lands, but when we arrived at the treaty ground, we were sorry to find it was not the case.

Very soon after we opened our business, Governor Blount informed us that he was authorized by Congress, to purchase our lands of us, which being contrary to our expectations, afflicted us exceedingly.

When I found Governor Blount wanted to purchase our lands, I told him that I loved my lands, and would not part with them; that I came there not to treat of selling land, but on public business of friendship between the white and red people. I tell you truly what I said to Governor Blount, and I am come to ask of you whether he was authorized to purchase our lands.

We remained seven days at the place of treaty on this business, and Governor Blount still urging us to sell our lands, the thoughts of which made tears to come into my eyes daily.

On the seventh day, finding Governor Blount still urging the sale of lands, I told him I was desirous of going to General Washington and Congress, to see whether I could not obtain better satisfaction; to which Governor Blount replied, that he was fully authorized for the purpose, therefore, it would be unnecessary for any Indians to go.

I however persevered in my wishes to go to Philadelphia; when Governor Blount asked me whether I had money to defray the expenses of my journey; this struck me forcibly, and reflecting that our people, young and old, were in his power, I then told him that, if he would not demand so much land of us, we would give him a small piece, without any consideration whatever, if he would let us and our children return to our own country in peace and safety.

In answer to this, Governor Blount told me he had goods in his house to pay for the lands, besides which, one thousand dollars should be paid yearly. I told him that I would not think of taking it; that it would not buy a breech clout for each of my nation.

When the treaty was first fully opened, Governor Blount asked of us lands at the Muscle Shoals; I told him that we could not give them up, as they were not clearly our property, but belonged to the four nations, and were the common hunting grounds for them.

Governor Blount told me that he had already purchased these lands of the State of Georgia, but was desirous of making a fuller purchase of our nation. That he intended to erect store houses on these lands, from which we could be supplied with goods, and smiths' shops, where our guns could be repaired.

After which, Governor Blount proposed a line upon the upper parts of the Tennessee, to go from that river upon a ridge, which divides the waters of Nine-mile creek from Little river. This line I also refused.

Governor Blount then proposed another line, at the fork below Chota, to run to the aforesaid ridge, which he said he wanted to settle on himself, for the purpose of being near our nation, and that he might more readily confer with us on public business, and he said none others than himself should settle there. The fork I rejected.

Governor Blount said he would quit the fork, but wished that the line might be on the aforesaid ridge, which divides the waters of the Tennessee from those of Little river, and that this line should be a lasting line, in order to divide the white from the red people. On which I complained to him that the white people had settled on our lands there without our permission.

After a good deal of dispute with Governor Blount, I proposed that, from the fork down of the Long island of Holston, should be the boundary, (he having before mentioned a water course) but he still insisted upon the ridge before mentioned, observing that the game on that ground was all destroyed, the land settled, and, therefore, could be of no use to us.

As Governor Blount still insisted upon the before mentioned line, I asked him whether the handful of goods was all he meant to give us for the lands, and if so, it was nothing equal to the value of them. To which Governor Blount replied, that the few goods he had were not intended to pay for the lands, but as presents; the yearly payment of one thousand dollars was to pay for the lands.

It is my desire that you should understand, that John Watts and myself were the principal speakers at the treaty, being appointed for that purpose by our nation. That we repeatedly told Governor Blount that we considered the sum of one thousand dollars per year as too small a price for our lands; and not near as much as Mr. McGillivray had obtained for a worse tract. He replied that he was not authorized to offer more, but that he would write to Congress upon the subject; and let us know whether more would be granted.

John Watts told Governor Blount, that he knew the North Carolina people to be headstrong; and that they had, under the sanction of a flag of truce, laid his uncle, *The Old Corn Tassel*, low; it was therefore in vain to contend about a line at this time, as he knew that they would have their own way, and that they would not observe the orders of Congress or any body else.

Watts further told Governor Blount, that he wondered that he should be appointed for this business, being a North Carolinian; but, that he would, notwithstanding, make him an offer of a line. Whenever you North Carolinians make a line, you tell us it shall be a standing one; but you are always encroaching upon it; and, therefore, we cannot depend upon what you say.

Governor Blount replied to Watts, that these lands, on the lines now contested, were taken from the Cherokees in time of war, and that he did not, therefore, consider the settlements made on them as encroachments. This is all that Watts said upon the subject. He told me, privately, that the death of his uncle so affected him, that he could not speak any more, and desired me to finish the business.

After Watts retired, Governor Blount repeated to me the observation about the country's having been conquered; he told me that I knew the Americans had driven the English out of the country, and that the land had been purchased with American blood. On this I observed, that, although it was true the English were driven from the country, they had come a great way to fight the Americans, and that the Americans had been assisted in this war by the French; that no good purpose could be answered by bringing them up now, and therefore such things ought to be buried forever.

[The Bloody Fellow, and the other Chiefs, then agreed to meet again at the Secretary's house, on Monday, the 9th instant, at noon.]

MONDAY, January 9th.

THE BLOODY FELLOW.—I shall explain myself fully, and hide nothing from you.

When we were assembled at Estanaloe, before we left our nation, as I mentioned the other day, just as we began our business, arrived *Chinabee*, the chief of the Natchez, and one of the Creek nation; we were glad that he arrived at that moment, as he was sent by his nation. He spoke to us and said, that he was glad to find us assembled, as he was sent by the chiefs of his nation with a talk to the President, recommending to him the chiefs of the Cherokees who should go to Philadelphia.

He said, we are near neighbors, and ought to be as one people. We have been to Congress and settled our business to our satisfaction; but you have still a deficiency; go then to Congress, and have your affairs settled, as ours are.

He further desired us to believe what the President should say to us, and that he would attend to us, because we were recommended by him, (*Chinabee*) so that our children might grow up in peace, and that the red and white people should hereafter be as one. *Chinabee* also said, I look upon the Cherokees as our elder brothers. I judge that they will be fully satisfied with the success of their journey; that, upon their return, I shall hear all this in a talk from them, and I shall come for that purpose.

[CREEKS.—*Chinabee* desired, particularly, that we should say that Bowles' arrival had excited disturbances in the minds of the Creeks, who wished to know, from General Washington, what authority Bowles had for this conduct. That this answer was earnestly requested upon our return, in order that the Creeks might know how to conduct themselves against Bowles in the affair. This is an important point, on which we desire full information. This is all the talk from the Creeks. And, as a proof of the truth of it, we give you a string of beads *from them*, in token of their friendship.

[The Bloody Fellow then presented the Secretary of War with a single string of white wampum.]

[CHICKASAWS AND CHOCTAWS.]—Hear now the talk from the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations. This talk was brought by *Chenowie*, and another Chickasaw, and two Choctaws, who came together to Tatokie, or the Town of the Springs, below Chickamauga, on the Tennessee, in the month of September last. They said:

"We were sorry, our elder brothers, that we could not come while you were sitting upon business with Governor Blount, but we were informed of the matter too late. But understanding that you are about setting out for General Washington, we desire that he would hear what you should say in our behalf, and, on your return, we will again attend upon you to learn the news.

"Tell General Washington, that the Carolina people ought not to be appointed to hold talks with the Indians, as they always ask for lands; and that we desire a person to be appointed by him who will not ask for our lands, but do justice, both to the white and red people. We have proved that we have regarded General Washington's words; and we now desire that he will make the white people equally quiet, and not breed disturbances."

Here ends the talk of the Chickasaws and Choctaws, which is confirmed by this string of beads. [The Bloody Fellow then presented a string of white wampum, and said,]

When *Nontuaka* returned from General Washington, two years ago, he sent good talks to all the nations, of the kindness with which he was treated, and of the intentions of General Washington to do justice to the red people about their lands. We hope General Washington has not forgotten the good talks to *Nontuaka*; we desire nothing more.

Having now fully explained my business, I will tell you what our beloved men and warriors told us when we left our country.

They told us to make haste, to finish our business, and to return as soon as possible, so that by fully informing them of the good dispositions of General Washington, measures might be taken to restrain the young warriors, whose minds are greatly disturbed by the proceedings of last summer.

THE KING FISHER.—We have fully explained every thing; I am a witness to it. I hope all things will be finished well. I have never been for shedding the blood of our elder brothers, and I hope we shall always live in peace and friendship.

THE BLOODY FELLOW.—We now mention a small circumstance for your consideration; a young man, of the name of George, who is now with us, and who served your troops, has complained to us that he never received any pay; think of this.

We earnestly entreat that General Washington would now send a man with us who shall protect us in our lands, and be our friend; and who will explain all things, and at all times. He shall reside with us, and we will take care of him. If two men were now to be sent, it would be better than one.

NONTUAKA.—I have attended to the talks of the President, delivered two years ago, in New York, and, always believing in his words, I have persuaded our warriors to repair again to the President, knowing we should have justice done us fully, and it makes my heart glad to find myself under the roof of my friend, who treated me so kindly when in New York.

We are now here, and have explained ourselves upon our business. I hope all things will be done to our satisfaction, and that we shall be sent away with the good news, so that all our people may be made glad upon our return home.

[The chiefs having thus explained themselves, it was agreed that they should meet the Secretary of War, at his house, on Wednesday, the 11th instant, to receive his answer.]

WEDNESDAY, 11th January.

The Secretary of War addressed the chiefs and warriors of the Cherokee nation, as follows:

BROTHERS: I am heartily glad that you have disburthened your hearts in your own way; because I am sure, when the red people see the hearts of the great chief, General Washington, and the Congress, that we should become as one people, each living in peace and safety with our families.

You have mentioned some uneasiness about the treaty with Governor Blount; but the President, and the Senate of the United States, who are his council on this business, believing that this treaty was a good and satisfactory treaty, as well for the red as the white people, have confirmed it, printed it as you here see, and it has become the law of the land; and, if any bad white people should encroach upon your grounds, or do any thing contrary to that treaty, they would be immediately punished.

It is therefore for your good that the treaty should be punctually complied with in all its parts, as well by you as by us. Perhaps you may not clearly understand some parts of the treaty; if so, speak, for we wish to remove all possible causes of difference, and obstacles to our becoming one people.

BLOODY FELLOW, in reply.—What you have said is true and just; and you shall now hear all I have to say, so that nothing may hereafter lay heavy upon the hearts, either of the red or white people.

I have heard your talk with satisfaction, but I am afraid every thing has not been fully explained from the treaty ground. I have considered well on our business, and shall unfold all to you.

We are now together upon important business to us; I wish, therefore, to see the line Governor Blount has mentioned to you.

[A map was accordingly produced, with the lines mentioned thereon, to which no material objection was made, as it was stated that the lines were to be run by commissioners from each side.]

BLOODY FELLOW.—At the time of the treaty, we objected to giving up so much land; but, for the sake of peace and quietness, we did it. But we object to the little money given for so much land. We request, therefore, that something further may be done in this matter, so that all our people may be quiet in their minds.

Instead of one thousand dollars a year for our lands, give us half as much more; that is, fifteen hundred dollars a year, and we shall be perfectly satisfied.

If this could be obtained for us, we do not require it in money, but in goods, bought in Philadelphia, where they are cheapest; and to be sent to General Pickens, by the way of Charleston.

We should be happy that our business could be soon finished, that we might take one year's goods with us; that you might send a man with us, so that you may learn the satisfaction which we shall spread on our return.

The treaty mentions ploughs, hoes, cattle, and other things for a farm; this is what we want; game is going fast away from among us. We must plant corn and raise cattle, and we desire you to assist us. If these things could be sent us the next season, it would be a great service to us.

We wish you to attend to this point. In former times we bought of the traders goods cheap; we could then clothe our women and children; but now game is scarce and goods dear, we cannot live comfortably. We desire the United States to regulate this matter.

I shall now speak upon a point of great importance. The ridge, which divides the waters of Little river from the Tennessee, is the boundary fixed by the treaty. But the white people are already over it, and their numbers have increased since the treaty. Remove these back, or our people will not be quiet. We speak strongly on this point.

We came to Philadelphia with our eyes full of tears. But since we have seen General Washington, and heard him speak through you, our tears are wiped away, and we rejoice in the prospect of our future welfare, under the protection of Congress.

Governor Blount spoke very much to us, that a trading house should be established at Bear creek, below the Muscle Shoals, on the Tennessee. We could not consent to this. After we returned home we talked among ourselves on this matter, and it would be very disagreeable to our nation. But we have heard that this matter is still going on. We desire that the man you send with us should prevent this settlement at the Muscle Shoals.

I have now explained all I had to say, and hid nothing from you.

I now speak of the private affairs of our party, who are now here. You will see that, being upon the business of our nation, we could not go a hunting, and, therefore, our families will be unclad, unless you will do it, and we hope you will.

All which is humbly submitted.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 17th January, 1792.

2d CONGRESS.]

No. 25.

[1st Session.]

SENECAS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 27, 1792.

Mr. BUTLER, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to whom was referred the speeches of the Seneca Chief, Cornplanter, of the 9th December, 1790; 10th January, 7th February, and 17th March, 1791; made the following report:

That Oliver Phelps, of whom Cornplanter makes mention, produced some affidavits, and other papers, relating to the purchase of lands, made by him of the Indians, which your committee examined, and are of opinion that the said affidavits, and other papers, should be filed in the Secretary's office; and that the committee be discharged from the further consideration of this subject.

The following are the papers referred to:

*The speech of the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and the Great-Tree, Chiefs and Councillors of the Seneca nation, to the Great Councillor of the Thirteen Fires.*

FATHER:

The voice of the Seneca nation speaks to you, the great councillor, in whose heart the wise men of all the Thirteen Fires have placed their wisdom. It may be very small in your ears, and we therefore entreat you to hearken with attention: for we are about to speak of things which are to us very great. When your army entered the country of the Six Nations, we called you the Town Destroyer; and to this day, when that name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the necks of their mothers. Our councillors and warriors are men, and cannot be afraid; but their hearts are grieved with the fears of our women and children, and desire that it may be buried so deep as to be heard no more. When you gave us peace, we called you father, because you promised to secure us in the possession of our lands. Do this, and, so long as the lands shall remain, that beloved name will live in the heart of every Seneca.

FATHER: We mean to open our hearts before you, and we earnestly desire that you will let us clearly understand what you resolve to do. When our chiefs returned from the treaty at fort Stanwix, and laid before our council what had been done there, our nation was surprised to hear how great a country you had compelled them to give up to you, without your paying to us any thing for it. Every one said that your hearts were yet swelled with resentment against us for what had happened during the war, but that one day you would reconsider it with more kindness. We asked each other, What have we done to deserve such severe chastisement?

FATHER: When you kindled your thirteen fires separately, the wise men that assembled at them told us, that you were all brothers, the children of one great father, who regarded, also, the red people as his children. They called us brothers, and invited us to his protection; they told us that he resided beyond the great water, where the sun first rises; that he was a king whose power no people could resist, and that his goodness was bright as that sun. What they said went to our hearts; we accepted the invitation, and promised to obey him. What the Seneca nation promise, they faithfully perform; and when you refused obedience to that king, he commanded us to assist his beloved men in making you sober. In obeying him, we did no more than yourselves had led us to promise. The men who claimed this promise told us that you were children, and had no guns; that when they had shaken you, you would submit. We hearkened to them, and were deceived, until your army approached our towns. We were deceived; but your people, in teaching us to confide in that king, had helped to deceive us, and we now appeal to your heart—Is the blame all ours?

FATHER: When we saw that we were deceived, and heard the invitation which you gave us to draw near to the fire which you kindled, and talk with you concerning peace, we made haste toward it. You then told us that we were in your hand, and that, by closing it, you could crush us to nothing, and you demanded from us a great country, as the price of that peace which you had offered us; as if our want of strength had destroyed our rights. Our chiefs had felt your power, and were unable to contend against you, and they therefore gave up that country. What they agreed to, has bound our nation; but your anger against us must, by this time, be cooled; and, although our strength has not increased, nor your power become less, we ask you to consider calmly, Were the terms dictated to us by your commissioners reasonable and just?

FATHER: Your commissioners, when they drew the line which separated the land then given up to you from that which you agreed should remain to be ours, did most solemnly promise, that we should be secured in the peaceable possession of the lands which we inhabited east and north of that line. Does this promise bind you?

Hear now, we entreat you, what has since happened concerning that land. On the day in which we finished the treaty at fort Stanwix, commissioners from Pennsylvania told our chiefs that they had come there to purchase from us all the lands belonging to us, within the lines of their State, and they told us that their line would strike the river Susquehannah below Tioga branch. They then left us to consider of the bargain till the next day; on the next day we let them know that we were unwilling to sell all the lands within their State, and proposed to let them have a part of it, which we pointed out to them in their map. They told us that they must have the whole; that it was already ceded to them by the great king, at the time of making peace with you, and was *their own*; but they said that they would not

take advantage of that, and were willing to pay us for it, after the manner of their ancestors. Our chiefs were unable to contend, at that time, and therefore they sold the lands up to the line, which was then shewn to them as the line of that State. What the commissioners had said about the land having been ceded to them at the peace, our chiefs considered as intended only to lessen the price, and they passed it by with very little notice; but, since that time, we have heard so much from others about the right to our lands, which the king gave when you made peace with him, that it is our earnest desire that you will tell us what it means.

FATHER: Our nation empowered John Livingston to let out part of our lands on rent, to be paid to us. He told us, that he was sent by Congress, to do this for us, and we fear he has deceived us in the writing he obtained from us: for, since the time of our giving that power, a man of the name of Phelps has come among us, and claimed our whole country northward of the line of Pennsylvania, under purchase from that Livingston, to whom, he said, he had paid twenty thousand dollars for it. He said, also, that he had bought, likewise, from the council of the Thirteen Fires, and paid them twenty thousand dollars more for the same. And he said, also, that it did not belong to us, for that the great king had ceded the whole of it, when you made peace with him. Thus he claimed the whole country north of Pennsylvania, and west of the lands belonging to the Cayugas. He demanded it; he insisted on his demand, and declared that he would have it *all*. It was impossible for us to grant him this, and we immediately refused it. After some days, he proposed to run a line, at a small distance eastward of our western boundary, which we also refused to agree to. He then threatened us with immediate war, if we did not comply.

Upon this threat, our chiefs held a council, and they agreed that no event of war could be worse than to be driven, with their wives and children, from the only country which we had any right to, and, therefore, weak as our nation was, they determined to take the chance of war, rather than submit to such unjust demands, which seemed to have no bounds. Street, the great trader at Niagara, was then with us, having come at the request of Phelps, and as he always professed to be our great friend, we consulted him on this subject. He also told us, that our lands had been ceded by the king, and that we *must* give them up.

Astonished at what we heard from every quarter, with hearts aching with compassion for our women and children, we were thus compelled to give up all our country north of the line of Pennsylvania and east of the Genesee river, up to the fork, and east of a south line drawn from that fork to the Pennsylvania line. For this land, Phelps agreed to pay us ten thousand dollars in hand, and one thousand dollars a year for ever. He paid us two thousand and five hundred dollars in hand, part of the ten thousand, and he sent for us to come last spring, to receive our money; but instead of paying us the remainder of the ten thousand dollars, and the one thousand dollars due for the first year, he offered us no more than five hundred dollars, and insisted that he had agreed with us for that sum, to be paid yearly. We debated with him for six days, during all which time he persisted in refusing to pay us our just demand, and he insisted that we should receive the five hundred dollars; and Street, from Niagara, also insisted on our receiving the money, as it was offered to us. The last reason he assigned for continuing to refuse paying us, was, *that the king had ceded the lands to the Thirteen Fires, and that he had bought them from you, and paid you for them.*

We could bear this confusion no longer, and determined to press through every difficulty, and lift up our voice that you might hear us, and to claim that security in the possession of our lands, which your commissioners so solemnly promised us. And we now entreat you to inquire into our complaints and redress our wrongs.

FATHER: Our writings were lodged in the hands of Street, of Niagara, as we supposed him to be our friend; but when we saw Phelps consulting with Street, on every occasion, we doubted of his honesty towards us, and we have since heard, that he was to receive for his endeavors to deceive us, a piece of land ten miles in width, west of the Genesee river, and near forty miles in length, extending to lake Ontario; and the lines of this tract have been run accordingly, although no part of it is within the bounds which limit his purchase. No doubt he meant to deceive us.

FATHER: You have said that we are in your hand, and that, by closing it, you could crush us to nothing. Are you determined to crush us? If you are, tell us so, that those of our nation who have become your children, and have determined to die so, may know what to do. In this case, one chief has said he would ask you to put him out of pain. Another, who will not think of dying by the hand of his father or of his brother, has said he will retire to the Chateaugay, eat of the fatal root, and sleep with his fathers in peace.

Before you determine on a measure so unjust, look up to God, who made *us* as well as *you*. We hope he will not permit you to destroy the whole of our nation.

FATHER: Hear our case; many nations inhabited this country; but they had no wisdom, and, therefore, they warred together. The Six Nations were powerful, and compelled them to peace; the lands, for a great extent, were given up to them; but the nations which were not destroyed, all continued on those lands, and claimed the protection of the Six Nations, as the brothers of their fathers. They were men, and when at peace, they had a right to live upon the earth. The French came among us, and built Niagara; they became our fathers, and took care of us. Sir William Johnston came and took that fort from the French; he became our father, and promised to take care of us, and did so, until you were too strong for his king. To him we gave four miles round Niagara, as a place of trade. We have already said, how we came to join against you; we saw that we were wrong; we wished for peace; you demanded a great country to be given up to you; it was surrendered to you, as the price of peace, and we ought to have peace and possession of the little land which you then left us.

FATHER: When that great country was given up, there were but few chiefs present, and they were compelled to give it up, and it is not the Six Nations only that reproach those chiefs with having given up that country. The Chippewas, and all the nations who lived on those lands westward, call to us, and ask us, Brothers of our fathers, where is the place which you have reserved for us to lie down upon?

FATHER: You have compelled us to do that which has made us ashamed. We have nothing to answer to the children of the brothers of our fathers. When, last spring, they called upon us to go to war, to secure them a bed to lie upon, the Senecas entreated them to be quiet, until we had spoken to you. But, on our way down, we heard that your army had gone toward the country which those nations inhabit, and if they meet together, the best blood on both sides will stain the ground.

FATHER: We will not conceal from you, that the great God, and not men, has preserved the Cornplanter from the hands of his own nation. For they ask, continually, Where is the land which our children, and their children after them, are to lie down upon? You told us, say they, that the line drawn from Pennsylvania to lake Ontario, would mark it forever on the east, and the line running from Beaver creek to Pennsylvania, would mark it on the west, and we see that it is not so: for, first one, and then another, come, and take it away, by order of that people which you tell us promised to secure it to us. He is silent, for he has nothing to answer.

When the sun goes down, he opens his heart before God, and earlier than that sun appears again upon the hills, he gives thanks for his protection during the night: for he feels that, among men, become desperate by their danger, it is God only that can preserve him. He loves peace, and all that he had in store, he has given to those who have been robbed by your people, lest they should plunder the innocent to repay themselves. The whole season which others have employed in providing for their families, he has spent in his endeavors to preserve peace; and, at this moment, his wife and children are lying on the ground, and in want of food; his heart is in pain for them, but he perceives that the great God will try his firmness, in doing what is right.

FATHER: The game which the Great Spirit sent into our country for us to eat, is going from among us. We thought he intended that we should till the ground with the plough, as the white people do, and we talked to one another about it. But before we speak to you concerning this, we must know from you whether you mean to leave us and our children any land to till. Speak plainly to us concerning this great business.

All the lands we have been speaking of belonged to the Six Nations; no part of it ever belonged to the King of England, and he could not give it to you. The land we live on, our fathers received from God, and they transmitted it to us, for our children, and we cannot part with it.

FATHER: We told you that we would open our hearts to you. Hear us once more.

At fort Stanwix, we agreed to deliver up those of our people who should do you any wrong, that you might try them, and punish them according to your law. We delivered up two men accordingly, but instead of trying them according to your law, the lowest of your people took them from your magistrate, and put them immediately to death. It is just to punish murder with death; but the Senecas will not deliver up their people to men who disregard the treaties of their own nation.

FATHER: Innocent men of our nation are killed one after another, and of our best families; but none of your people who have committed the murder have been punished. We recollect that you did not promise to punish those who killed our people, and we now ask, Was it intended that your people should kill the Senecas, and not only remain unpunished by you, but be protected by you against the revenge of the next of kin?

FATHER: These are to us very great things. We know that you are very strong, and we have heard that you are wise, and we wait to hear your answer to what we have said, that we may know that you are just.

Signed at Philadelphia, the first day of December, 1790.

CORNPLANTER, his x mark.  
HALF-TOWN, his x mark.  
GREAT-TREE, his x mark.

Present at signing, JOSEPH NICHOLSON, *Interpreter*.  
T. MATLACK.

*The speech of the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and the Great-Tree, Chiefs of the Seneca nation, to the President of the United States of America.*

FATHER:

Your speech, written on the great paper, is to us like the first light of the morning to a sick man, whose pulse beats too strongly in his temples, and prevents him from sleep. He sees it, and rejoices, but he is not cured.

You say that you have spoken plainly on the great point. That you will protect us in the lands secured to us at fort Stanwix, and that we have the right to *sell* or to *refuse* to sell it. This is very good. But our nation complain that you compelled us at that treaty to give up too much of our lands. We confess that our nation is bound by what was there done; and, acknowledging your power, we have now appealed to yourselves against that treaty, as made while you were too angry at us, and, therefore, unreasonable and unjust. To this you have given us no answer.

FATHER: That treaty was not made with a single State, it was with the thirteen States. We never would have given all that land to one State. We know it was before you had the great authority, and as you have more wisdom than the commissioners, who forced us into that treaty, we expect that you have also more regard to justice, and will now, at our request, reconsider that treaty, and restore to us a part of that land.

FATHER: The land which lies between the line running south from lake Erie to the boundary of Pennsylvania, as mentioned at the treaty at fort Stanwix, and the eastern boundary of the land which you sold, and the Senecas confirmed to Pennsylvania, is the land on which Half-Town and all his people live, with other chiefs, who always have been, and still are, dissatisfied with the treaty at fort Stanwix. They grew out of this land, and their fathers' fathers grew out of it, and they cannot be persuaded to part with it. We therefore entreat you to restore to us this little piece.

FATHER: Look at the land which we gave to you at that treaty, and then turn your eyes upon what we now ask you to restore to us, and you will see that what we now ask you to return is a *very little piece*. By giving it back again, you will satisfy the whole of our nation. The chiefs who signed that treaty will be in safety, and peace between your children and our children will continue so long as your land shall join to ours. Every man of our nation will then turn his eyes away from all the other lands which we then gave up to you, and forget that our fathers ever said that they belonged to them.

FATHER: We see that you ought to have the path at the carrying place from lake Erie to Niagara, as it was marked down at fort Stanwix, and we are all willing it should remain to be yours. And if you desire to reserve a passage through the Conewango, and through the Chataugue lake and land, for a path from that lake to lake Erie, take it where you best like. Our nation will rejoice to see it an open path for you and your children while the land and water remain. But let us also pass along the same way, and continue to take the fish of those waters in common with you.

FATHER: You say that you will appoint an agent to take care of us. Let him come and take care of our trade; but we desire he may not have any thing to do with our lands: for the agents which have come amongst us, and pretended to take care of us, have always deceived us whenever we sold lands; both when the King of England and when the States have bargained with us. They have by this means occasioned many wars, and we are therefore unwilling to trust them again.

FATHER: When we return home, we will call a great council, and consider well how lands may be hereafter sold by our nation. And when we have agreed upon it, we will send you notice of it. But we desire that you will not depend on your agent for information concerning land: for, after the abuses which we have suffered by such men, we will not trust them with any thing which relates to land.

FATHER: We will not hear lies concerning you, and we desire that you will not hear lies concerning us, and then we shall certainly live at peace with you.

FATHER: There are men who go from town to town and beget children, and leave them to perish, or, except better men take care of them, to grow up without instruction. Our nation has long looked round for a father, but they found none that would own them for children, until you now tell us that your courts are open to us as to your own people. The joy which we feel at this great news, so mixes with the sorrows that are passed, that we cannot express our gladness, nor conceal the remembrance of our afflictions. We will speak of them at another time.

FATHER: We are ashamed that we have listened to the lies of Livingston, or been influenced by threats of war by Phelps, and would hide that whole transaction from the world, and from ourselves, by quietly receiving what Phelps promised to give us for the lands they cheated us of. But as Phelps will not pay us even according to that fraudulent bargain, we will lay the whole proceedings before your court. When the evidence which we can produce is heard, we think it will appear that the whole bargain was founded on lies, which he placed one upon another; that the goods which he charges to us as part payment were plundered from us; that, if Phelps was not directly concerned in the theft, he knew of it at the time, and concealed it from us; and that the persons we confided in were bribed by him to deceive us in the bargain. And if these facts appear, that your court will not say that such bargains are just, but will set the whole aside.

FATHER: We apprehend that our evidence might be called for, as Phelps was here, and knew what we have said concerning him; and as Ebenezer Allen knew something of the matter, we desired him to continue here. Nicholson, the interpreter, is very sick, and we request that Allen may remain a few days longer, as he speaks our language.

FATHER: The blood which was spilled near Pine creek is covered, and we shall never look where it lies. We know that Pennsylvania will satisfy us for that which we spoke of to them before we spoke to you. The chain of friendship will now, we hope, be made strong as you desire it to be. We will hold it fast; and our end of it shall never rust in our hands.

FATHER: We told you what advice we gave to the people you are now at war with, and we now tell you that they have promised to come again to our towns next spring. We shall not wait for their coming, but will set out very early, and shew to them what you have done for us, which must convince them that you will do for them every thing which they ought to ask. We think they will hear and follow our advice.



FATHER: You give us leave to speak our minds concerning the tilling of the ground. We ask you to teach us to plough and to grind corn; to assist us in building saw mills, and supply us with broad axes, saws, augers, and other tools, so as that we may make our houses more comfortable and more durable; that you will send smiths among us, and, above all, that you will teach our children to read and write, and our women to spin and to weave. The manner of your doing these things for us we leave to you, who understand them; but we assure you that we will follow your advice as far as we are able.

CORNPLANTER, his x mark.  
HALF-TOWN, his x mark.  
GREAT-TREE, his x mark.

Present at signing, JOSEPH NICHOLSON, *Interpreter*.  
T. MATLACK.  
JOHN DECHART, his x mark.  
JEM HUDSON, his x mark.

*Philadelphia, 10th January, 1791.*

*The speech of Cornplanter, Half-Town, and the Big-Tree, Seneca Chiefs, to the Great Councillor of the Thirteen Fires.*

FATHER:

No Seneca ever goes from the fire of his friend, until he has said to him, "I am going." We therefore tell you, that we are now setting out for our own country.

FATHER: We thank you, from our hearts, that we now know there is a country we may call our own, and on which we may lie down in peace. We see that there will be peace between your children and our children; and our hearts are very glad. We will persuade the Wyandots, and other Western nations, to open their eyes, and look toward the bed which you have made for us, and to ask of you a bed for themselves, and their children, that will not slide from under them.

We thank you for your presents to us, and rely on your promise to instruct us in raising corn, as the white people do; the sooner you do this, the better for us. And we thank you for the care you have taken to prevent bad men coming to trade among us: if any come without your license, we will turn them back; and we hope our nation will determine to spill all the rum which shall, hereafter, be brought to our towns.

FATHER: We are glad to hear that you determine to appoint an agent that will do us justice, in taking care that bad men do not come to trade amongst us; but we earnestly intreat you that you will let us have an interpreter in whom we can confide, to reside at Pittsburg. To that place our people, and other nations, will long continue to resort; there we must send what news we hear, when we go among the Western nations, which, we are determined, shall be early in the spring. We know Joseph Nicholson, and he speaks our language so that we clearly understand what you say to us, and we rely on what he says. If we were able to pay him for his services, we would do it; but, when we meant to pay him, by giving him land, it has not been confirmed to him; and he will not serve us any longer unless you will pay him. Let him stand between us, we intreat you.

FATHER: You have not asked any security for peace on our part, but we have agreed to send nine Seneca boys, to be under your care for education. Tell us at what time you will receive them, and they shall be sent at the time you shall appoint. This will assure you that we are, indeed, at peace with you, and determined to continue so. If you can teach them to become wise and good men, we will take care that our nation shall be willing to receive instruction from them.

CORNPLANTER, his x mark.  
HALF-TOWN, his x mark.  
BIG-TREE, his x mark.

Signed at Philadelphia, 7th February, 1791, in presence of

JOSEPH NICHOLSON, *Interpreter*,  
THOMAS PROCTER,  
T. MATLACK.

PITTSBURG, *March 17, 1791.*

SIR:

When we raised from the great council of the Thirteen Fires, we mentioned that we meant to have a council with the chiefs of the bad, angry Indians.

Through the whole Quaker State, as we came up the road, we were treated well, and they took good care of us until we came here. One misfortune happened only, that one of our wagons is not yet arrived here, the one we first engaged, with the goods you presented to us.

FATHER: Your promise to me was, that you would keep all your people quiet; but, since I came here, I find that some of my people have been killed—the good honest people who were here trading.

FATHER: We hope you will not suffer all the good people to be killed; but your people are killing them as fast as they can. Three men and one woman have been killed at Big Beaver creek, and they were good people, and some of the white men will testify the truth of this. When I heard the news, I found one boy had made his escape, and got to the trader's house, who saved his life; I now want to see him.

FATHER: We have been informed that twenty-seven men came from another State, and murdered these men in the Quaker State, and took away nine horses, and all the goods they had purchased from the trader. Our father, and ruler over all mankind, now speak and tell me, did you order these men to be killed?

FATHER: Our words are pledged to you that we would endeavor to make peace with all warrior nations. If we cannot do it, do not blame us: you struck the innocent men first. We hope you will not blame us, as your people have first broke good rules; but, as for our people, they are as friendly and as firm as ever.

FATHER: We must now acquaint you with the men's names who did this murder at Beaver creek: Samuel Brady, formerly a captain in your army, and under your command, also a Balden, were persons concerned in this murder.

FATHER: I can inform you little more, therefore will conclude with asking you how I should have come to the knowledge of this, or how I could have informed you, had it not been for our good friend Joseph Nicholson? I therefore beg you may grant him an appointment as interpreter: for we cannot see how we will do without him. I know of no other man that speaks your language and ours so well as him.

CORNPLANTER, his + mark,  
NEW-ARROW, his + mark,  
HALF-TOWN, his + mark,  
BIG-TREE, his + mark.

P. S. The boy who made his escape at Beaver creek has arrived at this place, and I have taken him under my protection. Father, your despatches for Detroit have been unavoidably detained, heretofore; but to-morrow Big-Tree and one other shall set off with them, and will also take the boy mentioned here, and deliver him to his relations. We part to-day at this place: Big-Tree is going amongst the cross Indians, to see if they will make peace, and I go to my own people, to call them to council.

CORNPLANTER.



*To all People to whom these presents shall come, greeting:* Know ye, that we, the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the Five Nations of Indians, for, and in consideration of, the sum of two thousand one hundred pounds, lawful money of the State of New York, paid, and received by us, to our full satisfaction, of Oliver Phelps, of Granville, in the county of Hampshire, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Esquire, and Nathaniel Gorham, of Charlestown, in the county of Middlesex, in the Commonwealth aforesaid, and of which we do hereby release and discharge them, the said Oliver and Nathaniel; and particularly, in consideration of the covenant and engagement made and executed by the said Oliver Phelps, in behalf of the said Nathaniel and himself, by deed of even date with these presents, have given, granted, ceded, bargained, sold, aliened, conveyed, and confirmed, and by these presents do hereby give, grant, cede, bargain, sell, alien, convey, and confirm, unto them, the said Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham, and to their heirs and assigns, forever, all that territory or country of land lying within the State of New York, contained within, and being parcel of, the lands and territory, the right of pre-emption of the soil whereof, from the native Indians, was ceded by the State of New York aforesaid, to the Commonwealth aforesaid, by deed of cession, executed at Hartford, by commissioners for that purpose, on the sixteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, within the following limits and bounds, that is to say: Beginning in the north boundary line of the State of Pennsylvania, in the parallel of forty-two degrees north latitude, at a point distant eighty-two miles west from the northeast corner of Pennsylvania, on Delaware river, as the said boundary line hath been run and marked by the commissioners appointed by the States of New York and Pennsylvania, respectively; and from said point or place of beginning, running west upon said line to a meridian which will pass through that corner or point of land made by the confluence of the Shanahasgwaikoreehi (so called) with the waters of the Genesee river; thence, running north along the said meridian to the corner or point last mentioned; thence, northwardly along the waters of the said Genesee river, to a point two miles north of Shanawageras village, so called; thence, running in a direction due west, twelve miles; thence, running a direction northwardly, so as to be twelve miles distant from the most westward bends of said Genesee river, to the shore of the Ontario lake; thence, eastwardly along the shores of said lake, to a meridian which will pass through the first point or place of beginning abovementioned; thence, south along said meridian to the first point or place of beginning, aforesaid; together with all and singular the woods, houses, streams, rivers, ponds, lakes, upon, within, and in any wise appertaining to, said territory; to have and to hold the above granted and bargained premises, together with all the appurtenances and privileges thereunto belonging, or in anywise appertaining, to them the said Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham, and to their heirs and assigns forever. And we, the underwritten sachems, chiefs, and warriors, do hereby covenant and engage, to and with the said Oliver Phelps, Nathaniel Gorham, and their heirs, executors, and administrators, that we will warrant and defend the above granted and bargained premises to them, said Oliver, Nathaniel, and their heirs and assigns, against all claims whatsoever.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals, this eighth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.

## MOHAWKS.

Hendrick Takarihoga, and a seal and a mark.  
Jos. Bran. and Thayendanegea, and a seal and a mark.  
Thomas Shasennowane, and a seal and a mark.

## ONEIDAS.

Kennawagenton, and a seal and a mark.  
Shorotowane, and a seal and a mark.  
Oghnaongoghton, and a seal and a mark.

## ONONDAGOES.

Yonghwenjowanin, and a seal and a mark.  
Sharonejowanen, and a seal and a mark.  
Olkwenlageghte, and a seal and a mark.  
Kagontenayen, and a seal and a mark.  
Araghkevente, and a seal and a mark.  
Onereraghhere, and a seal and a mark.  
Kashighstogh, and a seal and a mark.  
Kayendakhengh, and a seal and a mark.

## CAYOGAS.

Tekainyon, and a seal and a mark.  
Oghnickwenton, and a seal and a mark.  
Teyothounggongh, and a seal and a mark.  
Thoheres, and a seal and a mark.  
Karonghaetee, and a seal and a mark.  
Ojageghte, and a seal and a mark.  
Otsfenragongh, and a seal and a mark.  
Tekaragghog, and a seal and a mark.  
Tewaghlaghgote, and a seal and a mark.  
Oghshighanesene, and a seal and a mark.

## THE FEMALE GOVERNESSES, OR CHIEF WOMEN.

Ononghsonlyon, and a seal and a mark.  
Karaghosene, and a seal and a mark.  
Kawaghlyenenghtha, and a seal and a mark.  
Kannonisen, and a seal and a mark.  
Gonwagsennawi, and a seal and a mark.  
Kaghhearengshsha, and a seal and a mark.  
Karoghlonghs, and a seal and a mark.

## CAYOGAS.

Aristates, and a seal and a mark.  
Shagoyethwatha, and a seal and a mark.  
Gonghsanigonte, and a seal and a mark.  
Kaninfagonra, and a seal and a mark.  
Karenhoten, and a seal and a mark.  
Alayaseronn, and a seal and a mark.  
Tehaweanokee, and a seal and a mark.  
Tetsinontawerhogh, and a seal and a mark.  
Tegghaninharingtonghs, and a seal and a mark.  
Tewataseryage, and a seal and a mark.  
Shoyonwesee, and a seal and a mark.  
Tehagsharanogeaghs, and a seal and a mark.

## SENECAS.

Oghnenrayewaghs, and a seal and a mark.  
 Teyorenhagwente, and a seal and a mark.  
 Karontowanengh, and a seal and a mark.  
 Sholtswaas, and a seal and a mark.  
 Skenlyoghwadigh, and a seal and a mark.  
 Tekaghsakatsle, and a seal and a mark.  
 Shonoghsowane, and a seal and a mark.  
 Shegwarentonghkwe, and a seal and a mark.  
 Kanaase, and a seal and a mark.  
 Tewatogharanegea, and a seal and a mark.  
 Jonondaweaghtaghsia, and a seal and a mark.  
 Shagoyeghwatha, and a seal and a mark.  
 Kayentwaghgeb, and a seal and a mark.  
 Shorehowane, and a seal and a mark.  
 Karonghyagera, and a seal and a mark.  
 Tekahonwaghshea, and a seal and a mark.  
 Arajongywaghs, and a seal and a mark.  
 Tsiskekeh, and a seal and a mark.  
 Shoghsharowane, and a seal and a mark.  
 Ratsirageron, and a seal and a mark.  
 Osawetorough, and a seal and a mark.  
 Olonghwenjagehte, and a seal and a mark.  
 Teghonegwengksohanie, and a seal and a mark.

Signed, sealed, and delivered, in the presence of  
 John Butler, *Deputy Agent*,  
 Sam. Kirkland, *Superintendent in behalf of*  
*Massachusetts*.  
 James Dean, *Interpreter*,  
 Elisha Lee,  
 Jos. Brandt,  
 Benj. Barton,  
 David Smith,  
 Ezl. Scott.

Pursuant to a resolution of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, passed March the 30th, 1788, I have attended a full and general treaty of the Five Nations of Indians, at the chief village in their territory, on Buffalo creek, alias *Teyoheghscolea*, when the foregoing instrument or deed of conveyance, made to the Honorable Nathaniel Gorham, and Oliver Phelps, Esqrs. of a certain part of the lands belonging to the said Five Nations, the description and boundaries thereof being particularly specified in the same, was duly executed, signed, sealed, and delivered, in my presence, by the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the above mentioned Five Nations, being fairly and properly understood and transacted by all the parties of Indians concerned, and declared to be done to their universal satisfaction and content.

And I do therefore certify and approve of the same.

SAMUEL KIRKLAND,

Missionary, superintendent in behalf of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

## COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS:

I, Henry Alline, notary and tabellion public, by lawful authority duly admitted and sworn, dwelling and practising in Boston, within said Commonwealth, do hereby certify all whom it may concern, that the foregoing instrument or deed of conveyance, and caption thereon, are true copies from the originals, which were carefully examined and compared by me the said notary. Thus done at Boston aforesaid, this twentieth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and affixed my notarial seal.

[L. s.] HENRY ALLINE, *Notary Public*, 1790.

## COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS:

By his Excellency JOHN HANCOCK, *Esquire, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*.

I do hereby certify, that Henry Alline is a notary public, within and for the county of Suffolk, in the said Commonwealth, duly constituted and sworn, and that, to his acts and attestations, as on this paper, full faith and credit is, and ought to be given, both in and out of court.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the public seal of the Commonwealth aforesaid to be hereto affixed, this twentieth day of October, Anno Domini 1790, and in the fifteenth year of the independence of the United States of America.

[L. s.] JOHN HANCOCK.

By his Excellency's command:

JOHN AVERY, Jun. *Secretary*.

*A quit claim from the Four Nations of Indians acknowledging payment.*

We, the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the Mohawk, Onondago, Cuyahuga, and Tuscarora nations, for ourselves, and in behalf of the four nations aforesaid, have heard read and explained, in public council at this place, the papers passed between Oliver Phelps, Esq. and the Five Nations of Indians, in full and public council, at our great council fire, at Buffalo creek, in July, 1788; and find said papers conformable to the agreement then and there made, between said Phelps and the said Five Nations, and do hereby ratify and confirm said agreement, as being fairly and properly done, agreeable to the ancient customs of our forefathers; and having given up to the Seneca nation, our several proportions of the payment now due and offered to the said Five Nations by said Phelps, in a just and proper manner, in a full council of the Five Nations, viz: two thousand five hundred dollars in cash, and two thousand five hundred dollars value in goods, we hereby quit all claims, right, title, or demand, whatsoever, to all that certain tract, parcel, land, and territory, purchased from the Five Nations, by said Phelps, agreeable to the deeds given him, the said Phelps, by the Five Nations aforesaid, at Buffalo creek; and to all moneys, goods, or other payments whatsoever, due by said Phelps for said lands, except always reserving our just share and proportion of five hundred dollars, the annual rent to be paid on said lands forever.

Given under our hands and seals, at Canadqua, this 4th day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.

Sharonyewanen,	+	[L. s.]
Kagondenayen,	+	[L. s.]
Tchodageranden,	+	[L. s.]
Ojageghte,	+	[L. s.]
Karonyageten,	+	[L. s.]
Skagoyeghwatha,	+	[L. s.]
Tewaghtagote,	+	[L. s.]
Aghshigwaresere,	+	[L. s.]
Tekaraghke,	+	[L. s.]
Otstenragongh,	+	[L. s.]
Karonghyontye,	+	[L. s.]
Thayendaneegea,	+	[L. s.]

In presence of  
 SAMUEL STREET,  
 LEMUEL WILMET.

NEWTON POINT, *in the State of New York, July 7th, 1791.*

At the request of Oliver Phelps, Esq. I questioned the Onondaga chief, Sharonyowanen, and the Cayuga chief, Ojagegte, (usually called the Fish Carrier) relative to the contents of the foregoing written paper, to which their names are subscribed. They said they did not remember what were the papers therein mentioned to have been read and explained to them; but they well remember the bargain made between Mr. Phelps and the Five Nations, for the land he purchased of them at the treaty at Buffalo Creek, was this: that Mr. Phelps was to pay five thousand dollars for the purchase, and five hundred dollars every year forever. That this is well known to the other chiefs of their two nations, and that they never heard one of them say any thing to the contrary. Then, when at Kon-naudaugua about two years ago, they, with other chiefs of their nation, and of the Mohawks and Tuscaroras, signed a paper to confirm the bargain which had been made with Mr. Phelps, at Buffalo Creek.

Joseph Smith and Jasper Parrish, my interpreters, inform me, that the Onondaga chief and the Fish Carrier, above named, are the head chiefs of their two nations.

TIMOTHY PICKERING,

Commissioner in behalf of the United States, for holding a treaty with the Six Nations.

*Timothy Pickering's certificate.*

I certify that Oliver Phelps, Esq. has shewn me a number of depositions of gentlemen of reputation, who were present at the treaty held by him at Buffalo creek, with the Six Nations of Indians, in the year 1788, when he purchased of them a tract of land, since called the purchase of Phelps and Gorham; and from their testimony, it appears that the bargain made with the Indians was for five thousand dollars purchase money, and five hundred dollars annual rent; that the papers exhibiting the bargain were openly interpreted by Mr. Kirkland, Mr. Dean, Colonel Butler, and Captain Brandt; and that the Indians then appeared entirely satisfied.

I further certify, that, at the request of Mr. Phelps, I examined the Fish Carrier and Sharonyowanen, (the two head sachems of the Cayuga and Onondaga nations, now attending the treaty, held by me, with the Six Nations at this place) relative to the same bargain; and they declared that it was as above stated; that the other chiefs of their two nations knew it; and that they never heard one of them say any thing to the contrary.

I further certify, that yesterday the principal sachems and chiefs of the Seneca nation came to my quarters, and declared that they were entirely satisfied in respect to the bargain they had made with Mr. Phelps for their lands; and that all they now asked of Mr. Phelps was, that he would perform his engagements with them, as the writings now stand.

Upon the whole, though from the complaints made last fall by the Seneca chiefs at Tioga, and by the Cornplanter last winter at Philadelphia, there appeared some room for believing that the bargain was for ten thousand dollars purchase money, yet I am now entirely convinced that they were under a mistake; and that the writings shewing that the purchase money was five thousand dollars, and the annual rent five hundred dollars, are exactly agreeable to the bargain made with them in their full council.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

*Newtown, in the State of New York, July 16th, 1791.*

PHILADELPHIA, *Wednesday evening, January 18th, 1792.*

Mr. Phelps asks me if I remember some conversation which I had with Big Log (otherwise called Great Tree) last July, at the treaty held by me with the Five Nations of Indians at Newtown, relative to the Cornplanter's complaints made last winter to the President, respecting his purchase of Seneca lands? I do. I repeated the substance of it to-day to Mr. Sherman and Mr. Wingate, upon their saying that the Cornplanter's speech had been read in the Senate, and Mr. Wingate's noticing that part of it which referred to Mr. Phelps.

I asked Big Log if he was present with the Cornplanter when he spoke to the President? He answered that he was. I asked him if the Cornplanter, in his speech, said that Mr. Phelps had threatened his nation with immediate war, if they did not let him have their lands? Big Log, with apparent surprise in his countenance, answered, No! but that John Livingston had threatened them.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

The Cornplanter, in his speech to the President, says the *annual rent* which Mr. Phelps agreed to pay the Senecas, was *one thousand dollars*. The Seneca chiefs, at the treaty which I held with them in the fall of 1790, at Tioga, complained of their being wronged by Mr. Phelps, and said that he agreed to pay them *ten thousand dollars purchase money*, but that the *annual rent* was to be but *five hundred dollars*. So the matter rests on my mind. Their speeches (which I reported to the President a year ago) will ascertain the facts.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

*The deposition of James Dean.*

The deposition of James Dean, of lawful age, testifieth and saith, that this deponent attended a treaty which was held by Oliver Phelps, Esq. with the Indian nations at Buffalo creek; that this deponent officiated at the said treaty as an interpreter; that the Senecas, as far as this deponent had an opportunity to discover their sentiments, did unanimously agree to dispose of part of their country to the above mentioned Oliver Phelps, Esq.; that this deponent, although he does not perfectly recollect the particulars of the contract made between the said Phelps and Senecas, yet conceives that the said Phelps engaged to pay to the said Senecas the sum of five thousand dollars the first year after the date of the said contract, and five hundred dollars per year forever; that, as far as this deponent was concerned in negotiating said contract, he conceives that every matter and thing respecting the same was fully and clearly explained to the said Senecas; and that the writings respecting the said contract were deposited in the hands of Colonel John Butler. And further this deponent saith not.

JAMES DEAN.

*Whitestown, November 25th, 1790.*

MONTGOMERY, *November 25th, 1790.*

Personally appeared James Dean, signer to the foregoing deposition, and after being duly examined, and cautioned to testify the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, made solemn oath that the foregoing deposition, by him subscribed, was the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Before me,

EPHRAIM BLACKMER, *Justice of the Peace.*

*Judge Hollenback's deposition.*

Matthias Hollenback, Esq. of Wilkesbrough, in the county of Luzerne, and State of Pennsylvania, of lawful age, testifies and says, that, in July, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, he was present at a treaty held by Oliver Phelps, Esq. with the Six Nations of Indians, at Buffalo creek; that he, with a number of gentlemen, attended every public council held during said treaty; that, after some time was spent in determining the quantity of lands to be sold, it was agreed that the said Oliver Phelps, Esq. should pay the Indians (for their lands) the sum of five thousand dollars, and the sum of five hundred dollars yearly, as a receipt; that the writings were made according to said contract, and were read and explained in public councils by Colonel Butler, Captain Brandt, Messrs. Dean, and Kirkland; and that the Indians appeared perfectly satisfied with the contract as explained to them.

MATTHIAS HOLLENBACK.

## Tioga County, ss.

Personally came before me, Brinton Paine, Esq., M. Hollenback, Esq., signer to the above deposition, and made solemn oath to the truth of the same on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God. Taken and sworn before me, this 14th day of July, 1791.

BRINTON PAINE.

N. B. The question being put to the above deponent, whether he heard the said Oliver Phelps, Esq. use any threatening words to the Indians, whereby he has any reason to think the Indians sold their land through fear to him? "I did not."

MATHIAS HOLLENBACK.

Question asked by me.

BRINTON PAINE.

Elisha Lee, of Sheffield, in the county of Berkshire, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Esquire, of lawful age, testifieth and saith: That he accompanied the Hon. Oliver Phelps, Esq. to a treaty holden with the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations, at Buffalo Creek, in July, 1788—the object of the treaty being the purchase of lands within the Massachusetts pre-emption district. The Indians were very generally there. Various propositions were made by Mr. Phelps, in their public council, relative to the quantity of land which he inclined to purchase. To fix upon the quantity, limits, and boundaries, of such lands as they would sell, and which Mr. Phelps was inclined to purchase, was a work of some difficulty, and was the business of the council for a number of days successively. The business was at length amicably effected, at a council in which Captain O'Beel, and a select number of the Indian chiefs, were present on the part of the Indians, and in the presence of the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, the superintendent appointed by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Mr. Dean, Colonel Butler, and Captain Brandt, who understood both the English and Indian languages, and of Ezekiel Gilbert, Esq. Dr. Benton, and myself. The limits of the intended purchase being agreed, and a request from Captain O'Beel, to know what compensation Mr. Phelps would make for it, being made, it was agreed by Mr. Phelps and the said Indians, to refer the consideration of the compensation which ought to be made them to Col. Butler, Mr. Kirkland, and Capt. Brandt. Agreeably to their opinion thereupon, Mr. Phelps offered and proposed to pay them, in satisfaction for the lands agreed to be conveyed, the sum of five thousand dollars, to be paid in some convenient time after the treaty, and an annuity of five hundred dollars forever afterwards. This proposal was interpreted to them by Mr. Kirkland, Mr. Dean, or both of them; and, after a due time given them for deliberation, was accepted by them. After the business was so far settled, Mr. Phelps, agreeably to a request of the Indians, further agreed to make them a present of some cattle and rum. On the day subsequent to their agreeing to the proposals of Mr. Phelps, relative to the compensation, the necessary writings and instruments to carry into execution the aforesaid agreements of the parties were draughted by the deponent, at the request of Mr. Phelps; and, agreeably to notice given to the said Indians by him. These writings were truly and honestly made for that purpose, and were executed by the respective parties in a public meeting of the Six Nations, at which were present the gentlemen beforementioned, as well as a Mr. Johnson, and several British officers from Niagara. At the time of their being executed, they were publicly read and interpreted to the Indians, by C. Butler, Mr. Kirkland, Captain Brandt, and Mr. Dean. And the deponent further saith, that there neither was nor could be any fraud, deceit, or unfair management, in the whole of this business; the bonds and obligations given to them by Mr. Phelps being fully and completely written, and no blanks left therein, and seen to be in this situation by the deponent, immediately previous to their execution by Mr. Phelps.

ELISHA LEE.

Taken and sworn before me, this 4th day of July, 1791.

BRINTON PAINE,

*One of the Judges of the county of Tioga, in the State of New York.*

During Mr. Phelps's negotiation with the Indians for the purchase of the lands referred to in the foregoing deposition, did he use any threats to intimidate the Indians, to induce them to agree to a sale of the lands, and on the terms proposed by Mr. Phelps? Particularly, did he threaten them with immediate war if they did not comply?

*Answer.* Mr. Phelps did not use any threats of any kind to intimidate the Indians, to my knowledge; and I was present at all the public councils that were holden with them.

The above question was asked by the Hon. Timothy Pickering, Esq. and the answer given by Mr. Lee, in my presence, this 4th day of July, 1791.

BRINTON PAINE, *Judge.*

*Question asked by Brinton Paine, Esq.* Was you, at the time of the purchase made by Mr. Phelps, interested, either directly or indirectly, in the purchase of said lands?

*Answer.* I was not.

BRINTON PAINE.

Thomas Rees, of Northumberland, in the State of Pennsylvania, of lawful age, testifies and says: That he accompanied the Seneca nation of Indians from the treaty held at Newtown Point, to the Genesee river, and, at the request of the said Indians, he, together with Messrs. Thomas and William Morris, received a thousand dollars of Oliver Phelps, Esq. (rising of seven hundred dollars of which sum was in cash, and the residue in calicoes and linens, estimated at a reasonable price) and delivered the same to the chiefs of the Seneca nation, in the presence of their nation, and a number of white people; and, on the receipt of said cash and goods, the chiefs delivered to Mr. Morris and myself an obligation, given by said Oliver Phelps, Esq. payable to the Seneca nation, dated at Buffalo Creek, July, A. D. 1788, promising to pay five hundred dollars per annum to the Five Nations forever.

Mr. Thomas Morris, in my presence, by the order of the chiefs, endorsed on said obligation, "one thousand dollars, in full, for two years rent;" which the said Indians then declared to be in full of all demands against said Phelps to that time. And the chiefs departed in great harmony, appearing to be well satisfied with the payment they had received. And the deponent further says, that, soon after the above payment, he was at Buffalo creek and other Indian towns, and that the Indians appeared well satisfied with the said Oliver Phelps, Esq. and much attached to him. Further the deponent saith not.

THOMAS REES, Jr.

Sworn before

JOHN BARCLAY, *Mayor.*

PHILADELPHIA, January 20, 1791.

James Wadsworth, of the town of Genesee, in the county of Ontario, and State of New York, of lawful age, testifies and says: That he was present when the payment was made by Oliver Phelps, Esq. to the Seneca nation of Indians, some time in the month of August last, at Genesee river, and that he saw Messrs. Thomas Rees, Thomas and William Morris, count out the money, estimate, and deliver the goods to the chiefs of the Seneca nation. And the deponent further says, that, on Oliver Phelps, Esq. informing the chiefs that he was about to leave the country for the winter, the chiefs and other Indians gathered around him, expressed their attachment to him, declaring that they ever applied to him for advice and instruction, and requested him to appoint a chief of the white people in his absence. The deponent further saith, that he continued at the Genesee river until some time in the month of September, and that he never heard any one of the Indians express any mark of disapprobation, but, on the contrary, appeared pleased with the payment they had received of Oliver Phelps, Esq.

JAMES WADSWORTH.  
JOHN BARCLAY, *Mayor*.

Sworn before me.

PHILADELPHIA, *January 21, 1791.*

I was present at the payment made by Oliver Phelps, Esq. on account of himself and Nathaniel Gorham, Esq. to the Seneca nation of Indians, in the month of July last, at the Genesee river. This payment consisted of the sum of one thousand dollars, (two annual payments being then due) the greater part in money, and the remainder in goods, (which goods were valued by a Mr. Reese, who was appointed by the Indians as their agent.) I assisted in counting out the money and in distributing the goods, and signed the endorsement on the bond as a witness of the payment. The Indians appeared universally well satisfied with the payment. There was some little difference among themselves, with respect to their proportions, but they declared, more than once, that, with respect to Mr. Phelps, they had nothing to complain of, but were perfectly satisfied that he had paid them honestly. In this opinion they went home, and separated in much harmony with Mr. Phelps.

WM. W. MORRIS.

*January 18th, 1792.*

I, Eleazer Lindley, of lawful age, testify and say, that I was present at Canandaigua some time in August, 1789, and that the chiefs of the Six Nations were assembled for the purpose of receiving their pay for the purchase of their lands in the Genesee country, which purchase I understood was made by Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham, Esqrs. and that the chiefs then appointed five agents (to receive their money and goods for them) to wit: Jones, Smith, Rozee-ranty, Jack Berry, and one Matthews, who acted as an interpreter for the Cornplanter; that the agents counted the money, and appraised the goods, and then declared to the chiefs that it was right; that they had laid off money and goods to the amount of five thousand dollars, according to the form of the bond, and that the chiefs came forward and received the money and goods, and expressed their entire satisfaction; that then the Cornplanter gave up the bond to Oliver Phelps, and said they had received the full amount thereof. I further say, that, after the goods were appraised, and the money counted by the above mentioned agents, the said Oliver Phelps, Esq. insisted that the chiefs should examine the money and goods for themselves, to see that they had received the full consideration of the bond; which they accordingly did, and appeared satisfied.

And further say not.

ELEAZER LINDLEY.

Subscribed and sworn at Newtown Point, this fifth day of July, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety one.

Before me,

JONA. GAZLEY J. P.

*Extract from the proceedings of Colonel Timothy Pickering with the Seneca Indians, held at Tioga Point, November 21st, 1790.*

[Then Red Jacket rose and spoke as follows:]

BROTHER:

Now you begin to hear of the situation of our lands. Mr. Phelps and Doctor Benton came on to rake open the fire again at Canedesago. After they were come there, Mr. Phelps passed on to Niagara, and went to our old friend Colonel Butler, whom he met at a tavern. Colonel Butler asked him of his business. He answered that he came to kindle a fire at Canedesago. Then Colonel Butler told him that Canedesago was not a fit place at which to kindle a fire; and that our old custom was to kindle a fire at our own castle. Colonel Butler told him that he thought he must build a fire at Buffalo creek; and if he did, that he believed he should attend the treaty. Mr. Phelps expressed his fears, that if he held the treaty there, he should meet some difficulty. Then, I, Billy, and Cajeagayonh, (Heap of Dogs) went to Canedesago, took Mr. Phelps by the hand, and led him to our council fire at Buffalo creek. All these people here know what speech Mr. Phelps sent us—(then pointing to the Farmer's Brother, Billy, and others, said)—these went to Canedesago, to see what the business was. These all know, and Mr. Street knows, that Mr. Phelps held up a long paper, with a seal as big as my hand. When he opened his mind to us, we took it hard. We wanted to keep a large piece of land, but it was not in our power. Mr. Street, (pointing to him on the bench) you know very well, a treaty was held all night, to fix the boundary, and the price of the land. These men (Mr. Smith, the Farmer's Brother, O'Beel, Little Billy, Heap of Dogs, China Breast-plate, and I, were there) know very well, the proposal was, that Mr. Phelps should give us ten thousand dollars for the purchase, and five hundred dollars annual rent. That was the agreement made that night. The bargain was not finished till morning; and just as we went out of the house, the sun rose. Then we sought for persons to draw the writings. The persons chosen were Mr. Kirkland, Colonel Butler, and Captain Brandt. Mr. Street was not then present. After this, the bargain being completed, Mr. Street took our papers with him to Niagara. And, last summer a year ago, we came to Canandaigua, expecting to receive ten thousand dollars; but then we found we had but five thousand to receive. When we discovered the fraud, we had a mind to apply to Congress, to see if the matter could not be rectified: for, when we took the money and shared it, every one here knows, that we had but about a dollar a piece, for all that country. Mr. Street! you very well know, that all that our lands came to, was but the price of a few hogsheads of tobacco. Gentlemen who stand by, (looking round, and addressing himself to the white people who were present,) do not think hard of what has been said. At the time of the treaty, twenty broaches would not buy half a loaf of bread, so that when we returned home, there was not a bright spot of silver about us. The last spring, again, General Chapin stretched out his hand to us to open a little fire at Big Tree Flats; and then I had a little talk with him; and finding we had but a shilling a piece to receive, we desired him to shut up his hand again. This is all we have to say of that time. Mr. Street knows how hard it was for us to part with our land. And this we have said, because we wish the President to know how we have been treated.

Now, BROTHER—the Thirteen States: you must open your ears. You know what has happened respecting our lands. You told us, from this time the chain of friendship should be brightened. Now, brother, we have begun to brighten the chain of friendship, and we will follow the steps of our forefathers. We will take those steps, that we may sit easy, and choose where and how large our seats should be. The reason we send this message, is, that the President, who is over all the thirteen States, may make our seats easy. We do it that the chain of friendship may be brightened with the thirteen States, as well as with the British; that we may pass from one to the other, unmolested. Brother, this is what your brothers, chiefs, and warriors, have to say to you, relative to brightening the chain of friendship. We wish to be under the protection of the thirteen States as well as of the British.

[Then he delivered me the belt, after which, taking up a parcel of papers, he proceeded thus:]

BROTHER: You know all relating to our lands; you know the whole affair. We have just told you it was two years that we have wanted to have a conference with Congress. Mr. Phelps did not purchase, but he leased the land. We opened our ears, and understood that the land was leased. This happened to us from our not knowing papers. Here they are, and you may see what they contain.

[He then handed me the papers. They were Mr. Phelps's bond for the 500 dollars annual rent of the land he bought of them, some copies of it, and a copy of their deed to him. He then proceeded.]

BROTHER: We have a little more to say to you. Here are Billy, and some others, who were at the treaty at the Ohio. They brought with them these papers, which we wish you to see. It is the mind of the Six Nations to keep these papers, that we may show them at treaties held by the thirteen States. It is our mind that you should know it. This belt came with these papers, and on the parchment annexed to it is mentioned the price of the land.

[He then handed to me the papers. One contained articles entered into between them and General St. Clair, describing certain boundaries between their lands and those of the United States. The subject of the other paper I do not recollect. The parchment label annexed to the belt, showed that it had been delivered by Richard Butler and John Gibson, whose names were written upon it; but nothing about the price of any land. The Indians desired of me information of the nature of the papers, which I gave them in general terms.]

2d CONGRESS.]

No. 26.

[1st SESSION.

## NORTHWESTERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 30, 1792.

The SPEAKER laid before the House a letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, pursuant to the directions of the President of the United States, copies of the official communications which have passed between the Executive of the United States and the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, upon the subject of the temporary defensive protection of the frontiers of that State.

No. 1.

*Letter from the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania to the President of the United States.*

PHILADELPHIA, 22d December, 1791.

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose, for your information, a copy of a representation which has been made to me by the inhabitants of the town of Pittsburg, expressing their apprehensions of an invasion by the hostile Indians; of the accumulation of the enemy's numbers; and stating the defenceless condition of the frontiers of Pennsylvania.

I am, sir, &amp;c.

THO. MIFFLIN.

*Representation from the inhabitants of the town of Pittsburg, dated*

PITTSBURG, 11th December, 1791.

SIR:

In consequence of the late intelligence of the fate of the campaign to the Westward, the inhabitants of the town of Pittsburg have convened, and appointed us a committee, for the purpose of addressing your Excellency. The late disaster of the army must greatly affect the safety of this place. There can be no doubt but the enemy will now come forward, and with more spirit, and greater numbers, than they ever did before, for success will give confidence, and secure allies.

We seriously apprehend that the Six Nations, heretofore wavering, will now avow themselves; at least, their young men will come to war. Be that as it may, the Indians at present hostile, are well acquainted with the defenceless situation of this town. During the late war there was a garrison at this place, though, even then, there was not such a combination of the savage nations, nor so much to be dreaded from them. At present, we have neither garrison, arms, nor ammunition, to defend the place. If the enemy should be disposed to pursue the blow they have given, which it is morally certain they will, they would, in our situation, find it easy to destroy us; and, should this place be lost, the whole country is open to them, and must be abandoned. The safety of this place being an object of the greatest consequence, not only to the neighboring country, but to the United States, as it is the point of communication to the Westward, and the proper depository of their magazines, it must be of the greatest consequence to preserve it.

We state these things to your Excellency as the executive authority of the Government, that, if any thing can be done by your Excellency towards our immediate defence, it may be done; if not, your Excellency will communicate our situation to our State Legislature, or to the General Government, as it may seem expedient or proper. Having the highest confidence in your Excellency's good disposition towards the citizens of this State in general, and those of this place in particular,

We are, your Excellency's obedient humble servants,

A. TANNEHILL,  
JAMES O'HARA,  
JOHN McMASTERS,  
JOHN IRWIN,  
WILLIAM TURNBULL,  
JOHN WILKINS, JUN.

No. 2.

*The President of the United States to the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania.*

December 23, 1791.

SIR:

I have received your Excellency's letter of yesterday, enclosing a copy of a representation to you from the inhabitants of Pittsburg, relatively to their apprehensions in consequence of the late defeat of the troops under Major General St. Clair.

I can, with great propriety, assure your Excellency, that it is my earnest desire that all the exposed parts of the frontiers should be as effectually protected, at the general expense, as the case may require.

I shall direct the Secretary of War to confer with your Excellency upon this subject, and to inform you of such measures as have been directed, and are in train of execution.

I have the honor, &amp;c.

No. 3.

*The Secretary of War to the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania.*

26th December, 1791.

SIR:

I have the honor, in pursuance of the orders of the President of the United States, to state to your Excellency the measures which are at present in train of execution, for the defensive protection of the western parts of Pennsylvania, to wit:

*First.* That, on the sixteenth day of the present month, orders were issued to Major Craig to construct, immediately, a block-house at fort Pitt, and to surround it with palisadoes, so as to contain about one hundred men.

*Secondly.* On the same day directions were given, that a party, of a commissioned officer and thirty-four non-commissioned and privates, should remain at fort Pitt, from two companies, part of which had been stationed at fort Pitt, from the twentieth of October to the fifteenth instant, at which time they were under orders to descend the Ohio. That it is, however, to be expected, that the said two companies may have departed from fort Pitt previously to the receipt of this order, unless prevented by the ice.

*Thirdly.* That, on this day, will march from this city, a detachment of about one hundred and twenty non-commissioned officers and privates, besides commissioned officers. Part of these will be stationed at fort Pitt, and detachments posted at such other places, on the Ohio and upper parts of the Alleghany, as to be most conducive to the general safety of these parts.

*Fourthly.* The lieutenants of the counties of Westmoreland, Alleghany, and Washington, will be authorized to call out such a number of scouts, or patrols, at the expense of the General Government, as they shall judge proper; not, however, exceeding eight in number to each of the said counties. These scouts are to be of the best hunters, or woodsmen, and, as an inducement to such to perform the service, they will be allowed the high pay of five-sixths of a dollar per day, the price usually given on the frontiers of Virginia for said service.

I hope, sir, that these arrangements will be satisfactory to your Excellency, and effectually answer the purpose for which they are designed.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

No. 4.

*The Governor of the State of Pennsylvania to the President of the United States.*

29th December, 1791.

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose, for your information, a copy of a second memorial, which has been transmitted to me by the inhabitants of the frontier counties of Pennsylvania.

In my communication to the Legislature, upon this subject, I have suggested the propriety of furnishing the militia with an immediate supply of arms and ammunition; and my instructions to the Lieutenants of the several exposed counties will be, to co-operate, in case of an emergency, with the officers of the Federal Government, conformably to the plan of defence which the Secretary of War has described to me by your directions.

I am, with perfect respect, &amp;c.

*Memorial from the inhabitants of the counties of Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette, and Alleghany, to the Governor of Pennsylvania.*

To his Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esq. Governor of the State of Pennsylvania:

SIR: We have the honor to address you, in behalf of the counties of Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette, and Alleghany, respecting the present defenceless state of their frontiers, now exposed to the cruel ravages of a powerful and savage foe. The late defeat of the army under General St. Clair, has given rise to the most serious apprehensions to the inhabitants of those counties, who, being entirely unprotected, as well as destitute of arms and ammunition for defending themselves, now look up to your Excellency as the Executive arm of the Government, to ward off those dangers which threaten them, as well as the Commonwealth in general.

Your Excellency is well aware of the great extent of our frontier; and, when you consider the high degree of spirit which the savages, animated by two successive victories, entertain, you may more easily conceive, than we can describe, the fears which pervade the breasts of those men, women, and children, who are more immediately subject to their barbarities and depredations. Had the people a sufficiency of arms in their hands, they might, in some measure, defend themselves until the General Government, to whose care the common defence is entrusted, should adopt efficient steps for that purpose. At the same time, we beg leave to state to your Excellency, what occurs to us as the most speedy and effectual mode. When the extent of country to be protected is taken into view, we conceive that eight hundred effective men will not be deemed more than sufficient. They should be active partisans, under experienced officers, and provided with good rifles, to suit the grand object of meeting the enemy upon equal terms; of scouting, and giving the alarm when needful. Such a body should have encouragement proportioned to the price of common labor in this country, which averages at fifty shillings per month, as the pay allowed to the troops of the United States would not be a sufficient inducement to able bodied men, possessing the requisite qualifications. We suggest these general ideas from our knowledge of local circumstances, which they who are at a distance, unacquainted with the actual situation of the Western country, cannot so well perceive. It is not our wish to enter into a minute detail, being convinced that your Excellency is not only fully acquainted with, but feelingly alive to, those impressions, which a state such as ours must give rise to; nor can we apply to any person more proper than yourself, to procure that assistance which it requires.

In the mean while, we hope, from your attention, that a quantity of arms and ammunition, of good quality, will be forwarded to the several county lieutenants, to be distributed among the most active men of the militia of these



counties, who at present can make but a partial and feeble defence if attacked. They have been draughted throughout the last summer, and those of Westmoreland even until now. This is attended with great inconvenience, and is particularly harassing to this part of the State; and the officers, as well as men, taking their tour promiscuously, are not as well adapted to an active and hazardous service, as a select corps who have confidence in one another.

If nothing else can be done, we trust your Excellency will give orders for calling out the militia of the other counties, which, at least, may afford a temporary relief.

We have the honor to be, sir, with the greatest respect, your Excellency's humble and obedient servants,

CHARLES CAMPBELL,	} On behalf of the county of Westmoreland.
JOHN YOUNG,	
ALEXANDER ADDISON,	} Washington.
JAMES MARSHALL,	
ABSALOM BIRD,	
G. BLACKNEY,	
DAVID BREDICK,	
EDWARD COOK,	} Fayette.
ZADOCK SPRINGER,	
JAMES PAULL,	} Alleghany.
PRESLEY NEVILLE,	
JAMES O'HARA,	
EDWARD BUTLER,	
JOHN WILKINS,	
JOHN McMASTERS,	
ISAAC CRAIG,	
JOHN McDOWELL,	

PITTSBURG, 21st December 1791.

No. 5.

*The Secretary of War to the Lieutenants of the counties of Westmoreland, Alleghany, and Washington, in the State of Pennsylvania—29th December, 1791.*

Sir:

The President of the United States, having duly considered the present apprehensions of the counties lying upon the Ohio, and the just causes thereof, arising from the late disaster to the troops under Major General St. Clair, is desirous of affording, at the expense of the United States, all the protection which the nature of the case may require, and the public means will admit.

A considerable detachment of recruits, for the regular troops, has marched for fort Pitt. These troops will be posted in such a manner, on the upper parts of the Ohio, as will best conduce to the safety of the inhabitants.

But, in addition to this arrangement, you, as lieutenant of the county of —, will be permitted to call into service, such a number of the most expert hunters or woodsmen, to serve as scouts or patrols, in order to alarm the inhabitants on the approach of any danger, not exceeding, however, eight in number, for the county of —. It will depend upon you to make a proper choice of these scouts, for which you will be both responsible with your character to the people of your county, who may be exposed by an injudicious choice, and to the United States, who will pay the money.

And, as an inducement for suitable characters to perform the service, the United States will pay such scouts the great pay of five-sixths of a dollar per day, in lieu of all charges or expenses whatever.

The service of said men must be proved in the manner hereinafter mentioned, to wit:

On their entrance into service, they must be mustered in your presence by a justice of the peace, and sworn to the faithful discharge of their duty. In the muster then taken, the ages, names, and residence, of the said scouts, must be taken, and whether married or single. At the expiration of their services, they must be again mustered, and sworn that they have faithfully performed service for the number of days mentioned, and in the district specified.

An account is then to be made by you, of the said service, which account must be supported by the muster rolls aforementioned, certified by you, and transmitted to this office for examination and payment, accompanied by a power from you to receive the money.

You will please to acknowledge the receipt of this letter, and transmit me an account of your proceedings thereon.

No. 6.

*The Secretary of War having, in obedience to the orders of the President of the United States, taken into consideration the memorial of the inhabitants of the frontier counties of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, to the Governor thereof, dated the 21st ultimo, together with the letter of the Governor thereon, respectfully reports:*

That, in the present case it is unfortunate, and it may be equally or more so in others which may arise, that the United States are destitute of a general militia law. The frontiers require protection, and ought to have it amply imparted to them in the present moment. But no other expedient presents itself in this exigence, but requesting the Executives of the States, that have exposed counties, to call out such numbers of militia as may afford the the necessary aid. If the militia, so to be called out, should be for a short period, a considerable portion of the time would be wasted in repairing to, and returning from, the places to be defended, unless all should be taken from the frontier parts, which would be unequal and oppressive.

It would seem, therefore, most proper, then, that the militia to be called out at the general expense, should be for a period of six months, unless discharged sooner, if circumstances should permit. That the existence of these circumstances would depend upon the despatch that regular troops should be raised and marched to the frontiers, and upon other considerations at the time of their arrival, relative to the enemy.

That the following arrangement seems necessary for the frontiers of Pennsylvania:

1st. That, in addition to the detachment of regular troops now on their march to fort Pitt, and the scouts permitted to the counties of Westmoreland, Washington, and Alleghany, it might be proper to add, if the Governor should judge the measure essential, such a number of scouts for the county of Fayette, as he may deem proper, not exceeding the proportion to the other before mentioned counties, their relative situations being duly considered.

2dly. That the Governor be further allowed, if he judge the measure expedient and essentially necessary, to organize and call into service, for a period of six months, a certain number of militia, at the expense of the General Government, in the same manner as the Governor of Virginia has called into service militia, for the protection of the frontiers of said State.

That these militia be paid and subsisted at the expense of the United States, under such regulations as the Secretary of War shall direct, in order to prevent irregularities.

That the number so to be called into service, be such as may be equal on an average, to about one company for each of the frontier counties, so as to correspond as nearly as may be, to the defensive protection of Virginia.

The increased pay, however, cannot be allowed, unless by a special act of Congress; and no good reasons exist, for urging a higher pay for mere militia, than for the regular troops. Indeed, as the latter have clothing allowed, and the former none, it would appear reasonable, that the militia employed under the General Government should

have an allowance for this object. But in order thereto, it would be necessary that Congress should first make a law for the purpose. Should they think proper so to do, the monthly cost of clothing for a regular soldier might be added to the pay of the militia, which would increase it nearly to five dollars per month, which, perhaps, is fully sufficient for any species of militia, excepting the scouts.

It is presumed that Governor St. Clair will make an arrangement for the protection of the French settlements at Gallipolis. The settlement at Marietta will be protected by a company of regular troops.

All which is humbly submitted to the President of the United States.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 1st January, 1792.

No. 7.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 3d January, 1792.

SIR:

The President of the United States has received and considered the memorial of the inhabitants of certain western counties, dated, Pittsburg the 21st ultimo, which you transmitted to him on the 31st of last month.

I am again directed, sir, to assure your Excellency, that it is the desire of the President of the United States that all reasonable and effectual protection be afforded the exposed parts of the frontiers, which the nature of the case may require.

That, if it should be your judgment, to the measures already ordered, and of which I informed you on the 26th ultimo, that an arrangement of the following description should be added, he will consent thereto, in behalf of the United States.

That scouts be permitted to Fayette county, in such proportion to the other exposed counties, as you shall judge proper.

That a number of such militia of the State, not exceeding *two hundred and twenty-eight*, non-commissioned and privates, and commanded by such officers as you shall think proper, be called into service, on the pay and rations established by the United States, and stationed at such places on the Alleghany and Ohio, and other parts of the frontiers, so as best to defend the exposed parts, according to your judgment and the county lieutenants'.

That these militia be organized into three companies, and a captain, lieutenant, and ensign, and four sergeants, four corporals, two music, and sixty-six privates.

That they be engaged for as many months as you shall judge proper, not exceeding six months, to be discharged sooner, if circumstances shall permit.

That these militia be under the orders of the respective county lieutenants, being designed for defensive protection only.

That such persons as you shall direct, furnish the rations, provided the same do not exceed eight cents.

That the proofs, both of the supplies and services, to be such as shall be prescribed by me, in order to prevent either irregularity or abuse.

That, for both the services and supplies, payment will be made by the United States, upon the adjustment of the accounts, according to the forms which may be directed.

I request your Excellency's opinion on this additional arrangement, which, if satisfactory, may be carried into immediate execution.

I have the honor to be, &c.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

*His Excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania.*

No. 8.

PHILADELPHIA, 3d January, 1792.

SIR:

In consequence of the distressed situation of the western counties of this Commonwealth, and with a view to co-operate in the design of the Federal Government, which you observe, in your letter of the 10th of March, 1791, was, to make the most effectual provision for the defensive protection of the frontiers, by calling into service, at the expense of the United States, such proportions of the militia as the nature of the case might require, I issued instructions to the lieutenants of the counties of Washington, Westmoreland, Alleghany, Fayette, and Huntingdon, for draughting a competent force from the militia under their respective commands, to act as rangers against the hostile Indians. The expense incurred upon this occasion, has, in part, been defrayed out of a sum appropriated by an act of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania. But I think it proper at this time to inquire, how far the State will be re-imbursed from the treasury of the Union, as the object seems clearly to be comprehended within the idea of general defence. You will be pleased, therefore, sir, to favor me with an explanation on this ground, that I may be enabled to render an accurate statement to the Legislature, as well respecting the past, as future expenditures, in the same service.

I am, sir, your most obedient, &c.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To HENRY KNOX, Esqr. *Secretary of War.*

No. 9.

WAR DEPARTMENT, January 3d, 1792.

SIR:

In answer to you Excellency's letter of this date, I have the honor to observe, that I conceive the General Government are responsible for the *pay and subsistence* of the militia, called out in pursuance of the authority of the President of the United States, vested in certain county lieutenants of this State, by the letter to them of the 10th of last March, provided, that the rules therein prescribed, as well for the proofs of the service and the price of the ration, shall have been observed, and the accounts thereof duly settled at the pay office of the Department of War. And as appropriations therefor have been made by Congress, no further delay of payment will take place, than may be required for the settlement of the accounts.

I have the honor to be, &c.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

*His Excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania.*

No. 10.

PHILADELPHIA, January 5, 1792.

SIR:

I have received your letter of the 3d instant, containing a proposition from the President of the United States, respecting additional measures to be pursued under the authority of the State Government, but at the expense of the Union, for the more effectual defence of the frontiers of Pennsylvania; and I beg you to assure the President, that, for the attainment of so desirable an object, I shall be happy to carry into effect the arrangement which is suggested,

and which I have, with that view, submitted to the consideration of the General Assembly, whose interposition will be requisite to render the powers of the Executive commensurate with the plan. As soon as a legislative decision takes place, I will again address you upon the subject; and, in the mean time, I shall take the preparatory steps, conformably to the ideas which you have expressed, and of which you will be pleased to communicate my approbation to the President.

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

HENRY KNOX, Esq. *Secretary of War.*

THO. MIFFLIN.

No. 11.

*The Governor of Pennsylvania to the Secretary of War.*

PHILADELPHIA, 23d January, 1792.

SIR:

The General Assembly of this Commonwealth having passed an act for the immediate defence of our western frontiers, I have enclosed, for the information of the President of the United States, a copy of that law, together with a copy of the instructions which I have transmitted to the lieutenants of certain counties, on the subject. As it is my intention, on this occasion, to conform, as nearly as possible, to the propositions that are contained in your letter of the 3d instant, and the explanation which you afterwards gave of their meaning and extent, you will be pleased to furnish me with a statement of the proofs which will be sufficient to establish the claim for supplies and services, and the forms that will be required in the adjustment of the accounts at your office.

I shall, from time to time, communicate to the Executive of the Federal Government, any important information that I may receive from the frontiers; and it will afford me sincere pleasure, if, upon a plan, strictly defensive, the corps of militia engaged under the authority of the State shall be found a useful auxiliary to the force employed under the authority of the Union, for the general purposes of the war.

I am, Sir, &c.

*An Act to provide for the immediate defence of the frontiers of this Commonwealth.*

Whereas it appears necessary, at this time, to make some effectual provision in aid of the measures of the Federal Government, for the protection of the frontiers of this Commonwealth, which are exposed to imminent danger from the Indians now at war with the United States:

Sec. 1. *Be it therefore enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That the Governor shall engage, for the term of six months, unless sooner discharged, a number of active and experienced riflemen of the militia of this Commonwealth, not exceeding two hundred and twenty-eight non-commissioned officers and privates, and station the same at such places, and in such proportions, as shall, in his judgment, be best calculated to protect and defend the western frontiers of this Commonwealth; and he shall organize the men, so to be engaged, into three companies, over which he may, if need be, appoint and commission one major; and each company shall consist of one captain, one lieutenant, and one ensign, to be appointed and commissioned by the Governor, four sergeants, four corporals, two musicians, and sixty-six privates, to be engaged as aforesaid.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the pay of the commissioned officers, respectively, shall be the same as the pay allowed to the commissioned officers of corresponding rank in the service of the United States; and there shall be allowed to such of the militia as shall be engaged as aforesaid, a bounty, which, being added to the amount of the pay allowed, or to be allowed, by the United States, to non-commissioned officers and privates in their service, as shall render the pay of the said militia equal to the sum of sixty shillings per month to each sergeant, fifty-five shillings per month to each corporal, and fifty shillings per month to each private and musician.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the sum of four thousand five hundred pounds be appropriated for carrying into effect the foregoing objects of this law, of providing the necessary arms and ammunition, and of defraying the other necessary incidental expenses for the defence of the frontiers aforesaid; which sum shall be paid by the State treasurer, upon the warrants of the Governor, out of the funds appropriated by law to pay the expenses of Government; and an account of the disbursements thereof, or of any part thereof, shall be laid by the Governor before the General Assembly, at the next ensuing session.

*Circular letter from the Governor of Pennsylvania to the Lieutenants of the counties of Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette, and Alleghany, dated January 20, 1792.*

GENTLEMEN:

Upon the repeated applications of the inhabitants of the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, the Executive of the Federal Government was induced to propose to me, a plan of defensive operation, for the protection of the counties which are exposed to immediate danger; and the Legislature having given their sanction to the proposal, agreeably to the terms of the enclosed act, it becomes my duty, as well as disposition, to carry it into effect with all possible energy and despatch.

You will perceive that the general militia law has been suspended, in some respects, in order to answer the present emergency, particularly in the mode of raising the intended force, which is by engaging active and experienced riflemen, wherever they can be obtained, and not by draughting in classes from the militia of the respective counties; in the mode of appointing the officers, which is immediately by the Executive, and not upon the election of the people; in the period of service, which is for six months, and not for two; and in the rate of pay, which is liberally estimated by the price of labor, and not by the military allowance established for the troops of the Federal Government.

I am desirous, however, that, as far as it is practicable, the men engaged under the authority of this law should still be considered, and act as a select corps of militia, and therefore I shall, from time to time, convey duplicates of my instructions to the commanding officer, through the medium of the lieutenants of the several counties comprehended in the description of the western frontiers.

As the first step towards organizing the proposed corps, I now transmit commissions for the officers, which you will be pleased immediately to deliver, with instructions to engage seventy-six men, of the description, and upon the terms mentioned in the act, for each of the companies to which they are respectively appointed, making, in the whole, two hundred and twenty-eight active and experienced riflemen of the militia, and to deliver regular weekly returns to the major, (whose commission is likewise transmitted) until the number of engagements shall be completed.

The men, it is to be observed, must be engaged for the period of six months, unless sooner discharged, commencing on the first day of March next; and it may be stipulated, that each man, armed with his own rifle, such as the captain of the company may approve, shall be allowed two dollars for the use of it, during the period of his engagement, and a reasonable equivalent if it is lost or destroyed in the public service. The companies being filled, are to be stationed, in the first instance, under the general direction of the major, at the following places:

*1st Company.*—The first company shall be stationed at the southwest corner of Washington, between the heads of Wheeling and Duncard creeks, ranging thence to the Ohio.

*2d Company.*—The second company shall be stationed at the mouth of Great Beaver, and ranging thence to fort Crawford, by the heads of Pine Creek.

*3d Company.*—The third company shall be stationed at the Kittaningranging, thence up and down the river.

Under the inspection and management of Colonel Clement Biddle, who acts on this occasion as quartermaster general for the State, a competent supply of arms and ammunition will be immediately forwarded to Pittsburg; at which place a proportionate distribution will be made and sent to the respective frontier counties. It is expected that great care will be taken to ensure the return of the arms at the expiration of the present service, and to prevent the loss or waste of ammunition.

I have also entered into a contract with John Wilkins, jun. for supplying the corps with rations, at the rate of eight cents per ration, and I am persuaded he will do honor to the confidence which is reposed in him.

You will be pleased, gentlemen, to maintain a punctual correspondence with the commanding officer of the proposed corps, and to render him every aid in your power, consistent with a plan of defensive operation, which you will remember is the sole purpose of these arrangements; though, if any unforeseen emergency should occur, they are not to preclude the general exertion of the militia for repelling actual hostilities, agreeably to the instructions contained in my letter of the 18th March, 1791.

The proofs that will be sufficient to establish the claim for supplies and services, and the forms that will be required in the adjustment of the accounts at the office of the Secretary of War, will be stated to you in the course of a few days; and, in the mean time, relying upon your zeal, discretion, and patriotism, I deem it unnecessary to add more than an earnest wish that you would, by every means, facilitate the engagements of the men for the present service; and render the interference of the Government honorable and effectual.

I am, gentlemen, &c.

*List of Officers appointed to command the three defensive companies of active and experienced riflemen of the Militia, agreeably to the act, entitled "An Act to provide for the immediate defence of the frontiers of the Commonwealth."*

	The Major, George M <sup>c</sup> Cullay.			
<i>First Company</i> .....	The Captain, James Paul,	-	-	Fayette.
	The Lieutenant, Henry Enochs,	-	-	Washington.
	The Ensign, Jeremiah Long,	-	-	do
<i>Second Company</i> ....	The Captain, Samuel Smith,	-	-	do
	The Lieutenant, Daniel Hamilton,	-	-	do
	The Ensign, William Jones,	-	-	Alleghany.
<i>Third Company</i> ....	The Captain, John Guthrie,	-	-	Westmoreland.
	The Lieutenant, William Cooper,	-	-	do
	The Ensign, Samuel Murphy,	-	-	do
	Quartermaster General,	-	-	Clement Biddle.
	Contractor for rations,	-	-	John Wilkins, jun.

[2d CONGRESS.]

No. 27.

[1st SESSION.]

### NORTH WESTERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 8, 1792.

The Speaker laid before the House a letter from the Secretary of War, accompanying certain communications with the Executive of Virginia, relative to the existing temporary defensive protection of the exposed frontiers of that State, pursuant to the orders of the President of the United States.

No. 1.

*From the Secretary of War to the Governor of Virginia.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 28, 1791.

SIR:

The President of the United States has directed me to inform your Excellency that he has received your letter of the 20th instant, enclosing the letter of the 4th instant, written by the commanding officer of Russell county, stating the depredations thereon by the Indians.

The President of the United States begs leave to confide the defence of Russell county to your Excellency; that, if you should judge that the situation of the said county demands the services of a full company from the interior counties of Virginia, you will please to order the same from such places and for such time as you shall judge proper.

That the United States will pay for the services of such a company of militia as your Excellency shall so order, according to the rates established by law; a schedule of which is enclosed: [See the act for regulating the military establishment of the United States, passed 30th April, 1790.] Provided, that the said militia shall be mustered by some impartial and competent officer of the militia upon the commencement and termination of the services of the said militia.

Your Excellency will please to appoint some suitable character to furnish the said company with rations by contract, the price of a ration of the description specified in the schedule No. 2, [See the said act.] not to exceed eight cents, unless the most formal and authentic evidence be produced to your Excellency that the ration is not attainable for such price, in which case your Excellency will allow a sum conformable to the price of the ration.

If your Excellency should call into service the company of militia herein contemplated, I request you will have the goodness to notify me of the same, specifying its numbers and time of service.

No. 2.

*From the Secretary of War to the Governor of Virginia.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, November 16, 1791.

SIR:

Upon the statement of Mr. Moore, a Representative for Virginia in Congress, it appears that some doubts exist whether the protection authorized by the President of the United States on the 28th ultimo, and transmitted to the Governor of Virginia, should be extended to the exposed parts of the counties of Wythe, Montgomery, and Washington.

I am authorized by the President of the United States to assure your Excellency that it is his desire that the defensive protection for the abovementioned counties should be as effectual as the defence of Russell county; and further to inform your Excellency, that the expense of any measures which you may think necessary on the occasion, proportioned to the object, and consisting of the militia, and to be supported with provisions in the manner as pointed out in my said letter of the 28th of last month, will be paid by the General Government, on the accounts and vouchers of the services and supplies being produced at this office.

No. 3.

*Governor Randolph to the Secretary of War.*

COUNCIL CHAMBER, RICHMOND, 24th November, 1791.

SIR:

Agreeable to your request, I do myself the honor to transmit to you the act of the Executive providing for the defence of the county of Russell.

You will observe that a company of men is to be recruited and continued in service until the first of December, 1792. This measure was adopted because it was considered as a more effectual defence, and was more economical, inasmuch as the frequent changes of militia in the course of such length of service, would, at certain periods, make it necessary to have double the number in pay.

There was no difficulty in procuring a proper person to undertake the contract for supplying rations, on condition of striking off from the articles composing the ration, vinegar, candles, and soap, which articles would be useless to troops engaged in this kind of service.

The ammunition which has been advanced by this State, will, I hope, be reimbursed, together with that formerly furnished the Chickasaw Indians.

If there be any thing in the arrangements which have been made for the defence of Russell county which may be contrary to the wishes or intention of the Federal Executive, we beg that you immediately communicate it, that the error be corrected.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

BEVERLEY RANDOLPH.

*The Act of the Executive of Virginia, enclosed in the foregoing.*

IN COUNCIL, November 17th, 1791.

The Governor laid before the Board a letter from the Secretary of War of the 28th ultimo, authorizing the Governor to provide for the defence of the county of Russell, together with a resolution of the present General Assembly, on the subject of the Western defence: Whereupon, it is advised,

That a company of men be raised for the defence of Russell county, consisting of sixty-six rank and file, with the proper proportion of non-commissioned officers; to be recruited and commanded by Andrew Lewis, as captain, James Hawkins, as lieutenant, and Robert Robertson, as ensign; that two and a half dollars per month be paid by this State to the non-commissioned officers and privates in addition to the allowance made by the General Government; that the 15th of March next be the time, and the court-house of Russell county the place, of rendezvous; and that the service terminate on the 1st of December, 1792, unless the company be sooner discharged; that Colonel Cowan be appointed to muster the men at the time of their assembling, and when they shall be discharged, and report, on oath, the actual number present at each muster.

That Mr. Joseph Kent be appointed contractor to supply the men with rations, each ration to consist of one pound of beef, or three quarters of a pound of pork, one pound of bread, or flour, half a gill of rum, brandy, or whiskey, and one quart of salt for every hundred rations; the price of the ration to be eight cents; and it is further advised, that two hundred pounds of powder, and eight hundred pounds of lead, be furnished from the post at the point of Fork, to the order of Captain Lewis, for the service aforesaid.

The Governor orders accordingly.

Attest,

A. BLAIR, C. C.

No. 4.

*The Secretary of War to the Governor of Virginia.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 5th December, 1791.

SIR:

The letter of his Excellency Governor Randolph, dated Council Chamber, 24th November, 1791, was received by the last post, and submitted to the President of the United States.

And I am directed, sir, by the President, to inform you, that having confided the defence of the exposed counties of the Southwestern parts of Virginia to the Executive thereof, he feels satisfied that the defence will be proportioned to the object, and that the means to be employed will be such only as he is authorized by the laws to use for the defensive protection of the frontiers.

In raising, therefore, the company of militia mentioned in the aforesaid letter of the 24th of November, the President of the United States requests that it may be clearly understood, that he conceives the law passed the 30th of April, 1790, authorizes him to call out mere militia, who shall be entitled to receive the same *pay* and *subsistence* only as the troops of the United States, which are specified in the said law. To this may be added, such means of transportation as shall be indispensable; but he cannot promise either bounty, clothing, or any other compensation than the pay and subsistence before mentioned.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

H. KNOX.

No. 5.

*Governor Lee to the Secretary of War.*

COUNCIL CHAMBER, RICHMOND, December 12th, 1791.

SIR:

My predecessor transmitted to you, in his letter of the 24th of November, the act of the Executive providing for the defence of the county of Russell, and stated the reasons which induced a departure from the mode designated in your letter of the — of October.

I flatter myself, sir, you will not hesitate to sanction the system adopted, as it combines protection with order and economy.

Since information reached this place, announcing the late signal defeat of our army, various applications have been made to this government for temporary aid, from the representatives of those counties which lay exposed to Indian hostility.

We waited for many days, in the expectation of being honored with your reply, to Governor Randolph's letter of the 24th; as then we should have explicitly known your opinion, with respect to that mode of defence which had been established by the Executive, and might have accommodated our future measures thereto. Being disappointed in this expectation, and longer delay inadmissible, as the General Assembly would soon adjourn, we have adopted our arrangements for the defence of the district of Monongalia and the counties of Greenbriar, Kenhawa, Wythe, and Montgomery, on the same principles which regulated the Executive, in their act providing for the defence of the county of Russell, with the addition of a patrol to each county, consisting of two men, for the purpose of procuring and communicating intelligence.

This expensive species of troops, you will discover, sir, are reduced to a very small number, nor would they have been employed in any degree, but from a conviction, on the fullest information, that they are indispensably requisite.

Vain, indeed, would be military preparations, if the means of knowing were inhibited. And really I must consider troops systematically without these means, who are not allowed the only mode of procuring intelligence practicable in the country in which they are to act.

When you compare the military events of this year with those of the last, the temporary aid now given to that furnished then, you will agree, that, although our prospects are more gloomy, our preparations for defence have not been so expensive, and yet we trust will be found equally effective, from the alterations introduced.

In so extensive an empire, occasions will occur, where the councils and money of the members of the confederacy, in their State capacities, will necessarily be used for the accomplishment of objects belonging constitutionally to the General Government; nor will the happiness and safety of the people, in certain events, permit that delay which must otherwise result, were this beneficent instrumentality denied.

From the evident necessity of such temporary efforts on the part of the Commonwealth, with respect to the defence of our citizens, whose safety seems to continue precarious, notwithstanding the zealous and formidable military exertions of the United States, did the General Assembly, during the last and present sessions, authorize the Executive to take such measures for the defence of our frontier counties, as in their judgment might be deemed necessary.

Under this authority was the money of the Commonwealth expended last year, in defensive operations, which terminated in obedience to the directions received from the Secretary of the Department of War.

The expenses accruing from these measures have been discharged in part by the General Government, and some remain yet to be paid. A claim has lately been exhibited from the county of Randolph, against this Commonwealth, a copy of which is enclosed, wherein the second of May is fixed as the period from which the General Government considers itself properly chargeable with the disbursements issuing from the system of defence above mentioned.

I profess, sir, I must consider this distinction resulting from misinformation, and hope that the explanations which I now do myself the honor to make, will conclude this business in a manner just and satisfactory.

The Commonwealth of Virginia is certainly, in the first instance, liable for moneys stipulated to be paid for the services performed during the last year, under the authority of the Executive, previous to the commencement of the operations of the General Government, and being the only judge of the justice of such claims, propriety demands that they should be presented here for settlement. But, at the same time, I trust it will not be denied, that the moneys thus disbursed, being applied in the execution of a duty belonging to the General Government, constitute a proper charge against the United States; inasmuch as the protection, of the people from an enemy to which they were exposed, was the only end of such expenditures, and that protection from the then existing circumstances, could not be afforded in due time, without the interposition of the Legislature of the State.

Under these impressions, I have directed the proper officer to prepare an account of these expenses, which I will do myself the honor to forward to you with the requisite documents, and confidently hope, that you will, as soon as convenient, inform me where, and in what manner, the expected restitution will be made.

Permit me, sir, to say, that the Executive of this Commonwealth take very great pleasure to contribute, by any efforts in their power, towards the successful execution of the measures of the General Government, and more especially when those measures comprehend the safety of a part of this community, in whose welfare we are so deeply interested.

I herewith transmit the act of the Executive of this date, the resolution of the General Assembly, copies of letters from the lieutenant of the county of Harrison, and my instructions to the commandants of the troops to be raised, for your further information.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

HENRY LEE.

*From the Representatives of the county of Ohio to the Governor of Virginia.*

SIR:

The alarming intelligence lately received, of the defeat of the army in the Western country, fills our minds with dreadful fears and apprehensions, concerning the safety of our fellow-citizens in the county we represent, and we confidently hope will be an excuse to your Excellency, whose zeal has been so frequently evinced in behalf of the distressed frontier counties, for the request we are now compelled to make. In the course of last year, upwards of fifty of our people were killed, and a great part of our country plundered, notwithstanding the aid afforded by the Pennsylvanians, who joined the Virginians in our defence. The success of the Indians in their late engagement with General St. Clair, will, no doubt, render them more daring and bold in their future incursions and attacks upon our defenceless inhabitants; those adjoining the county of Harrison, extending a hundred miles, covering the county of Monongalia; and we conceive that not less than sixty or seventy men will be sufficient to defend them. Through you, sir, we beg leave to request this assistance.

WILLIAM McMACHEN,  
BENJAMIN BIGGS,  
*Representatives from Ohio county.*

*An Act of the Executive of the State of Virginia, providing for the defence of the frontiers.*

IN COUNCIL, December 12, 1791.

The Governor laid before the Board, sundry letters from the Representatives of the Western counties, urging the necessity of making more extensive provision for the defence of the frontiers, as the late defeat of the federal troops, under command of General St. Clair, will render them more exposed to the ravages of the Indian enemy.

Whereupon, in pursuance of the resolution of the General Assembly, authorizing the Executive to direct such temporary defensive operations in the county of Russell, or other of the Western frontier counties, (not extending to the district of Kentucky) as will secure the citizens thereof, from the hostile invasions of the Indians, it is advised—

That an additional company, consisting of a captain, lieutenant and ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, and sixty-six privates, be allowed for the defence of the counties of Wythe, Russell, and Montgomery.

That two companies be allowed for the defence of the counties of Ohio, Harrison, Monongalia, and Randolph; the men to be distributed as follows: a captain, ensign, two sergeants, two corporals, and forty-one privates, for the county of Ohio. The same for the county of Harrison. A lieutenant, two sergeants, two corporals, and twenty-five privates, for Monongalia. The same for the county of Randolph.

That one company be allowed for the defence of the counties of Greenbriar and Kenhawa.

That the men be entitled to the same pay and rations (the rations to be of the same quality, and at the same price) as were allowed the company heretofore ordered for the defence of Russell county, and their service to commence the fifteenth of March, and terminate the first of December, 1792, unless sooner discharged; that they be regularly mustered at the time of their rendezvous, and when they shall be discharged, by persons hereafter to be appointed, who shall report, on oath, the number actually present at each muster.

That two scouts be allowed for each of the aforesaid counties, with the allowance of five shillings per day each, as full compensation for their pay and subsistence. The scouts to be appointed by the commanding officers of the respective companies, and subject to their orders.

That John Preston be appointed and commissioned Captain, Robert Crockett, Lieutenant, and William Preston, Ensign, of the additional company to be raised, for the Southwestern defence. William McMahon, and William Lowther, Captains, Matthias Whiteman and John Evans, jr. Lieutenants, John Brown, jr. and Joseph Biggs, Ensigns, of the two companies allowed for Ohio, Harrison, Monongalia and Randolph. William Clendinning, Captain, Leonard Cowper, Lieutenant, and John Young, Ensign, of the Kenhawa company.

That Robert Sayers be appointed to muster the additional Southwestern company, and Joseph Kent to supply them with provisions; John P. Duvall to muster the two companies for Ohio, Harrison, Monongalia, and Randolph, and George Jackson to supply them with provisions; Thomas Lewis to muster the Kenhawa company, and Daniel Boon to supply them with provisions.

That the evidence of the services, herein specified, be the same as was required by the regulations of the twentieth of December last, for the Western defence; and,

It is further advised, that the Superintendent at the point of Fork be directed to furnish, from the public stores, two hundred weight of powder, and eight hundred weight of lead, for the use of each of the aforesaid companies.

The Governor orders accordingly.

Attest,

A. BLAIR, C. C.

*From the Lieutenant of the county of Harrison to the Governor of Virginia.*

RICHMOND, 27th November, 1791.

Sir:

The exposed situation and the frequent depredations which are committed in the county of Harrison by the savages, constrain me to lay before your Excellency the distressed situation of the frontiers of the said county. On the fourth day of the last month, a party of Indians fired on a party of men who were driving a drove of cattle to the Muskingum settlements; and, within five or six miles thereof, they killed four persons, took one prisoner, and wounded one. One of the party only escaped, who had several balls shot through his clothes. A few days before they fell on this party they killed a man near the Hockhocken, and took a negro boy from the little Kenhawa, who, at the time of the attack on the drivers, made his escape.

Sir, we have frequent information of hostilities being committed on some part of the Ohio, or other; our situation is distressing indeed, as there appears no protection is to be had from the Federal Government, they supposing the present expedition to be a protection to us, which is a mistaken idea, as I conceive it as an injury, rather than a protection at this time; as, no doubt, but they may suppose that we are off our guard, depending on the success of the campaign; which is truly the case. There is, at this time, a number of scouts in service, although without any authority; but your Excellency will see the necessity of the measure by the enclosed papers. I must beg leave further to inform you, that, in February, 1790, I was called on, by the frontiers of the county, for protection, as there appeared great danger at that time; and, for my own justification, I called a council of the officers of the militia, whose result was, that I should order out eight scouts, which I accordingly did; and, at the same time, the council requested of me to go in person to the President at New York, which I also did, but received no instructions from the Board of War, until the second of May, therefore can receive no pay from the United States, prior to that date, for the said scouts; so that there is from the first of March until the second of May which I could wish your interference, in order to get them paid.

The favor will be greatly acknowledged, by, sir, &c.

JOHN P. DUVALL,  
County Lieutenant.

*From the same, to the Governor of Virginia.*

RICHMOND, 8th December, 1791.

Sir:

The late murder committed by the savages, on the 4th of October last, near to Muskingum, as well as the frequent depredations on the Western frontiers, and, in particular, the county of Harrison; and, also, the defeat of General St. Clair, which will encourage them to persist in their cruelties; I do, therefore, in behalf of my constituents, take the liberty to request of your Excellency to grant, for the protection of the said county, a sufficient number of men, which may be thought necessary to answer the purpose. Sir, as to the idea held out, that the federal troops are a protection to us, is but a mere shadow without substance; and, am sure, that your own knowledge, and experience of a military life, is sufficient to satisfy you that it is the case. I should suppose that a company of men, from the county, would be sufficient; and that the counties of Ohio and Kenhawa are in extreme danger.

I am, &c.

JOHN P. DUVALL.

No. 6.

*From the Secretary of War to the Governor of the State of Virginia.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 24th December, 1791.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 12th instant, together with its enclosures, all of which have been submitted to the President of the United States.

The letter of the 24th of November, written, sir, by your predecessor, was received, by the post, on the third, and answered on the fifth instant.



The President of the United States has directed me to assure your Excellency, he considers the United States responsible for the necessary expense to be incurred, at this time, for the defensive protection of the frontiers. That the arrangement, which has been ordered by the Executive of Virginia, by their act of the 12th instant, appears judicious, and as economical as the state of the case will admit; and that it will, therefore, be paid by the General Government, according to the restrictions stated in my letter to your Excellency of the 5th instant.

It is, however, to be observed, that the employment of the scouts were not contemplated in my letter of the 5th instant; but, as they are considered essentially necessary, and as Congress have, within a few days past, made appropriations for their pay on a former occasion, the President of the United States assents fully to their adoption; at the same time, it is conceived, that the number for Ohio county are not sufficient, it having such an extended frontier.

The county lieutenant, therefore, will be permitted to call out a number, not exceeding eight, for the said county; and if your Excellency should conceive an additional number necessary to any other county, you will please to direct the same and inform me thereof.

As Major General St. Clair is empowered on the subject, it is presumed he will make an arrangement with Brigadier General Scott for the temporary defensive protection of Kentucky.

I take the liberty to request that your Excellency would be pleased to direct the county Lieutenants to make monthly returns to this office, of all militia, or scouts, employed at the expense of the United States.

When the accounts of the expenses, for the defensive protection of the past year, mentioned in your Excellency's letter, shall be received, they will be examined, and the result thereof transmitted to you.

The expenses for the scouts of Randolph county, which you enclose, shall be paid to the order of the lieutenant of the said county.

The President of the United States has directed me to thank your Excellency for your assurance of the ready concurrence of the Executive of Virginia, in the measures of the General Government, taken for the defence of the frontiers. Although this assurance had been wanting, he should have entirely relied upon the patriotism of the Executive, of which you are the head, to support every proper measure for the common good of our country.

## No. 7.

*From the Secretary of War to the Lieutenant of Ohio county, Virginia.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, December 29, 1791.

SIR:

His Excellency the Governor of Virginia has transmitted information to this office, that he had made an arrangement for two scouts for the county of Ohio. The President of the United States, having considered of the extended frontier of your county, has directed me to inform you, that, if it should be your judgment, that the scouts should be increased to any number, not exceeding, in all, eight, that the expense thereof shall be borne by the General Government, according to the regulations hereinafter mentioned.

It will depend upon you to make a proper choice of these scouts, for which you will be both responsible, with your character, to the people of your county, who may be exposed by an injudicious choice, and to the United States, who will pay the money.

And, as an inducement for suitable characters to perform the service, the United States will pay such scouts the great pay of five sixths of a dollar per day, in lieu of all charges or expenses whatever.

The service of such men must be proved in the manner hereinafter mentioned, to wit:

On their entrance into service they must be mustered, in your presence, by a justice of the peace, and sworn to the faithful discharge of their duty.

In the muster, then taken, the ages, names, and residence of the scouts must be taken, and whether married or single; at the expiration of their services, they must be again mustered, and sworn that they have faithfully performed service for the number of days mentioned, and in the distance specified.

An account is then to be made by you of the same service, which account must be supported by the muster rolls aforementioned, certified by you, and transmitted to this office for examination and payment, accompanied by a power from you to receive the money.

You will please to acknowledge the receipt of this letter, and transmit me an account of your proceedings thereon.

## No. 8.

*Extract of a letter from the Governor of Virginia to the Secretary of War, dated*

COUNCIL CHAMBER, RICHMOND, January, 5th, 1792.

SIR:

Your letter of the 24th of last month I had the honor duly to receive; and feel myself peculiarly pleased in being told, that the system of temporary defence, adopted by the Executive of this Commonwealth, meets with the approbation of the President.

I will avail myself of his permission to enlarge the patrol allowed to the county of Ohio; a regard to whose extent of front was had, in my directions heretofore given to the commanding officer of the company to be raised for its defence, although not specified in my letter to you: and will, also, if it shall appear necessary, make a proportionate increase to the patrol allotted any other county, whose situation may require the same.

You will find, sir, by reference to our late arrangements, that the Executive have confided the protection of the frontiers solely to the captains of the volunteer militia, ordered to be levied, and not to the county lieutenants, as before.

This change they considered as a melioration. I enclose you a list of the officers appointed to the district of Monongalia, and the counties of Greenbriar and Kenhawa, lest it may so happen that yourself or General St. Clair may have occasion to write to them. I will give orders to the captains to make the monthly returns you require, and will direct the county lieutenants to forward their claims for moneys expended during the past year, in order to bring to conclusion that business.

But, sir, I fear, notwithstanding the very agreeable tenor of your letter, that this matter cannot be concluded justly, unless a change take place in the laws of Congress.

You will observe, that the Executive have been obliged to allow the pay, granted by the laws of this Commonwealth, to her militia, or to have abandoned the plan of voluntary enlistment, and relied on the disagreeable and fallacious system of legal compulsion.

This extra pay being absolutely necessary to answer the end, I consider it as a proper charge against the United States; and, although the President may be pleased to view it in the same light, unless the law above mentioned be amended, or special provision be made by Congress for the purpose, the object of my requisition will remain unfulfilled.

Our Southwestern frontier lying contiguous to the territory under the care of Governor Blount, I thought proper to advise that gentleman (having had an occasion to write to him) of the measures adopted on the part of this Commonwealth, for the temporary defence of that quarter of the State, and asked his communication to the commandant of our volunteer militia, of every relevant information which might occasionally occur.

*List of the Officers appointed to command the Volunteer Militia, raised for the defence of the district of Monongalia, and of the counties of Greenbriar and Kenhawa.*

## DISTRICT OF MONONGALIA.

Captains, . . . William McMahon,  
William Lowther.  
Lieutenants, . . . John Evans Junr.  
Matthias Whiteman.  
Ensigns, . . . John Brown Junr.  
Joseph Biggs.

## GREENBRIAR AND KENHAWA.

Captain, . . . Hugh Caperton.  
Lieutenant, . . . Leonard Cooper.  
Ensign, . . . John Young.

2d CONGRESS.]

No. 28.

[1st SESSION

## FIVE NATIONS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, MARCH 26, 1792.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

At the conferences which Colonel Pickering had with the Five Nations at the Painted Post, the last year, ideas were then held out of introducing among them some of the primary principles of civilization. In consequence of which, as well as more firmly to attach them to the interests of the United States, they have been invited to the seat of the General Government.

As the representation now here is respectable for its characters and influence, it is of some importance that the chiefs should be well satisfied of the entire good faith and liberality of the United States.

In managing the affairs of the Indian tribes, generally, it appears proper to teach them to expect annual presents, conditioned on the evidence of their attachment to the interests of the United States. The situation of the Five Nations, and the present crisis of affairs, would seem to render the extension of this measure to them highly judicious. I, therefore, request the advice of the Senate, whether an article shall be stipulated, with the Five Nations, to the following purport, to wit:

The United States, in order to promote the happiness of the Five Nations of Indians, will cause to be expended, annually, the amount of one thousand five hundred dollars, in purchasing for them clothing, domestic animals, and implements of husbandry, and for encouraging useful artificers to reside in their villages.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, *March 23d*, 1792.

It was, thereupon,  
*Resolved*, (Two-thirds of the Senate concurring) that they advise and consent to the stipulation above recited.

2d CONGRESS.]

No. 29.

[2d SESSION.

## GENERAL VIEW.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON THE 7TH, AND TO THE SENATE ON THE 21ST NOVEMBER, 1792.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *November 7*, 1792.

SIR:

In obedience to the directions of the President of the United States, I have the honor to submit to the Senate and House of Representatives, the following papers, on the subject of Indian Affairs, to wit:

1st. A statement of the measures taken, and the overtures made to procure a peace with the Indians, northwest of the Ohio.

2d. Information received relatively to the pacific overtures, and the dispositions of the Indians northwest of the Ohio.

3d. A statement of the measures which have been taken to conciliate and quiet the Southern Indians.

4th. Information received relatively to the dispositions of the Southern Indians, and the causes of the hostilities of part of the Cherokees and Creeks.

5th. A statement of the troops in the service of the United States.

It is humbly suggested, that the public good requires that a number of these papers be considered as confidential.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

[Addressed to the presiding officers of both Houses of Congress.]

## No. I.

*A Statement of the measures taken, and the overtures made, to procure a peace with the Indians Northwest of the Ohio.*

*The Secretary of War to the Rev. Samuel Kirkland.—December 20, 1791.*

SIR:

At a conference held by Colonel Pickering with the Senecas, and all the other Six Nations (excepting the Mohawks) at the Painted Post, in the month of June last, it was agreed that certain chiefs should repair to Philadelphia, during the time of Congress being in session, in order to carry into execution certain principles, tending to the civilization of the said Indians.

Colonel Pickering now writes to those chiefs at Buffalo Creek, and other places, inviting them to repair here.

In his invitation, he has invited Captain Brandt; perhaps this may not be a sufficient inducement for him to come. You will, therefore, write to him in your own name, assuring him that you will pledge yourself for his safety and welcome reception.

Immediately on your return to Oneida, you will send Indian runners to the several chiefs who are named by Colonel Pickering.

You are explicitly to understand, that the presence of a few of the principal chiefs is desired.

You will appoint Geneseo as the place for you to meet the said chiefs, with whom you will proceed directly to this city, by way of Tioga and Luzerne county.

Your knowledge of the language and customs of the Indians, a confidence in your character and integrity, induces me to place an entire reliance on you relatively to this business.

That you will send faithful and intelligent messengers, particularly to Captain Brandt, from whom you will endeavor to obtain an explicit answer.

That you will meet the said Indians at Geneseo, at the time you shall appoint, which ought to be as soon as convenient.

That you will make suitable provision for them at Geneseo, and thence on the route to this city.

That you will take all due care that they are not insulted on the road, but kindly received.

That you will inform me, in due season, of their number, and when they will arrive in this city, in order that suitable accommodations may be provided for them.

That you will keep the accounts of the expenditures upon the road, in a fair and clear manner; taking receipts for every expenditure, so that every shilling may have a proper voucher annexed thereto.

In order to enable you to execute this business in a proper manner, I have directed that the sum of three hundred and fifty dollars be placed in your hands, for which you will be held accountable.

Besides defraying your necessary expenses, while in the actual execution of this business, you shall have a reasonable compensation for your trouble, which shall be settled and paid upon the issue of the business in this city. I shall depend upon receiving your communications upon all necessary occasions; and particularly, I shall wish to obtain as early information as possible of the effect which the late defeat of our army has had upon the minds of the Six Nations, particularly the Senecas.

You will not fail, upon all proper occasions, to impress on the minds of all Indians, so that the sentiment may be diffused far and wide, that the President of the United States and Congress are highly desirous of being the protectors, friends, and ministers of good, to all peaceably disposed Indians; and, at the same time, they will punish all murderers and disturbers of the peace of the frontiers.

*Message from the Secretary of War to the Cornplanter, and other Seneca chiefs, January 7th, 1792, under cover to Lieutenant Jeffers, per post to Pittsburg.*

*To the Cornplanter, and other chiefs of the Seneca nation, on and near the waters of the Alleghany river.*

BROTHERS:

Open your ears and hear the words of your friend, for it is by General Washington's order, the Great Chief of the United States, I speak to you.

The unfortunate defeat of our troops at the Westward, does not dishearten the United States, and I hope it does not you. It is true, we lament the blood that has been spilt in a war, which you know we wished to avoid. You know this, as well from the mouth of our great chief, General Washington, as from the endeavors of Colonel Procter, whom I sent to you last spring.

But the number of men we have lost, we can easily replace; and, therefore, although the continuance of the war will be troublesome, yet, in the long run, we must conquer.

The United States have wished to be at peace with the Miami and Wabash Indians; but they have refused to listen to our invitations, and have continued to murder our people.

BROTHERS: The United States must, and will protect their frontier inhabitants; and if much evil befall the bad Indians, they will have brought it upon themselves.

General Washington regards you as our fast friend, and he will take care of you. Lieutenant Jeffers tell us you have been threatened by the bad Indians; if this should be the case, had you not better remove near his garrison? or shall we build a fort near where you are, to which you may resort in case of danger? Speak, for we wish to consider you and your people as part of ourselves.

I have sent you a few presents, to replace those things which some bad people plundered you of last spring. Receive them as an earnest of the good will of the United States; and let us know what other articles you wish, and they shall be sent you.

Let nothing shake your friendship: for, be assured, we only seek to do that which is right and just.

[L. s.] Given, &c.

H. KNOX, Secretary of War.

*The Secretary of War to the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, January 9th, 1792.*

SIR:

I have received a letter from General Schuyler, dated the 1st instant, informing me that he had persuaded Good Peter and French Peter to return with you; I therefore expect this letter will reach you at Geneseo. I hope this ardently, because Captain Hoops, who left Geneseo lately, saw there the Farmer's Brother, with whom he had much conversation.

The Farmer's Brother informed me of a great council about to be held at Buffalo creek, the decrease of the present moon. It is all important to know the object of this council; I conjure, you, therefore, to spare no pains nor expense to gain this information, and let me know the result by an express. I hope you will go to that council; and knowing the kindness of the General Government, that you will exert yourself that no wrong measures be taken.

I hope, earnestly, that you will succeed in bringing the chiefs to this city with you. I consider this as highly important at this time. I know, when the Indians are persuaded of the good intentions of the United States to them, that they will use their highest exertions for peace. Let me hear from you as early as possible.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

*Instructions to Captain Peter Pond and William Steedman, January 9th, 1792.*

GENTLEMEN:

Having verbally acquainted you with the general causes of the existing hostilities between the United States and certain Western tribes of Indians, it will not be necessary to recapitulate, particularly, the same to you in writing.

This war is irksome to the President and General Government, as well as to the people, generally, of the United States. It has, however, been brought on by events which the Government could not control.

Governor St. Clair, early in 1790, sent messages to all the tribes inhabiting the Wabash river and the Miami villages, inviting them to peace. These messages were delivered by two Frenchmen, by the name of Gamelin.

But, the invitations being disregarded, and the outrages renewed with greater violence than ever, Brigadier General Harmar, with some regular troops and militia, was sent forth, the last year, with the intention of chastising the refractory Indians, the issue of which is well known.

Immediately after this affair, Governor St. Clair sent messages to the Wyandots and Delawares.

In February last, the Cornplanter, a Seneca chief, then in this city, was informed by a written speech, signed by the President's own hand, that the United States wanted nothing of the Miami Indians, excepting peace. The Cornplanter, impressed with a conviction of the truth of these declarations, offered to go to the Miami village. But, as some disturbances happened about the time of his arrival at fort Pitt, he was delayed.

Colonel Procter, March 12th, 1791, having in company Captain Houdin, was sent to push forward the Cornplanter, and to accompany him to the hostile Indians, with the speech No. 1, together with the speeches from Governor St. Clair, No. 2. But, on his arrival at the Cornplanter's, he found him indisposed to go forward to the Miami village, unless accompanied by some more of his tribe, residing at Buffalo creek. The colonel and the Cornplanter, therefore, repaired to Buffalo creek, and assembled the Indians. But the councils were tedious, although they finally agreed to accompany Colonel Procter, provided a vessel could be obtained to carry them across the lake; but, this being impracticable, the object failed.

In addition to these measures, Colonel Pickering assembled the Six Nations, at the Painted Post, in June last, for the purpose of conciliation; and Captain Hendricks was sent forward to the Miami Indians, but was frustrated in his object by causes unnecessary to be detailed.

All conciliatory measures, therefore, failing, it became necessary to try the effect of coercion; but this, too, proved abortive, and the army under General St. Clair was defeated.

As the sentiments of the United States remain the same, the efforts for peace are again to precede other measures.

Our forces have been defeated, and we have lost a number of brave men. But the numbers so defeated were indeed small, compared with the numbers we are able to send. No doubt can exist that our strength and our resources are abundant to conquer, and even extirpate the Indians, northwest of the Ohio. But this is not our object. We wish to be at peace with those Indians—to be their friends and protectors—to perpetuate them on the land.

The desire, therefore, that we have for peace, must not be inconsistent with the national reputation. We cannot ask the Indians to make peace with us, considering them as the aggressors: but they must ask a peace of us. To persuade them to this effect is the object of your mission.

Repair to Niagara and Detroit, without suffering your business to escape you, until the proper time. When at Detroit, assume the characters of traders with the Indians—a business Mr. Pond is well acquainted with. Mix with the Miami and Wabash Indians. Find their views and intentions, through such channels as your discretion shall direct. Learn the opinions of the more distant Indians. Insinuate, upon all favorable occasions, the humane disposition of the United States; and, if you can by any means ripen their judgment, so as to break forth openly, and declare the readiness of the United States to receive, with open arms, the Indians, notwithstanding all that is past, do it. If such declaration should be made, at the Miami or Wabash, and be well received, you might persuade some of the most influential chiefs to repair to our posts on the Ohio, and so, from post to post, to this place.

But, if you should be so fortunate as to succeed in persuading the chiefs of the Miami and hostile, and any other neighboring tribes, to repair here, every possible precaution must be taken by you, and by the commanding officer of the troops, who is hereby required to afford the necessary escorts, in order to guard the Indians from being injured by the whites.

While among the Indians, or at Niagara, or Detroit, endeavor to find out the numbers and tribes of the Indians who were in the attack of General St. Clair, and their loss, killed and wounded; what number of prisoners they took; and what they did with them; what disposition they made of the cannon taken, arms, tents, and other plunder; what are their intentions for the next year; the numbers of the association; how they are supplied with arms, ammunition, and provisions.

You will readily perceive, that the information required must be given me at the earliest period possible. You will, therefore, let me know, by some means which you must devise, your arrival at Niagara, Detroit, and the Miami village; and, if possible, from thence, what are your prospects.

You have herewith delivered you eight hundred dollars—for this sum you will be held accountable, and for which you must produce vouchers. It is intended to defray your expenses, and to facilitate the great object of your mission. Your reputation will stand pledged that it be applied only on proper occasions.

Besides your reasonable expenses, while employed in this mission, you shall be paid, on your return, a liberal compensation for your services, by the United States. It is unnecessary, at this time, to say what the sum shall be; but, you may be assured, in any event, it shall be in proportion to the hazard and fatigue of the business; and, if successful, also in proportion to the services you may render.

You are hereby informed, that I have employed the Reverend Mr. Kirkland to persuade some of the chiefs of the Six Nations to repair to this place. You will probably see him at Genesee. But, although you may obtain as much information from him as possible, yet you must not discover the object of your mission to him, or any other mortal, until the proper time of its execution: if you do, you will ruin the plan, and, perhaps, lose your lives too.

I have been informed, that, at the decrease of this moon, there is to be a great council of the Senecas assembled at Buffalo creek, near fort Erie. It is important I should know the object of this council; endeavor, therefore, to find it out, and let me know, by an express: provided, however, that Mr. Kirkland should not be able to inform you. I have written to him upon this subject, which I deliver to you.

Your route will be from hence to Wyoming; thence to the Painted Post, and to Genesee, where you will obtain runners to go with you to Niagara.

Given, &amp;c.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.**To Captain Waterman Baldwin.—10th February, 1792.*

SIR:

You have herewith delivered to you a message from me to the New Arrow, Cornplanter, and other chiefs of the Seneca Indians, residing on the Alleghany, which you are to deliver and explain to them.

The standing object of the United States, is, to be at peace with all the Indian tribes; but the bad conduct of the Western Indians renders it impracticable at present. In this situation of affairs, the Seneca Indians, at Buffalo creek, have been invited, and are expected in Philadelphia. As we depended on the attendance of the New Arrow, Cornplanter, and other chiefs, at the Alleghany, we did not send messages to them at the same time, more especially, as we understood that they had gone to the council at Buffalo. But, as they may possibly conceive themselves neglected, they are now invited. It is doubtful, however, whether they may think their families safe, during their absence, and therefore decline to come.

If this should be the case, you may assure them of the decided friendship of the United States. That, if they can be answerable for their young men not joining at all the war, they had better remain quiet. But if they think

the young men will join one side or the other, they had better join ours; which conduct will cement our friendships, and render us one people. In this case, we will furnish them with arms, ammunition, provisions, and, besides, will pay them as shall be agreed upon.

But it is my desire that, if possible, the chiefs, Captain Snake included, should repair to this city, in order to make a general arrangement; if they will consent to this measure, you are to accompany them, together with Joseph Nicholson, the interpreter, to whom I have written.

If the said chiefs come here, you will pay their expenses on the road; and, in order to enable you so to do, I shall direct that, upon your return at fort Pitt, Major Craig shall furnish you with two hundred dollars, and I now give you one hundred dollars for your expenses. As soon as you get the answer, you are to return here to me with all possible despatch.

You will call at fort Pitt for Joseph Nicholson, and at fort Franklin, to let Lieutenant Jeffers know your business.

But you are to keep your business a secret from all other persons, excepting Captain Cass, at fort Pitt, to whom you are to communicate it in confidence.

Your activity and fidelity have been approved, your discretion and judgment are now to be tried. I hope they will be equal to the duty assigned you.

*Message from the Secretary of War to the New-Arrow, Cornplanter, Big-Log, and other Seneca chiefs, to repair to Philadelphia—per Captain W. Baldwin. 10th February, 1792.*

BROTHERS: I sent a message to you on the 7th day of last March, by Lieutenant Jeffers. I hope you received that message, and the goods therein mentioned.

Your situation is such, and the bad Indians are so hostile, that it is the desire of the President of the United States, that the New-Arrow, the Cornplanter, and two other principal chiefs, should immediately repair to Philadelphia, in order to decide on the measures which shall best promote the common good of the Senecas and the white people. This invitation is to extend to Captain Snake, and one or two other influential chiefs of his tribe, residing on the Alleghany.

We have invited the Farmers' Brother, and other chiefs, who reside at Buffalo creek, to repair here, in order to convince them how much it will be for their interest to consider themselves as the fast friends of the United States.

Although we have a full conviction of the friendship of the New-Arrow, the Cornplanter, and the other chiefs and warriors residing on the Alleghany, yet we should like them to be present at the proposed meeting with the chiefs from Buffalo creek, so that all our proceedings may be marked with the highest openness and truth.

But you are to judge how far you may with safety leave your families, for the time you must necessarily be absent, in order to repair here.

If you should judge your families would not be safe, then we will concur in the best arrangements to secure them, as we should to secure our own women and children.

Let us know, immediately, your intention, because, if you cannot come and receive the words which I have to speak to you in the name of the President of the United States, I must commission some person to repair to you with another message, and some further propositions concerning your own safety, and to cement our friendship.

I send you this message by Captain Waterman Baldwin, who will accompany you to this city; or who, in case of your declining to come, will be the bearer of your message.

Given, &c.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

*To Captain Joseph Brandt—per Mr. James M. Reed, express. 25th February, 1792.*

SIR:

Colonel Pickering, who had some communications with the Senecas, and others of the Six Nations, during the two last years, was duly authorized to invite you to visit this city, in order to consult you upon the best means of civilizing and advancing the happiness of the Indians. Some information has been recently received from Mr. Kirkland, intimating your disposition to perform the visit, but declining to do it upon the former invitation, as not being sufficiently explicit.

I now repeat to you this invitation, accompanied with a wish that you would repair to this city, which is the seat of the General Government; and I can assure you that the President of the United States will be highly gratified by receiving and conversing with a chief of such eminence as you are, on a subject so interesting and important to the human race.

This invitation is given to you from the fairest motives. The President of the United States is conscious of the purest dispositions to promote generally the welfare of the Indians, and he flatters himself that proper occasions only are wanting to impress them with the truth of this assertion. He considers your mind more enlightened than theirs, and he has hopes that your heart is filled with a true desire to serve the essential interests of your countrymen. The United States, much against the inclination of the Government, are engaged in hostilities with some of the Western Indians. We, on our parts, have entered into it with reluctance, and consider it as a war of necessity; and not, as is supposed and industriously propagated by many, for the purpose of accumulating more land than has been ceded by the treaty with the Indians, since the peace with Great Britain. We are desirous of bringing it to a conclusion, not from any apprehension as to a favorable result, because, by a comparison of forces and resources, however troublesome a perseverance therein may be to us, it must be utter destruction to the hostile Indians. We are desirous, for the sake of humanity, of avoiding such a catastrophe.

This is the main business which will be mentioned to you on the part of the United States; and it is an object worthy of the best cultivated head and heart. If you should enter into this view, Mr. Kirkland has directions to concert with you the most satisfactory mode of your performing the journey. The nature of the case will show the necessity of your coming without delay, if you incline to accept this invitation.

*To the Rev. Samuel Kirkland—per Mr. James M. Reed, express. 25th February, 1792.*

SIR:

I have received your letter of the 13th, with its enclosures, by Mr. Reed.

I transmit you a letter for Captain Brandt, whose presence here is considered of great importance. You will, of course, spare no pains in endeavoring to induce him to come; the means you will carefully devise.

In case of his compliance, you will arrange with him the most satisfactory mode of travelling, which ought to be as flattering to him as may be; and you will accompany him.

It will be important that the Buffalo and Genesee Indians also come, particularly the former. In case of their journey, you will inform me duly thereof, and send them under the care of General Chapin, or such other person as you shall judge proper, with suitable interpreters, while you accompany Captain Brandt.

I have ordered Mr. Reed three hundred dollars; agreeably to your request.

*The Secretary of War to the Rev. Samuel Kirkland—per Colonel Procter and Lieutenant Sedam.—7th March, 1792.*

Sir:

I have received your favor of the 25th ultimo. I am heartily glad you have succeeded in obtaining the chiefs to come with you. I am sensible the number, with some people, will be considered as objectionable, but I am induced to believe that your prudence has been properly exercised on this point.

In order to secure the Indians from any insult, I have persuaded Colonel Procter and Lieutenant Sedam to meet and conduct you to this city.

It would be proper that I should be acquainted, at least a week before your arrival, how they are to be lodged, whether in one house, or any distinction made in the manner of their accommodation.

I would have them satisfactorily treated on the road; in order to this end, I have sent you, by Lieutenant Sedam, seven hundred dollars.

You will remember that duplicate vouchers must be produced for all expenditures.

It is the desire of the President of the United States that no pains, or even reasonable expense, should be spared to obtain a visit from Captain Brandt. You will therefore arrange this matter on the best possible footing, on receiving my letter of the 25th ultimo.

*Speech of the President of the United States to the chiefs and representatives of the Five Nations of Indians, in Philadelphia.—23d March, 1792.*

SACHEMS AND WARRIORS OF THE FIVE NATIONS: It affords me great satisfaction to see so many of you, who are the respectable chiefs and representatives of your several tribes; and I cordially bid you welcome to the seat of Government of the United States.

You have been invited to this place by Colonel Pickering, at my special request, in order to remove all causes of discontent, to devise and adopt plans to promote your welfare, and firmly to cement the peace between the United States and you, so as that, in future, we shall consider ourselves as brothers indeed.

I assure you that I am desirous that a firm peace should exist, not only between the United States and the Five Nations, but also between the United States and all the natives of this land; and that this peace should be founded upon the principles of justice and humanity, as upon an immovable rock.

That you may partake of all the comforts of this earth, which can be derived from civilized life, enriched by the possession of industry, virtue, and knowledge; and I trust that such judicious measures will now be concerted to secure to you, and your children, these invaluable objects, as will afford you just cause of rejoicing while you live.

That these are the strong and sincere desires of my heart, I hope time and circumstances will convince you. But, in order that our peace and friendship may forever be unclouded, we must forget the misunderstandings of past times. Let us now look forward and devise measures to render our friendship perpetual.

I am aware that the existing hostilities with some of the Western Indians have been ascribed to an unjust possession of their lands by the United States. But be assured, that this is not the case; we require no lands but those obtained by treaties, which we consider as fairly made, and particularly confirmed by the treaty of Muskingum, in the year 1789.

If the Western Indians should entertain the opinion that we want to wrest their lands from them, they are laboring under an error. If this error could be corrected, it would be for their happiness; and nothing would give me more pleasure, because it would open to both of us the door of peace.

I shall not enter into further particulars with you at present, but refer you to General Knox, the Secretary of War, and Colonel Pickering, who will communicate with you upon the objects of your journey, and inform me thereof.

As an evidence of the sincerity of the desires of the United States for perfect peace and friendship with you, I deliver you this white belt of wampum, which I request you will safely keep.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

[On the 13th of March, a deputation of the Five Nations, consisting of fifty, arrived in Philadelphia. They were invited through the agency of Mr. Kirkland, for the purpose of attaching them to, and convincing them of, the justice and humanity of the United States; and also, to influence them to repair to the hostile tribes, in order to use their efforts to bring about a peace. These objects appeared to be effected, and they departed to carry them into execution. Besides abundant presents, fifteen hundred dollars, annually, were stipulated to these Indians by the President and Senate of the United States, for the purpose of attempting to civilize them.

All the various speeches, to and from them, have not been deemed necessary to be here inserted. The speeches of the President of the United States to them, of the 23d of March, soon after their arrival, and of the 23d of April, before their departure, together with Colonel Pickering's speech to them, of the 30th of April, will show the general aspect of this conference.

They arrived at Buffalo creek in the beginning of June, but, owing to their frequent counselling, and dilatory manner of conducting business, they did not set out from fort Erie for the hostile Indians until the middle of September, when they were accompanied by the firm friend of the United States, the Cornplanter.

The result of their interference is not yet known, but may, with the determination of the hostile Indians, be daily expected.]

*Instructions to Captain Alexander Trueman, of the First United States' Regiment.—3d April, 1792.*

Sir:

Confiding in your judgment and abilities to execute the mission herein designated, I hereby request you, in the name of the President of the United States, to enter upon the duties thereof, with all possible despatch.

You will, therefore, immediately repair to Pittsburg. I have herewith given you an order to Captain Hughes, to furnish you with an escort, and a boat to transport you to fort Washington. On your arrival at that place, you will disclose to Lieutenant Colonel-commandant Wilkinson the object of your mission, and concert with him the proper means for carrying it into execution.

I have directed him, in a letter herewith delivered to you, to afford you all possible facility in pursuance of your orders.

I have also, herewith delivered you a speech for the Western Indians, with which you will repair to the Miami village, accompanied by such Indians, men or women, or both, as shall be judged best by you and Lieutenant Colonel Wilkinson. This speech is also accompanied by a belt. It will be of the highest importance that you shall have an interpreter capable fully of explaining your ideas.

You will observe that the speech is designed to effect a peace with the hostile Indians, on the terms of humanity and justice; your language must all, therefore, be to the same effect.

As the confederacy of Indians is supposed to be extensive, it will require time to bring your negotiations to a favorable issue. Your patience, your fortitude, and your knowledge of the human character, will all be tested by the objects of your mission.

It may be said on all occasions, and the issue will justify the assertion, that nothing is more desired than to remove all causes of discontent, and to establish a peace upon a firm foundation.

But, that, in order to bring about an event so pregnant with happiness to the Indians, they must instantly abstain from all further hostilities, recall their parties if they have any out, as we shall do, and let every thing be settled amicably.

If the chiefs of the hostile tribes can be induced to repair here, it is conceived the view of the population of the country, and the improvements of all sorts, will exhibit to their minds, in strong colors, the futility of their continuing the war. As a further inducement to repairing here, presents of clothing and silver ornaments may be stipulated. The Creek treaty, the treaty with the Cherokees, and the present manner in which the deputation of the Six Nations, now in this city, are treated, may be cited as strong proofs of the pacific and liberal intentions of the General Government.

Impressed verbally, as you have been, of the importance of a peace being concluded with the hostile Indians, little more need be added. I shall only say, that it is an event most devoutly desired by the President of the United States, and the people generally. If you shall be the instrument of effecting it, much personal reputation and honor will be the result; besides which, I am authorized by the President of the United States, that your expenses, while in the employment, shall be supported by the public, and that you shall be liberally rewarded in a pecuniary manner.

It will be important that you take with you some white, or other persons, to serve as messengers between you and the commanding officer, so that he may be informed, and through him, me, of your prospects, from time to time. If you should succeed, you will please to accompany the chiefs to this place; but if you should fail, you will join the army under the commanding officer, after stating in the most ample manner the progress and result of your proceedings.

I am, sir, &c.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

*Speech from the Secretary of War, to all the Sachems and Warriors of the tribes inhabiting the Miami river of Lake Erie, and the waters of the Wabash river, the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, and all other tribes residing to the southward of the lakes east of the Mississippi, and to the northward of the river Ohio, 4th April, 1792—per Captain Alexander Trueman.*

**BROTHERS:**

The President of the United States, General Washington, the Great Chief of the nation, speaks to you by this address. Summon, therefore, your utmost powers of attention, and hear the important things which shall be spoken to you concerning your future welfare; and after having heard and well understood all things, invoke the Great Spirit above to give you due deliberation and wisdom, to decide upon a line of conduct that shall best promote your happiness, and the happiness of your children, and perpetuate you and them on the land of your forefathers.

**BROTHERS:** The President of the United States entertains the opinion, that the war which exists is founded in error and mistake on your parts. That you believe the United States want to deprive you of your lands and drive you out of the country. Be assured this is not so; on the contrary, that we should be greatly gratified with the opportunity of imparting to you all the blessings of civilized life, of teaching you to cultivate the earth, and raise corn; to raise oxen, sheep, and other domestic animals; to build comfortable houses, and to educate your children, so as ever to dwell upon the land.

**BROTHERS:** The President of the United States requests you to take this subject into your serious consideration, and to reflect how abundantly more it will be for your interest to be at peace with the United States, and to receive all the benefit, thereof, than to continue a war which, however flattering it may be to you for a moment, must in the end prove ruinous.

This desire of peace has not arisen in consequence of the late defeat of the troops under Major General St. Clair; because, in the beginning of the last year, a similar message was sent you by Colonel Procter, but who was prevented from reaching you by some insurmountable difficulties. All the Senecas at Buffalo creek can witness the truth of this assertion, as he held, during the month of April last, long conferences with them, to devise the means of getting to you with safety.

War, at all times, is a dreadful evil to those who are engaged therein, and more particularly so where a few people engage to act against so great numbers as the people of the United States.

**BROTHERS:** Do not suffer the advantages you have gained to mislead your judgment, and influence you to continue the war; but reflect upon the destructive consequences which must attend such a measure.

The President of the United States is highly desirous of seeing a number of your principal chiefs, and convincing you, in person, how much he wishes to avoid the evils of war for your sake, and the sake of humanity.

Consult, therefore, upon the great object of peace; call in your parties, and enjoy a cessation of all further depredations; and as many of the principal chiefs as shall choose, repair to Philadelphia, the seat of the General Government, and there make a peace, founded upon the principles of justice and humanity. Remember that no additional lands will be required of you, or any other tribe, to those that have been ceded by former treaties, particularly by the tribes who had a right to make the treaty of Muskingum in the year 1789.

But, if any of your tribes can prove that you have a fair right to any lands, comprehended by the said treaty, and have not been compensated therefor, you shall receive full satisfaction upon that head.

The chiefs you send shall be safely escorted to this city; and shall be well fed and provided with all things for their journey; and the faith of the United States is hereby pledged to you for the true and liberal performance of every thing herein contained and suggested; and all this is confirmed, in your manner, by the great white belt, hereto attached.

Captain Trueman, the bearer, will show you the treaties which the United States have made with the powerful tribes of Indians south of the Ohio—the Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws. You will there have the most decisive proof of the justice and liberality of the United States towards the Indian tribes.

At present, there is in the city of Philadelphia, a deputation of fifty of the principal chiefs of the Five Nations, to wit: The Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, and Senecas. Were you to see, with your own eyes, the kind manner in which these chiefs are treated, you would never more think of lifting the hatchet against the United States, who are desirous of being your best friends.

Come, then, and be convinced for yourselves, of the beneficence of General Washington, the Great Chief of the United States, and afterwards return and spread the glad tidings of peace and prosperity of the Indians to the setting sun.

H. KNOX,

*Secretary for the Department of War, and Director of Indian Affairs.*

*The Secretary of War to Captain Joseph Brandt, 23d April, 1792, per Doctor Deodat Allen.*

SIR:

I have received your letter of the 27th of March, postponing your visit to this city until a period of thirty days after that date.

I regret exceedingly the existence of any circumstance which suspended your visit. But as the dispositions of the President of the United States remain the same, as to the objects mentioned in my former letter, I can with great truth assure you, that your visit at the time you proposed, will be cordially received.

General Chapin, who is appointed an agent to the Five Nations, will either accompany you to this city, or he will obtain some other person for that purpose, as shall be agreed upon between you and him.



*The Secretary of War to General Israel Chapin, 23d April 1792, per Doctor Deodat Allen.*

SIR:

I have the pleasure to inform you, that the President of the United States appoints you a deputy temporary agent to the Five Nations of Indians, until further directions, at the rate of five hundred dollars per annum.

It will be necessary that you should take the oaths which are herein enclosed, before a magistrate, and transmit the same to me.

I herewith transmit you, by the hands of Doctor Deodat Allen, the sum of four hundred dollars.

The main object in placing this sum in your hands at present, is to enable you to make a suitable provision for Captain Joseph Brandt, who it is expected will shortly make a visit to this city, and to request that you would either accompany him to this city, or that you would otherwise provide for his journey in a manner perfectly agreeable to him; and that you would give me due notice of his approach at least five days previously to his arrival here.

I shall shortly transmit you particular rules for your conduct in this office.

In the meantime I observe that it is the firm determination of the President of the United States, that the utmost fairness and kindness shall be exhibited to the Indian tribes within the United States.

That it is not only his desire to be at peace with all the Indian tribes, but to be their guardians and protectors against all injustice.

You will please to observe, that a due accounting of all moneys or goods, placed in your hands, will be rigidly exacted, and that you must always produce vouchers for every dollar expended.

*The Secretary of War to Doctor Deodat Allen, 25th April, 1792.*

SIR:

I request that you will please to proceed with the letter herewith delivered to Captain Brandt, who is again invited to repair to this city.

I have written to General Israel Chapin, at Genesee, who is appointed deputy agent, to make a suitable provision for Captain Brandt's journey, and to accompany him to this city. If General Chapin should not be able to perform the journey, I should hope you will do it; for which I shall compensate, as well as for the performance of the business herein requested.

I have also delivered herewith, a letter to General Chapin, and a warrant for four hundred dollars, on which you will receive the money and deliver the same to General Chapin.

*Message from the President of the United States to the delegation from the Five Nations of Indians in Philadelphia, 25th April, 1792.*

MY CHILDREN OF THE FIVE NATIONS! You were invited here at my request, in order that measures should be concerted with you, to impart such of the blessings of civilization as may at present suit your condition, and give you further desires to improve your own happiness.

Colonel Pickering has made the particular arrangements with you, to carry into execution these objects, all of which I hereby approve and confirm.

And in order that the money necessary to defray the annual expenses of the arrangements which have been made, should be provided permanently, I now ratify an article which will secure the yearly appropriation of the sum of one thousand five hundred dollars, for the use and benefit of the Five Nations—the Stockbridge Indians included.

The United States having received and provided for you as for a part of themselves, will, I am persuaded, be strongly and gratefully impressed on your minds, and those of all your tribes.

Let it be spread abroad among all your villages, and throughout your land, that the United States are desirous not only of a general peace with all the Indian tribes, but of being their friends and protectors.

It has been my direction, and I hope it has been executed to your satisfaction, that during your residence here, you should be well fed, well lodged, and well clothed; and that presents should be furnished for your wives and families.

I partake of your sorrow on account that it has pleased the Great Spirit to take from you two of your number by death, since your residence in this city. I have ordered that your tears should be wiped away according to your custom, and that presents should be sent to the relations of the deceased.

Our lives are all in the hands of our Maker, and we must part with them whenever he shall demand them; and the survivors *must submit* to events they cannot prevent.

Having happily settled all your business, and being about to return to your own country, I wish you a pleasant journey, and that you may safely return to your families after so long a journey, and find them all in good health.

Given under my hand, &c.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

*Instructions to General Israel Chapin, deputy temporary agent to the Five Nations of Indians—the Stockbridge Indians included, 28th April, 1792, per Joseph Smith.*

SIR:

Having transmitted you the original of the enclosed duplicate on the 23d instant, by Doctor Deodat Allen, I now transmit you, by Mr. Joseph Smith, the following general rules and orders, for your government as deputy temporary agent for the Five Nations.

Enclosed you have a law of Congress relative to Indian affairs, and certain regulations which have been delivered to the superintendents; all of which you will observe, as far as the same shall be applicable to you as deputy agent.

Arthur St. Clair, Esq. the Governor of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio, is the superintendent for the Northern district. You being, therefore, under him, will correspond with, and inform him of all general occurrences in your agency, and receive and obey his orders in all things relative thereto; and at the same time you will constantly correspond with me as Secretary of War, and receive and obey all orders I shall transmit to you, as the orders of the President of the United States.

It being important for the regular administration of the Departments of Government, that every transaction should be made with due form; you will, therefore, please to observe, that, for all sums and effects you receive, you must credit the United States, by the department through which you have received the said sums and effects. That for all your deliveries you will debit the United States, noticing the cause of such deliveries, and to whom; and in all practicable cases, you will take receipts for the articles and sums delivered; and for all other cases, you will have certificates of respectable witnesses, of the deliveries.

By adhering to these general principles, and keeping your accounts in a perspicuous manner, they will be passed with ease, and much perplexity prevented on your part.

That it is the most ardent desire of the President of the United States, and the General Government, that a firm peace should be established with the neighboring tribes of Indians, on such pure principles of justice and moderation, as will enforce the approbation of the dispassionate and enlightened part of mankind.

That it is the intention of the President of the United States, that an adherence to this desire, as to a well founded maxim, shall be the leading feature in the administration of Indian affairs, while he is at the head of the government.

That he shall lament, exceedingly, all occasions which shall either suspend or impede the operations of those principles, which he considers essential to the reputation and dignity of the republic.

That in pursuance of these ideas, he endeavored that a genuine state of their situation, and of the general dispositions of the United States, upon this subject, should be brought home to the minds of the Western Indians, before any coercion was attempted.

That, although the essays to this end were then ineffectual, yet it has been his directions, that similar intimations shall be continued.

That, therefore, every effort is making, in order to impress the hostile Indians with their past errors. That the United States require nothing of them but peace, and a line of conduct tending to their own happiness.

That all which is passed, shall still be buried in oblivion, provided they will immediately agree to a treaty of peace, in which they will obtain all they can possibly desire, and relinquish nothing; for we demand none of their lands.

That we are not sensible the hostile Indians, that is, the Miami and Wabash Indians, have any just claims to lands comprehended in the former treaties. But, notwithstanding, if they show they possess a fair right to any of those lands, they shall receive a liberal compensation for the same.

It is presumed, if these sentiments could be fully impressed on the minds of the hostile Indians, (and measures are taken for that purpose) that the establishment of tranquillity on the frontiers, would be the probable consequence.

But if the hostile Indians should, after having these intentions of the government laid fully before them, still persist in their depredations on the frontiers, it will be considered as the dictates of humanity, to endeavor to punish, with exemplary severity, so incorrigible a race of men, in order to deter other tribes, in future, from a like conduct.

In pursuance of these friendly sentiments, the United States have stipulated with the Five Nations the following article, and have thereon made the arrangements contained in your special instructions of this date:

“GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

“*To all who shall see these presents, greeting:*

“Whereas an article has been stipulated with the Five Nations of Indians, by, and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, which article is in the words following, to wit:

““The President of the United States, by Henry Knox, Secretary for the Department of War, stipulates, in behalf of the United States, the following article, with the Five Nations of Indians, so called, being the Senecas, Oneidas, and the Stockbridge Indians, incorporated with them the Tuscaroras, Cayugas, and Onondagas, to wit: the United States, in order to promote the happiness of the Five Nations of Indians, will cause to be expended, annually, the amount of one thousand five hundred dollars, in purchasing for them clothing, domestic animals, and implements of husbandry, and for encouraging useful artificers to reside in their villages.

“In behalf of the United States:

[L. s.] H. KNOX,

*Secretary for the Department of War.*

“Done in the presence of TOBIAS LEAR,  
NATHAN JONES.”

“NOW, KNOW YE, That I, having seen and considered the said article, do accept, ratify, and confirm the same.

“In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, and signed the same with my hand. Given at the City of Philadelphia, the twenty-third day of April, in the year of our Lord [L. s.] one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, and in the sixteenth year of the sovereignty and independence of the United States.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

“By the President:

THOMAS JEFFERSON.”

You will clearly understand, that the United States have, under the constitution, the sole regulation of Indian affairs, in all matters whatsoever. You will, therefore, receive no orders but from me, in the name of the President, and from the superintendent.

In all your transactions, your conduct must be marked with economy, and a due regard to the public interests. Your permanent appointment and your reputation, will materially depend on your attention to this order.

It will, therefore, be your duty, not only to guard the public property from waste or embezzlement, but to prevent any other person from doing the same. Your accounts will be rigidly examined, and any deviations from this order will be in your own wrong.

You are to understand, that any improper assembling of the Indians, will be considered as a violation of your orders, and will be severely censured, besides the expenses disallowed.

It will be proper, that you establish some certain mode of communicating with me, by confiding your letters to some persons of reputation, on the route from Canandaigua to Philadelphia.

Colonel Pickering is of opinion that Matthias Hollenback, of Wilkesbarre, Guy Maxwell, Esquire, at Tioga Point, and Mr. John Morris, at Newtown Point, would be proper persons for this purpose; I shall, accordingly, direct my letters to you through them, until I receive your further communications on the subject.

Given, &c.

H. KNOX,

*Secretary for the Department of War.*

*The speech of Timothy Pickering, commissioner, to the Sachems and Chiefs of the Five Nations.*

As some of you propose to attend the great council of Western Indians, soon to be held near the west end of Lake Erie, you are hereby authorized to assure those Indians of the sincere disposition of the United States to make peace with them. That there has been, probably, an unhappy mistake prevailing among them, relative to the claims of the United States to the lands northwest of the Ohio, as though we extended them even to the Mississippi, and to all the country between the lakes Erie, St. Clair, Huron, and Michigan. As you have in your hands the map of the country, you can explain it to them; and show what parts the United States have purchased at the treaties at fort McIntosh and Muskingum, and at the mouth of the great Miami, which runs into the Ohio. That we claim no lands but what belong to the nations who sold to us, that we claim not a foot of the lands of any nation, with whom we have yet held no treaties. That if, at the treaties held with other nations, there has been any wrong doing, the United States will do what is right, and make ample compensation. That, if they are disposed to treat with the United States, in order to make peace, and settle all matters in dispute, and they will send runners to give notice thereof, to the commanding officers of any of our posts, orders will be given for their friendly reception, and measures taken to conduct the chiefs and all others, who shall come to the treaty, to fort Washington, on the Ohio, near the mouth of the little Miami, where provisions in abundance will be ready for their support. And as the long continued hostilities may have rendered them jealous, the United States will deliver into their hands a proper number of officers, as hostages for the safety of the chiefs, and all who shall attend them at the treaty. Fort Washington is proposed as the most suitable place for the treaty, because it is but a few steps from the country of the Western Indians; because provisions can be got there in plenty; and because there will be commissioners on the spot, to treat with them.

If they enter into a treaty, the Western Indians will experience the friendship of the United States, as you have done; and those who are the instruments in bringing about a peace, will be liberally rewarded, while they will receive the thanks and blessings of many nations.

In behalf of the United States:

TIMOTHY PICKERING, *Commissioner*.

Dated at Philadelphia, the thirtieth of April, 1792.

[The Five Nations, especially the Senecas, manifesting great uneasiness at the proposal of holding a treaty at fort Washington, whither they said the hostile Indians would not come, the passage here written, was added:]

"Although the Western Indians would be perfectly safe, in attending a treaty at fort Washington, yet, if they are unwilling to go to that place, we will meet them at some other, convenient to them and to us; as on the Muskingum, or Big Beaver creek, or twenty or thirty miles up French creek, above Venango, at places where there are no forts."

*The Secretary of War to Colonel Timothy Pickering.—May 3d, 1792.*

SIR:

I have received your letter of this date, relatively to the presents designed for the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, and Stockbridge Indians; all which shall be complied with.

Will you be so good as to stipulate with Captain Hendricks, and his brother, a satisfactory compensation for his journey? If the object shall be effected conspicuously by his means, he shall, in addition to the compensation, have five hundred dollars, his brother two hundred, and the Delaware the same.

Pray have the goodness this day to inform Colonel Louis, explicitly, of the intentions of the Government, and of the measures which will be proper for him to pursue in concurrence therewith. He ought to be well clothed, and have money, so that he may return immediately.

*The Secretary of War to General Israel Chapin.—8th May, 1792.*

SIR:

Captain Hendricks, the bearer, and his brother, having been themselves convinced of the moderation and justice of the intentions of the United States towards the hostile Indians, propose attempting to display the same to the said Indians.

Captain Hendricks proposes obtaining a passage in a canoe from Buffalo creek. He will show you his instructions. As it is of great importance there should be no delay or impediment in his going forward, I request that you would accompany him to Buffalo creek, and stimulate his instant departure.

The horses which Captain Hendricks and his brother ride will be delivered to you, together with the saddles and bridles, all of which you will sell for the most they will fetch, and charge yourself with the proceeds, and inform me of the amount thereof.

*Instructions to Captain Hendrick Aupamut, Chief of the Stockbridge Indians.—8th May, 1792.*

You having agreed to repair to the great council of Indians, soon to be held at the Miami river of lake Erie, in order to convince them of the moderation, justice, and desire of the United States for peace, are to regard this letter as the general rule of your conduct.

You will immediately repair to General Israel Chapin, in the Genesee country, having the charge of Indian affairs in that district. He will accompany you to Buffalo creek, or such other place upon lake Erie as shall be agreed upon, and make arrangements for your immediate departure for the Miami river.

Upon your arrival at the assembled council, you will, in the manner you shall judge best, inform the said Indians of the desire of the United States for peace; that they claim no Indian lands but those purchased at a fair treaty.

That all the stories they have heard to the contrary must be disbelieved. You having been informed upon this subject, and being furnished with a map of our claims, will be able to be precise upon this subject.

They must be sensible, if they will reflect, that our desires of peace do not arise from any fear of a war, but for the sake of humanity.

Inform them that we have also despatched officers from the Ohio to them, in order to give them the same information, and that they must treat these officers kindly.

You will also inform them that General Putnam will be sent by the President of the United States to conclude a truce, and in order to this end, he will be at fort Jefferson, our advanced post, to which place they must send an escort to receive him, which escort you will accompany.

That, if they are desirous of peace, they must instantly despatch runners to call in all their war parties; and that, until the issue of these offers are made known, they may not be apprehensive of our striking their towns.

As General Putnam will be waiting at fort Jefferson, it will be absolutely necessary that you go personally and inform him of the dispositions of the council of Indians, whether favorable or otherwise.

The business on which you are employed is of high importance to the United States, and honorable to yourself. In order to execute it properly, will well deserve your highest exertions and perseverance. Let nothing, therefore, be wanting on your part, but push forward with all your might.

Given, &c.

H. KNOX.

*The Secretary of War to Mr. John Heckenwelder.—18th May, 1792.*

SIR:

I have the honor to inform you that the United States have for some time past been making pacific overtures to the hostile Indians northwest of the Ohio. It is to be expected that these overtures will soon be brought to an issue, under the direction of Brigadier General Putnam, of Marietta, who is specially charged with this business.

He is now in this city, and will be in readiness to set out on Monday next; and being acquainted with you, he is extremely desirous that you should accompany him in the prosecution of this good work.

Being myself most cordially impressed with respect for your character and love for the Indians on the purest principles of justice and humanity, I have acquiesced cheerfully in the desire of General Putnam.

I hope sincerely it may be convenient for you to accompany or follow him soon, in order to execute a business which is not unpromising, and which, if accomplished, will redound to the credit of the individuals who shall perform it.

As to pecuniary considerations, I shall arrange them satisfactorily with you.

*The Secretary of War to Mr. John Heckenwelder, at Bethlehem.—21st May, 1792.*

SIR:

I was very much satisfied to receive your letter of the 19th. But, by some mistake, General Putnam was not informed of it until to-day. He will set out for Pittsburg to-morrow, and as he will travel slowly, he hopes you will arrive there about the same time with him. But, if not, he will wait for you.

Any sum you may require as an advance, shall be paid to your order.

*The Secretary of War to Major Alexander Trueman.—22d May, 1792.*

SIR:

This will be delivered you by Brigadier General Putnam. He has been charged by the President of the United States with a similar commission to the one given to you. This has not been done from any distrust of your zeal or exertion. But the importance of the object, and the contingencies to which the persons employed in the business are subject, have induced the President of the United States to employ General Putnam in addition to you. If you shall have succeeded, it will be a fortunate circumstance for you. If you should have entered upon the business, you will find great satisfaction in assisting General Putnam in its prosecution and termination.

It will ever afford me satisfaction to reflect on the patriotism and cheerfulness with which you undertook the mission, and I hope will redound greatly to your honor.

*Instructions to Brigadier General Rufus Putnam.—22d May, 1792.*

SIR:

As you have, at the request of the President of the United States, agreed to attempt to be present at the general council of the hostile Indians about to be held on the Miami river of lake Erie, in order to convince the said Indians of the humane dispositions of the United States, and thereby to make a truce or peace with them, it is proper that you should receive all due information and instructions relative to your mission.

You have herewith delivered to you—

*First.* A copy of the treaty of fort Stanwix, made on the 22d day of October, 1784.

*Secondly.* A copy of the treaty of fort McIntosh, made the 21st January, 1785.

*Thirdly.* A copy of the treaty with the Shawanese, made at the Miami, in January, 1786.

*Fourthly.* And of the treaties with the Six Nations, and with the Wyandots, &c. concluded at Fort Harmar on the 9th of January, 1789.

These last mentioned treaties confirm nearly the bounds of the treaties made at fort Stanwix, in 1784, and fort McIntosh, in 1785.

And, that there should be no mistake as to the boundaries claimed by the United States, by virtue of the said several treaties, you have herewith delivered to you a map, whereon the boundaries are clearly marked. You will observe that there are several reservations to the United States marked within the Indian lands. Information has been received that the Indians consider these reservations with great uneasiness. If, upon your bringing this subject to view at the council, it should appear to be the case, you may express your opinion, that, upon an ultimate adjustment of differences, the said reservations may be relinquished by the United States, excepting for those parts about the fort at Detroit, which will be necessary for the garrison.

The chiefs of the Five Nations of Indians, who were so long in this city, lately, were astonished at the moderation of our claim of land, it being very different from what they have been taught, by designing people, to believe.

It would seem that the Indians have been misled with respect to our claims, by a certain map, published in Connecticut, wherein are laid out ten new States, agreeably to a report of a committee of Congress.

The United States are desirous, in any treaty which shall be formed in future, to avoid all causes of war, relatively to boundaries, by fixing the same in such a manner as not to be mistaken by the meanest capacity. As the basis, therefore, of your negotiation, you will, *in the strongest and most explicit terms*, renounce, on the part of the United States, all claim to any Indian land which shall not have been ceded by fair treaties, made with the Indian nations.

That we conceive the treaty of fort Harmar to have been formed by the tribes having a just right to make the same, and that it was done with their full understanding and free consent.

That if, however, the said tribes should judge the compensation to have been inadequate to the object, or that any other tribes have a just claim, in both cases they shall receive a liberal allowance, on their finally settling all disputes upon the subject.

That, with respect to the lands ceded or retained by the treaty with the Shawanese of the Miami of the Ohio, doubts are entertained of any rights possessed by the said Shawanese, excepting those of sufferance, by the tribes who justly claim the same. But, if the rights to the Shawanese should be conceded by the other neighboring tribes, who should think proper to confirm the boundaries marked for the said Shawanese, the United States will abide thereby.

As the United States have never made any treaties with the Wabash Indians, although the said Indians have been repeatedly invited thereto, their claims to the lands east and south of the said Wabash have not been defined.

This circumstance will be a subject of your inquiry with the assembled Indian tribes; and you may assure the parties concerned, that an equitable boundary shall be arranged with them.

*You will make it clearly understood, that we want not a foot of their land, and that it is theirs, and theirs only; that they have the right to sell, and the right to refuse to sell, and that the United States will guaranty to them their said just right.*

That all we require of the Indians is a peaceable demeanor; that they neither plunder the frontiers of their horses, or murder the inhabitants; that the United States are bound to protect the inhabitants at the risk of every inconvenience of men and money.

You will represent to them, that a new state of things has taken place in the United States; that, formerly, we were an association of several separate States, like their several separate tribes, and that there was no portion of union and strength sufficient to regulate the several parts, as belonging to the same machine.

But, that now we have a General Government, embracing all parts of the Union, as it respects foreign nations and Indian tribes. That General Washington is placed at the head of this government, and that he, or some person immediately authorized by him, must make all treaties with the Indian tribes.

That, therefore, in future, all the Indian nations may rest with great confidence upon the justice, the humanity, and the liberality of the United States.

That it is not only the sincere desire of the United States to be at peace with all the neighboring Indian tribes, but to protect them in their just rights, against lawless, violent white people. If such should commit any injury on the persons or properties of a peaceable Indian, they will be regarded equally as the enemies of the General Government, as the Indians, and will be punished accordingly.

Let the Indians at the said council know fully, that the United States are friends with the Creeks, to whom we give fifteen hundred dollars annually; with the Cherokees, (excepting a few outcasts, who have been leagued with the Shawanese) to whom we also give fifteen hundred dollars annually. That we have treaties of peace with the Choctaws and Chickasaws, to whom we shall probably assign an annual allowance, as they have proved themselves our friends.

That we have, also, lately allowed the Five Nations, to wit: the Senecas, Cayugas, Oneidas, including the Stockbridge tribe, Onondagas, and Tuscaroras, the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, annually.

That the United States are highly desirous of imparting to all the Indian tribes the blessings of civilization, as the only mean of perpetuating them on the earth.

That we are willing to be at the expense of teaching them to read and write, to plough, and to sow, in order to raise their own bread and meat, with certainty, as the white people do.

In short, that the United States, willing to believe that the conduct of the hostile Indians hitherto, has been more the effect of misrepresentation of bad people, than any hardened malignity of the human heart, are desirous of forgetting, and burying deep forever, all the evils which have passed, and to administer such good things to the said Indians, as will make them rejoice forever, at the annual return of the day on which they may conclude a treaty with the United States.

You will inform the hostile Indians, that these sentiments are not the offspring of the defeat of the 4th of November last; but that they arise from the purest desires to avoid the further effusion of blood.

That our dispositions for peace are not the consequence of any apprehensions of the issue of the war, may be made apparent to the Indians by a comparison of *the strength and resources* of the United States and the Indians.

That we entertained these dispositions for peace early in the last year, and attempted to send various messengers accordingly, but who were prevented by unforeseen circumstances.

The Senecas, whom Colonel Procter persuaded to accompany him to the Miami village, will be a good witness to the truth of this; as will Captain Hendricks, the chief of the Stockbridge Indians, who also made considerable progress in his journey, but was stopped at the Grand river, north of lake Erie.

Two persons were engaged, in January last, to repair to the Miami village, and actually proceeded as far as Niagara, where they were stopped—their business not being known.

February 10th.

Brigadier General Wilkinson was directed, as you will particularly observe by the extract (A) of my letter, herewith delivered, to intimate, by himself and Major Hamtramck, our desire for peace.

Doctor Brown was chosen to repair to the Miami village, for this purpose, and it is probable that he is on his mission accordingly.

Major Hamtramck, in his letter of the 31st of March, a copy of which you have delivered you, states, that besides making peace with the Wea and Eel River Indians, he has despatched agents to most of the hostile Indians west of the Wabash and Omee rivers.

You have, also, herewith delivered you, copies of the instructions to Major Trueman, and the speech with which he was charged to the hostile Indians, dated the 3d of April. Every thing which can be effected by an ardent zeal, may be expected from the major's mission; and you will please to confide in, and employ him in your business, agreeably to my letter to him, herewith delivered to you.

The chiefs of the Five Nations who were lately in this city, have agreed to repair to the Great Council about being held. They departed this city, apparently well impressed with the justice and humanity of the United States, and stipulated to use their highest exertions to effect a peace.

Colonel Louis ———, of the Caynawagas, also came here to inform the Government that the Seven Castles, so called, in Canada, had been invited to the council to be held at the Miami river of lake Erie. He being also convinced of the justice of the United States, promised to use his influence towards a peace.

Captain Hendrick Aupaumut, chief of the Stockbridge Indians, and his brother, have also gone specially charged to prepare the way for your reception, and to meet you at fort Jefferson. His instructions you have also delivered to you.

The recital of these several measures are made, in order to show you that the business is in a considerable degree matured.

I have written to Mr. John Heckenwelder, of Bethlehem, to accompany you, which he has promised to do, but he cannot set out from Bethlehem until the 25th instant; but he will probably overtake you at Pittsburg or Marietta. This person superintended one of the Moravian towns in the Muskingum, and has a general acquaintance with, and influence over, the Wyandots and Delawares.

Much good may be expected from the agreement made by Major Hamtramck with the Wabash Indians. It is hoped it will be a happy introduction to a general peace. Their influence and agency may be expected with the other Indians; and you may obtain from them escorts and messengers to the hostile Indians.

You have herewith delivered to you an invoice of Indian goods, at fort Washington, and an order for the same. These goods, or part thereof, may be presented to the Wabash Indians, who have agreed with Major Hamtramck, provided it should be the joint judgment of Brigadier General Wilkinson and yourself, but under such restrictions as to preclude all abuses.

Besides these goods, you have delivered to you twenty sets of silver ornaments for such of the principal chiefs as shall come to a pacific agreement, and also nose and ear jewels.

Besides the above, a further provision of goods will be made immediately, and forwarded to fort Pitt, to a considerable amount; the disposition of which will be hereafter directed.

Your first great object, upon meeting the Indians, will be to convince them that the United States require none of their lands.

The second, that we shall guaranty all that remain, and take the Indians under our protection.

Thirdly. They must agree to a truce, and immediately to call in all their war parties. It will be in vain to be negotiating with them while they shall be murdering the frontier citizens.

Having happily effected a truce, founded on the above assurances, it will then be your primary endeavor to obtain from each of the hostile and neighboring tribes two of the most respectable chiefs, to repair to the seat of the Government, and there conclude a treaty with the President of the United States, in which all causes of difference should be buried forever.

You will give the chiefs every assurance of personal protection while on their journey to Philadelphia, and, should they insist upon it, hostages of officers for the safe return of the chiefs, and, in case of their compliance, you will take every precaution by the troops for the protection of the said chiefs, which the nature of the case may require.

But if, after having used your utmost exertions, the chiefs should decline the journey to Philadelphia, then you will agree with them on a plan for a general treaty.

In considering upon this plan, perhaps Pittsburg, or its vicinity, would be as proper a place as could be decided upon. Provisions could be procured in abundance, and it would be the point to which the goods could be easily transported.

In this event, it will be necessary that I should be informed by the earliest opportunity, in order that the principles of, and arrangements for, the treaty, should be fixed.

It will also be of the highest importance that you keep General Wayne constantly informed of your progress and prospects, as his movements will be governed by your information.

As it may be necessary for you to conciliate some chiefs by money, and also to obtain runners, you have delivered you a warrant on the treasurer for one thousand dollars, for which you will be held accountable.

Of all your disbursements, either of money or goods, you will keep fair accounts, supported by vouchers, in all possible cases, or of witnesses as evidences of the delivery of goods.

As this will be considered as an extra service from your military employment, your expenses will be paid by the public; and, if you succeed in effecting a peace, you are hereby promised, in behalf of the United States, a handsome pecuniary reward.

In case any accident should happen to you, while employed in this mission, you may rest assured the Government will make a suitable provision for your family.

It has been conceived, that, were you to repair to fort Washington, and thence to fort Jefferson, you would, more readily than from any other point, find a communication with the hostile Indians. Upon a nearer approach,

you will form your own judgment, and take your own measures. Having given you a view of the object, and the train in which things are, the rest must be left entirely to your discretion.

But I cannot close these instructions without urging you to the highest possible exertions in bringing the war to a close, and of devising every proper means for that purpose.

An Indian war is destructive to the interests of humanity, and an event from which neither dignity or profit can be reaped. It has been imposed on the Government by strong causes, which it could not control or prevent; and the sooner it is terminated the better.

You may be assured that all the stipulation of rewards you make shall be fully complied with, and they ought to be liberal.

On your arrival at fort Washington, all the women and children belonging to those tribes with whom Major Hamtramck has made peace, are to be well clad, and released from their captivity; the women to have some of the silver ornaments presented to them.

Enclosed you have a letter to Brigadier General Wilkinson, on the subject of the release of the above described prisoners.

These instructions are given by the authority of the President of the United States, and are to be regarded accordingly.

Given, &c.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

(A.)

“The objects on which I now write, are of great importance.

“In the first place you will instruct Major Hamtramck that he send intelligent and confidential agents of the French inhabitants, as well as the friendly Indians among the hostile Indians, to endeavor to impress these sentiments on them: that the United States require nothing of them but to be at peace; that we wish for none of their lands; that we should be happy if they would afford us the opportunity of convincing them of the truth of these assertions. But, in order thereto, they must manifest sincere dispositions on their part, by a proper representation of all their tribes, who will be permitted to repair to fort Washington, to state any grievances under which they labor, or suppose they labor, from the United States.

“That, if they fail to give this proof of their desire for peace, the United States will be compelled to raise a sufficient force, to punish them for their past, and to prevent their future crimes.

“In order to enable the major to execute this business with effect, you will send him, with the instructions upon the subject, one thousand dollars, for which he will be held accountable. I have enclosed an order on Mr. Swan for this sum, and a further order for the same sum, to be delivered to you, for similar objects. You will endeavor, either by your prisoners, or such other means as you may devise, to send similar messages, independent of the messages through Major Hamtramck.

“I have, by the way of the lakes, also, sent similar messages, by two persons, whose names I am unwilling to commit to paper; but, if they come within your command, they will be sufficiently able to demonstrate the authenticity of their mission.

“The public mind has received strong impressions in favor of peace with the Indians, and a prejudicial clamor has been raised against the war. It is, therefore, the direction of the President of the United States, that every possible expedient be devised, to place before the hostile Indians their true situation.

“I rely, with great confidence, upon your endeavors on this head, so that the most unequivocal evidence may, hereafter, be exhibited, that every proper measure has been taken to produce a peace without further conflict.”

*The Secretary of War to Captain Joseph Brandt.—27th June, 1792.*

SIR:

You have been invited to the seat of the General Government as a chief of the Six Nations, and one who has a general interest in the soil and the welfare of the Western Indians.

The main purpose of the invitation is to explain to you the humane disposition of the President of the United States, as well in regard to the hostile Indians as to the Indian tribes generally; hoping from your general character for intelligence and attachment to the Indian interest, that you will fully and truly unfold to them those things which may conduce to their happiness.

There are many circumstances which induce the opinion, that some of the hostile Indians are entirely mistaken as to the object of the war, and that they have joined therein from an apprehension and belief that the United States have formed the design of wresting their lands from them. As you have been fully informed on this subject, and as you have agreed to repair to the assembled nations at the Miami river of lake Erie, you may be able to convince them of the contrary.

The present Indian war commenced with the Miamies and Wabash Indians, and the Shawanese. With the two former nations the United States have never been able to form any treaties. Partial hostilities seem to have existed, without intermission, from the year 1776 to the present time.

You may truly assure the hostile Indians—

1st. That the United States are willing to bury the red hatchet forever, and to forget all past evils

2d. That the United States require no Indian lands but those which have been ceded by treaties, made with the full understanding and free consent of the chiefs, and will restrain the whites from settling upon them.

3d. That we have thus estimated the treaty of Muskingum, herewith delivered to you, made and concluded on the 9th day of January, 1789, agreeably to the map herewith delivered to you.

4th. That if, however, it should hereafter be made to appear, either that the compensation then given was inadequate, or that other than the parties who made it have any just claims on the lands ceded thereby, that we shall be willing to give them a just compensation.

5th. That any compensations which shall be agreed upon shall be furnished annually, in such goods as shall be most for the comfort of the Indian families.

6th. That the United States will make arrangements to teach the Indians, if agreeable to them, to raise their own bread and cattle, as the white people do.

But it will be necessary to have a treaty, at some place to be agreed upon, where these points, and all others, shall be examined and amicably adjusted. As Major Trueman and Brigadier General Putnam will probably repair to the assembled council of Indians at the Miami river, it is probable some place suitable will be agreed upon by the Indians.

But it is conceived that it would be more satisfactory to the Indians were the chiefs to repair to this city, and here conclude a treaty: provided they could be convinced of their safety while upon the business. On this point we shall be ready to afford them the most solid satisfaction, either by giving them hostages or any escorts necessary for their safety.

If the treaty should be had at the seat of the General Government, all claims or points of dispute could be adjusted as they arise. But if commissioners should be appointed to go a considerable distance, their authority must be limited, and, of course, claims which may arise from the Indians, either could not be granted, or much time must be expended in obtaining new instructions from the Government. Besides, if a treaty should be made in Philadelphia, the President would have the satisfaction of forming an acquaintance with the chiefs, and of knowing that the treaty should be adjusted exactly according to his wishes.

But, in case of agreeing upon a place of treaty, either at any spot northwest of the Ohio, or in this city, it will be indispensably necessary that there be a complete representation of all the parties, so that whatever shall be then concluded, shall be binding upon all concerned.

If the hostile Indians listen, and agree to a treaty, then they must call in all their war parties. We have restrained our warriors until the effect of our pacific overtures be known, and they must do so likewise.

To you, who possess the information, it would be unnecessary to say, that these overtures are the offspring of pure humanity, and not from any apprehension for the consequences of the war. Your own observation of our numbers will have convinced you, that, in a long and continued contest with the United States, the Indians must be utterly ruined.

But the President of the United States is anxiously desirous, for the sake of humanity, of avoiding so great an evil. He cannot but hope, that, when the Indians fully understand that all their lands not fairly ceded are their own, and that they cannot be dispossessed thereof, excepting by a fair and voluntary sale, made under the authority of the United States, they will accede to a treaty which will secure them the blessings of the earth.

I am well aware of the labor and trouble the request herein contained will create. But it is fairly inferred, from the interest you discovered in the year 1786, and at subsequent periods, for the welfare of the Western Indians, and from your being impressed that their happiness is materially involved in making peace with the United States, that you will zealously concur in accomplishing so just and so benevolent an object.

I am, &c.

*The Secretary of War to General Israel Chapin, deputy temporary agent to the Five Nations of Indians.  
June 27th, 1792—per his son.*

SIR:

I have received your letter of the second instant, by your son, who, with Doctor Allen and Captain Joseph Brandt, arrived in this city on the 20th instant.

Captain Brandt's visit will, I flatter myself, be productive of great satisfaction to himself, by being made acquainted with the humane views of the President of the United States.

It was well judged to deliver Captain Brandt's son the horse you mentioned.

Doctor Allen's account will be settled and paid here. For the sums you advanced him you will be credited.

No horses have been purchased on the way to this city, as the journey was mostly performed by water.

For the sums your son expended down here, you will be credited two hundred dollars. He has been paid here for his services from the time of his setting out until his return home, at the rate of two dollars per day. And he has advanced to him, on your account, the further sum of six hundred dollars, for which you will be held accountable. About two hundred dollars of this sum, at the excess, may be expended, in order to defray their expenses back; which will leave the sum of four hundred dollars in your hands, to be appropriated as the public interests may require.

I am sorry you did not find it convenient to repair to this city, as certain sentiments of economy and modes of management of the Indians, might have been more successfully impressed than may be done by letter.

But I beg leave to observe strongly, that the system of the Indian expenses and allowances are by no means to be measured by the helter-skelter conduct which was observed under the late management, which, in several instances, were unjustifiably expensive.

None but discreet men, having a proper regard to their own characters, and who will be content with reasonable compensations, are to be employed in the Indian department under your direction.

As you at present are regarded favorably, as well for your zeal as your economy, it will be important to you that these principles be manifest in all your future conduct; and while you continue to make the public good the rule of your action, you may proceed with confidence, as you may depend upon support.

As to your being allowed a clerk, there is no such establishment. You may, however, be allowed occasional assistance, at a reasonable compensation; but at present no fixed assistant can be allowed.

Messrs. Pierce and Danforth have no exclusive right to trade with the Indians. If they assert any such thing, they do no honor to their recommendations, and exhibit themselves in the first instance as unworthy of confidence.

This will be manifest when the enclosed copies of the permission be examined, and when you are informed that Governor Clinton has also recommended for the same trade Abraham Fowler, and John Kane, to whom permissions are also given.

I am, &c.

*The Secretary of War to Israel Chapin, Junior.—27th June, 1792.*

SIR:

The sum of six hundred dollars has been delivered to you, on the account of your father, Israel Chapin, deputy temporary agent to the Six Nations.

Out of this sum, you are to defray the expenses of Captain Brandt, his servant and two horses, from this city to Niagara; and, also, of yourself and Doctor Deodat Allen, with this exception, that Doctor Allen has received an allowance for horse hire, or the transportation of himself from this city to the Genesee country.

Captain Brandt will take two horses from this city. Upon your arrival at Albany or Schenectady, you will for yourself purchase a low priced horse to take you home, and deliver him to your father.

I am, &c.

*The Secretary of War to his Excellency the Governor of the State of New York.—27th June, 1792.*

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 19th instant. Captain Brandt appears to be a judicious and sensible man. I flatter myself his journey will be satisfactory to himself and beneficial to the United States.

He appears anxious that his friend, the Fish Carrier, of the Cayugas, may be satisfied about their reservation. I have informed him that this affair is entirely under your Excellency's direction, who, I was persuaded, would do every thing in your power to accord to the reasonable desires of the Fish Carrier and his people. I have only to add that the Fish Carrier and his party seem at this moment to be a little ticklish, and that they, as a reason for their discontents, mention the affair of the reservation. It is well ascertained that a party of them were in the action of the fourth of November last.

I am, &c.

*The Secretary of War to Brigadier General Rufus Putnam, Fort Washington, via Pittsburg.—August 7th, 1792.*

SIR:

I have had the honor to receive your communications of the fifth, eighth, and ninth of July. I have no doubt but that poor Trueman has been sacrificed by savage barbarity! But it is still questionable, whether the motive thereto has been the blood-thirstiness of an individual; the desire of the Shawanese, and other inveterate tribes, to frustrate a peace; or a dictate of the general council. If either of the two former, peace may be yet attainable.

Captain Hendricks, accompanied by three friendly Indians, probably set out from Buffalo for the Omee river about the eighteenth of June. The Senecas would be later; and Captain Brandt would probably be at au Glaze about the twentieth of the present month. It would be an uncommon assemblage of unfortunate circumstances, if all our overtures fail.

You will cultivate and make peace with the Wabash tribes, to the utmost of your power: and you will judge how far your going to Post Vincennes, or any other place, will facilitate the object. Extend your treaties with



one tribe after another, as far as possible, always subjecting them to the ratification of the President and Senate of the United States.

The United States require no lands of the Wabash Indians, not heretofore ceded. Impress this idea upon all the tribes. Apply the goods at fort Washington to the purposes of the said treaties.

If it should so happen, that, in pursuance of your instructions, you should have an immediate opportunity of repairing to the hostile Indians, you will appoint such time for assembling, to the Wabash tribes, and all their connexions, as not to militate with the first object.

I will endeavor to have more Indian goods transported to fort Washington; and I hope that an opportunity, by a peace, will be presented you, of bestowing them to the benefit of the United States.

I have communicated a copy of your letter of the 8th ultimo to the President of the United States.

The advancement of the public interests being the sole object of my pursuit, and not the establishment of any particular opinions, I am sincerely obliged to you for the propositions relative to a different route by the Cayahoga.

No. II.

*Information received relative to the pacific overtures, and the disposition of the Indians Northwest of the Ohio.*

*Letter from General Rufus Putnam to the Secretary of War.*

FORT WASHINGTON, July 5th, 1792.

SIR:

My last letter was from Marietta, of the 23d ultimo. I was not able to leave that place until the 26th. I halted at Gallipolis one day, and arrived here the 2d instant, in the morning.

Soon after my arrival, General Wilkinson returned from Fort Jefferson, with the disagreeable news, that, on the 25th ultimo, about one hundred Indians made an attack on a party of our men, who were cutting hay, near fort Jefferson; that sixteen of our people were killed and missing; that four dead bodies only had been found. It is observable, that this happened the day (or at most but one day after the time) I had appointed to be at fort Jefferson, as notified to the Indians, in my speech sent them from Pittsburg, dated the 5th June.

It is said the Indians had three horses along; that they are generally dressed in white shirts, (one having a scarlet coat on;) that they came from, and returned towards, the lower part of the Tawa river.

On the 3d instant arrived here, Mr. Vego, and two other gentlemen from Vincennes, who report that, about the 28th of June, some Wea chiefs, sent by Major Hamtramck to Eel river, returned with news, that four men, going from some of our forts, with a flag, had been fired on by a party of Indians; that three of the men were killed on the spot; that the man who had the flag and papers was taken, and after keeping him one day they killed him also; that the Indians took the papers to some white man who could read; that the papers contained a long and good talk from a great chief; which, when the Indians understood, they were sorry for what they had done. If this account be true, there is little reason to doubt but Major Trueman, (if not Colonel Harden) has fallen a sacrifice, soon after they left fort Washington. These circumstances leave it very doubtful, in my mind, whether friend Hendricks will be permitted to come to fort Jefferson, or not; however, I think the matter will be reduced to a certainty in a short time.

With Mr. Vego came the Wea chief, whose wife and children are prisoners here; and with him three or four men whose relations are also prisoners. For the want of an interpreter, the affairs of these people have not been attended to yet; but an express is gone to Kentucky, for a man who understands their language, and expect him here in two days or three.

From Major Hamtramck's letter to General Wilkinson, and information by Mr. Vego, and others, the real intentions of the Wea and Eel river Indians appear to me very doubtful; to get back their prisoners, in the opinion of some gentlemen from Vincennes, is the principal object with them. But whatever their intentions may be, I think measures should be taken, as soon as possible, to complete a treaty with them, agreeably to the stipulations made with them by Major Hamtramck: for, however desirable an object it may be to bring their chiefs to Philadelphia, I believe it is at present altogether impracticable.

I am informed that they object strongly against the proposition made to them by Major Hamtramck, of coming to fort Washington; they say it is too far, and they were promised a treaty at fort Knox. It is my opinion that a person should be authorized to hold a treaty with them at fort Knox, (or at this place, if they will consent to come thus far) and complete the business as far as a commissioner can do it, agreeably to the articles stipulated with Hamtramck.

That some goods be given them, as an evidence of the ability and disposition of Government to serve them. That the boundaries of their lands be defined, but no proposition of purchase be made at present. That Government having by her justice (and a few acts of liberality, which will cost little) gained their confidence, their chiefs may afterwards be willing, and probably will be desirous, to make a visit to the seat of Government, and pay their respects to the Great Chief of the nation; and as to purchasing of their lands, you will find they will offer them for sale before the United States can have any occasion for them.

Beginning in this way with the tribes nearest to Vincennes, there is no doubt but others will soon follow their example; and probably in this way, most, if not all the tribes, westward of the Wabash, may be prevented joining, or soon detached from the more hostile nations.

The person to be employed on this business should be one well disposed towards the Indians, and against whom they entertain no particular prejudice; and it would be better still, if one can be found with whom they are acquainted, and for whom they have a particular kindness. But to return among the more hostile tribes: I do not yet despair of success; for although I have no doubt but many of the Shawanees, and others, at present shut their ears against, and reject every idea of peace; that they have murdered Major Trueman, and probably all the other white men that have been sent out; that it was a party of those fellows who came to fort Jefferson to take me off; yet I much doubt if those measures are countenanced by the chiefs in general; I rather believe they are the work of a few, who, by such means, endeavor to distract the councils of the more moderate, and thereby prevent a treaty's taking place, while a great majority are wishing for such an event. The same account that gives us reason to believe that Major Trueman, and others, are murdered, informs us, that the President's speech was preserved, and considered as a good one; and, if to murder me was the object of those who were lately at fort Jefferson, it proves that my speech had reached the Tawa river. Add to this, the influence that Captain Hendricks, with that of the deputy from the Six Nations, Colonel Lewis, and the deputies from the Seven Castles, may probably have when they arrive, and I think there is reason to hope the nations will yet consent to treat of peace.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem, sir, your obedient servant,

RUFUS PUTNAM.

Major General Knox, Secretary of War.

*From the same to the same.*

FORT WASHINGTON, 26th July, 1792.

SIR:

I herewith enclose a duplicate of my letter to you of the 22d instant, (which I forwarded by way of the wilderness, with copies of some speeches, which are connected with the business of that letter. Despatches to Major Hamtramck, on the subject, went off yesterday by express. I have requested him to send the speech, a copy of which you have enclosed, to the Wabash Chiefs, and similar ones, in my name, to as many other tribes as he shall think proper. I have considerable expectations from this business. Mr. Wells, the interpreter, whom I mentioned

to you in a former letter, tells me that Kaweahatta is a very sensible man; that the British account him the best speaker among all the Indian nations; that he is the greatest chief, and has more influence than any other man in the Wabash country; that when he, Mr. Wells, left Eel river, in June last, this chief was gone to the council on the Omee; but Mr. Wells thinks he is disposed for peace, although he declined to come down to the Post when invited by Major Hamtramck. He has two sisters, and other relations among the prisoners, and Mr. Wells thinks there is no doubt but on this message he will come down. Through the influence of this man, I am yet in some hopes to be admitted to speak with their high mightinesses the Shawanese, and other hostile chiefs.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

RUFUS PUTNAM.

Major General Knox, *Secretary of War.*

*From the same to the same.*

FORT WASHINGTON, 22d July, 1792.

SIR:

Jean Krouch, the principal Wea chief, who arrived here the 3d instant with Mr. Vego, on a visit to his family, died on the 16th. The prisoners I mentioned in my letter of the 14th instant, having made their escape from the Indians, and being then at fort Hamilton, have since arrived here; and by the information they give, especially Schaffer, whose deposition General Wilkinson forwards to you by this conveyance, there is the highest reason to believe, that Freeman, Trueman, and Hardin, are all murdered, with all the people who went with them, except one, who they considered as a servant, or person of no consequence, and for that reason spared. And if the squaw told true, it appears that Trueman must be murdered by order of the council, as a confirmation of their resolution not to make peace. When I add to this the circumstance that I hear nothing of Captain Hendrick, I conclude the Indians met on the Omee, or Tawa river, have rejected the overtures made them by the United States, in the several speeches sent to them; and that the prospect of my speaking with them through the channel first proposed, is now at an end. That, from the information received from the Wabash, mentioned in my former letters, together with the information received from Mr. Wells, the interpreter, and the two old Wea men, who came with Jean Krouch on a visit to their families, I conceive there is very little reason to expect any more of the chiefs from that quarter; or if any should arrive, it will be only such as have relations among the prisoners, who are of the inferior grades, and a treaty with them will be of no consequence; wherefore, I conceive that my tarrying here much longer, can be of no service whatever, except to receive your further orders, which I should certainly wait for, or return up the river, but for the following reasons, viz: It appearing highly probable that the principal chiefs from nearly all the Western tribes, with a great number of warriors, and others, may be collected at Post Vincent, if the business is seasonably attended to, that by a proper management, there is a prospect that most, if not all the Western tribes, may be detached from those nations who have originated the war, and return to, or be kept in a state of peace. That this is the only remaining channel by which there is the least prospect of my being able to speak with the more hostile tribes. That it is essential to the success of the business, that these Western Indians be met as soon as possible; at all events, before their hunting season commences. That, if the day should not be fixed on, and the Indians advertised of it, without waiting your further orders, so much time will probably elapse before an answer to my letters on this subject, or any orders in consequence of them, can arrive in this quarter, as may render the whole business abortive.

For these reasons, sir, I have been induced to form the resolution of going to Post Vincent, for the purpose of holding a treaty with the Western tribes, about the 20th of September, and shall take measures to have them invited to meet there for the purpose about that time.

Having communicated my resolution to General Wilkinson, and requested that an escort might be provided, and other arrangements made to enable me to prosecute the object, he has very politely assured me, that he "shall, with the utmost alacrity, make every practicable exertion for the accommodation of the movement."

I propose to leave this with Indian goods, Indian prisoners, &c. about the 15th of August. This delay is partly on the idea of a bare possibility that Captain Hendrick, or some other messengers of peace, may yet arrive from the north, and partly from the probability that some new orders may arrive from the War Office, as I find by some letters from Pittsburg, that you have been advertised of the murder of Trueman, and by a Pittsburg paper, I find Mr. Brandt has been with you in Philadelphia.

I hope that an answer to my letters respecting the business of the Wabash Indians, will arrive before the time proposed for holding the treaty; in which case, if Major Hamtramck is appointed the commissioner, I shall feel myself perfectly satisfied in being excused, and, at the same time, shall cheerfully afford him all the assistance in my power. But if I should be disappointed, and no further instructions or commission arrive, I shall, notwithstanding, prosecute the business of a truce, or peace, as far as circumstances and my present instructions will warrant me.

I have the honor to be, with the highest possible esteem and respect, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

RUFUS PUTNAM.

Major General Knox, *Secretary of War.*

*Indian Speech to General Putnam, and his answer.*

The following speech was delivered by one of the Wea men to General Putnam, at fort Washington, July 19th, 1792:  
COMPANION, OR CONFIDENT FRIEND:

I call you so, because brothers may sometimes differ, but companions never do. I am no chief, nor do I know well how to speak. This man (pointing to one sitting by) is a chief, but not a great chief; nor can he speak. The man who is dead was a chief, but not the greatest chief, and could speak well.

I fear these women and children will all die, if they remain here much longer. I pray you will take us along to the O. Post as soon as possible. I fear very few of our chiefs, if any, will come to this place; but a great many chiefs will meet you there, who can speak well. I pray, therefore, that you will go along with us to the O. Post as soon as possible.—[A string of wampum with two branches.]

*On the 20th of July, General Putnam made the following speech in answer to the foregoing:*

BROTHER:

You call me confident friend, which name is very good, but I wish us to retain the name of brother, since we were born on one island, and are of one family. 'Tis true, brothers sometimes differ, yet they soon unite again.

BROTHER: I feel very sorry for the loss of your chief, who was a great man, and a good speaker, and who was to transact the business between you and me. You spoke to me yesterday with tears in your eyes; yet I understood you. I can't say all to you at this time that I wish to say; but when our mourning shall have ceased a little, I shall be able to speak cheerfully.

BROTHER: I wish to make you happy in every respect; your women and children are under my care and protection, and I am making the necessary arrangements for our journey to the O. Post, where I hope and expect to see all your chiefs and great men, there to consult on, and make a lasting, peace between the Indian tribes inhabiting the Wabash country, and the people of the United States (or the Thirteen Great Fires.)

In thirty days I shall be ready to set out with you.—[A string of wampum of two branches.]

*The speech of Rufus Putnam, agent of the Great Chief, General Washington.*

To Kaweahatta, the Great Chief on the Eel river, and to all the chiefs and warriors of the Wyachtenos, and other Indian tribes living on the waters of the Wabash river.

**BROTHERS:** I am on my way to you from the great council fire of the United States, where the great and good chief, General Washington, resides. I am coming with the wishes of his heart to you, which are very good, and which I hope will make your hearts rejoice, when you hear them.

**BROTHERS:** Out of love to you I am come this long way. I wish you to become a happy people; and, believe me, nothing is wanting to make you so, but that you and the United States might once see and hear one another, and remove such obstacles against which we hitherto have stumbled. In order to obtain this end, I have appointed the twentieth day of September for us to meet each other at Post Vincent, there to consult each other in a friendly and brotherly manner: to wipe off all tears, to set our hearts aright, and to establish a lasting peace and friendship, taking one another by the hand as true brothers, and loving one another from all our hearts.

**BROTHERS:** You see something very good preparing for you; make yourselves ready, and come and see what it is. I expect to see you on the day appointed; your friends and relations I shall bring with me.—[A string of wampum with three branches.]

RUFUS PUTNAM, *Agent.*

FORT WASHINGTON, *July 24th, 1792.*

*Letter from General Putnam to the Secretary of War.*

FORT WASHINGTON, *August 16, 1792.*

SIR:

My last letter was dated July 26th, with which I enclosed a duplicate of one of the 22d of the same month, with copies of some speeches connected with the business of treating with the Indians at Post Vincent. I have been in anxious expectation to receive some information from you or General Wayne, before this time, that should have removed every doubt with respect to Major Trueman and the other messengers being murdered; as I conceive Captain Hendrick would ascertain that matter, and have it in his power to report to you or General Wayne, although he might not have it in his power to give me any information on the subject; but hearing nothing from Captain Hendrick, or any other quarter, to contradict the measure, I shall leave this to-morrow for Post Vincent, in pursuit of the object I wrote you in the letter above referred to.

The Indian prisoners, and goods for the treaty, started down the river this morning.

I flatter myself that a pretty large number of Indians will assemble, and accordingly have sent forward goods sufficient to supply about seven hundred, of different sexes and ages, with a blanket, stroud, or breech-clouts, leggins, and a shirt to each, besides thirty coats and thirty hats for chiefs, knives, looking glasses, and some other small articles; and I take with me some of the medals, arm and wrist-bands, and other jewels.

I feel exceedingly embarrassed on the occasion, lest, possibly, Captain Hendrick or some other friendly messenger should arrive from the north, in my absence, or that some instructions from the War Office may be issued, with which my visit to Post Vincent should be inconsistent. But the moral certainty of the murder of our flags, and so much time having elapsed without any intelligence relative to the primary object for which I came out, together with the prospect of rendering essential service to Government, by taking advantage of existing circumstances, which would probably be lost forever, if the present moment should not be embraced, I trust will render my conduct excusable, at least, if not commendable.

I mean such circumstances as these: That the chiefs have expressed a willingness to come to Post Vincent to treat, but no further; and if they are not soon gratified in this, they are every moment in danger, through the influence of bad neighbors, of forming worse resolutions; that, from the agreement of Major Hamtramck, they expect to be treated with at that place, and should Government not comply with that agreement, in what they consider as a reasonable time, the mischief might not easily be remedied. That the prisoners being taken along, will probably influence many to come to the treaty which otherwise would not.

And when they shall see these prisoners well clothed, and generously given up to their friends, with the report which they will make of their good usage whilst prisoners, it must have a very great and good effect with all who shall be present—a circumstance, this, which may never exist again. Besides, I am well assured, that some of the first characters among the Wabash chiefs refused to come in on Major Hamtramck's invitation, because he was no more than a war captain; and the further I have inquired into this business, the more I am convinced it is a matter of considerable consequence, and ought to be attended to: for I find they have no idea of war captains treating of peace—this province belongs to other characters, and it was for this reason that Kaweahatta, the great Eel river chief, refused to see Major Hamtramck last winter, but told his brother, who was a war captain, that he might go; that it was proper one war captain should speak with another.

To avoid this prejudice, and, also, that they might have an idea of the business I wish to speak with them upon, from their correspondence with the British, I have, in my speech sent among them, taken the character of agent of the great chief, General Washington, and that I may be consistent throughout, I have thrown by my uniform, and taken the habit of a citizen.

Such circumstances are trivial with us, and, perhaps, with some, may be thought laughable; but with this barbarous people, they are considered as matters of great moment; and if we mean to make a peace with them, we ought to accommodate ourselves to their ideas of propriety, especially those which they consider as essential to a treaty that is binding on them.

I shall make every possible exertion, in persuading these Western tribes to send a deputation to Philadelphia, and am not without hopes of prevailing with them on that head.

I presume that my letters, as late as the eleventh of July, must have reached you by the tenth instant, and if your answer is forwarded by express from Pittsburg, the despatches will reach fort Washington by the first of September, and General Wilkinson will immediately forward them to me at Post Vincent, where they cannot fail of arriving by the tenth or fifteenth of September. I made this calculation when I appointed the treaty, and I still hope to receive your instructions before the time of opening it.

*August 17th.*—I enclose you an abstract of Indian goods still remaining at fort Washington; some of these goods are much damaged, and, in my opinion, ought to be sold, and some others are not suitable for Indian purposes; there are four hundred and thirty-four and a half yards of lindsey, which is a darkish striped cloth, and which would answer very well for making into overalls and hunting shirts, to supply the riflemen and other scouting parties occasionally, when sent into the woods, as it is much more healthy than linen, and lighter than the common woollen, and, from the color, will serve for concealment much better than the common uniform.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Major General Knox, *Secretary of War.*

RUFUS PUTNAM.

*From the same to the same.*

RAPIDS OF OHIO, *August 21st, 1792.*

SIR:

The escort with the Indian prisoners, &c. arrived here yesterday, without any accident. The low state of the water obliges us to haul the goods, provisions, and baggage, by the rapids in wagons, which will occasion some expense, and cause two or three days' detention.

I enclose an extract from Major Hamtramck's letter to me of the 9th instant.

I wrote you very particularly on the 16th instant, from fort Washington, and have nothing new to add, except, that I hear that a person by the name of Harden, who lives some where near the Ohio, on this side of Cumberland river, is meditating a stroke at the Indians, in some quarter or other. I am told, from good authority, that he advertises publicly for volunteers on the occasion. He is said to be the same man who murdered a number of friendly Indians near Post Vincent, about three years ago. Should this wretch be successful in raising his party, and fall on the Wabash Indians at this time, it must undoubtedly put an end to all prospect of peace in that quarter; and all expenses which Government are at on this occasion, will be worse than thrown away.

It is thought by some, that few men will join Harden in his proposed expedition, and that he will not be able to strike any blow of consequence. But shall the United States suffer an individual thus to insult her authority with impunity? I hope not; but that proper measures may be adopted to punish every one who shall endeavor to set on foot an expedition against any Indians whatever, without proper authority therefor.

I have the honor to be, &c.

RUFUS PUTNAM.

Major General KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

[ENCLOSURE.]

*Extract of a letter from Major Hamtramck to Rufus Putnam, dated Fort Knox, Post Vincennes, August 9th, 1792.*

"I have to acknowledgè your letter of July 24th. Every arrangement to promote the public service will be attended to, with all possible exactness; but I am afraid that the lowness of the water will make it difficult for any boats or pirogues to ascend the Wabash. Your speech to the Wabash Indians has already been delivered to two nations, and will be delivered to the others as soon as possible. They appeared to be well pleased, and every thing will work right, if they are but sincere. I have also sent your speech to the Pattawatamies, by the son to the first king to that nation, who has been with me for some time, (I suppose as a spy) and he assures me that he will bring his nation to see you, as they sincerely wish to be at peace with the United States. I shall have some difficulty to send to the Illinois country, owing to the extravagant price they ask. However, it must be done. If all the Indians attend, they will draw about seven or eight hundred rations per day."

*Indian speech to Major Hamtramck.*

MY FATHER: Me, Lagesse, the first and great chief of the Pattawatamies, take upon myself to answer for all the nation here represented. We are very glad to hear from you, but sorry we cannot comply with your request; the situation of our affairs in this country prevents us. We are every day threatened by the other Indians, that if we do not take a part with them against the Americans, they will destroy our villages. This alone, my Father, makes it necessary for all the chiefs to remain at home.

Was we called to Post Vincennes, it might be done with ease and safety; but to go to Rocky river, on the Ohio, (meaning head-quarters) is at too great a distance from us.

MY FATHER: You tell us you are ignorant why the red people makes war on your white people; we are as ignorant of it as you are: for, ever since the beginning of the war, we have laid still in our villages, although we have repeatedly been invited to go to war; but, my Father, the confidence we have in you has prevented us from making war against you, and we hold you by the hand with a stronger gripe than ever.

MY FATHER: Keep up your spirits more than ever, for you have this year more red people to fight than you have had yet. Do your best to chastise the nation this year: for, if you do not, we shall have no more hopes, and we will be obliged to abandon our villages to the prey of our enemies.

If I could give you a hand I would do it, but I cannot; and I am glad if me and my people can have a quiet life this summer. If I had been disposed to believe all the reports I have heard, I would have made your messengers prisoners; for we are told they are spies, and that you have an army coming against us; but I am deaf to every thing that comes from the Miami. Every day we receive messengers from those people, but we have been deaf to them, and will remain so.

MY FATHER: It would be very necessary that you should have a garrison at Kahokia; it would be a convenient place for all the Indians of this country to speak at. A Father should be near his children, and it would give terror to the bad Indians.

We now all of us take you by the hand, and wish you success.

LAGESSE.

*General Israel Chapin to the Secretary of War.*

CANANDAQUA, July 17th, 1792.

Sir:

Agreeably to the directions I received for the purpose, I set out for Buffalo creek the 9th ultimo. It was out of my power to despatch Captain Hendricks as soon as I could have wished.

The chiefs of the Five Nations at first peremptorily insisted on his waiting to accompany them, and it was not without difficulty that they were induced to relinquish the point. After a council, which was protracted for several days, they, however, gave their consent. He set out in a bark canoe on the eighteenth, with suitable attendants and provisions. It was the opinion of the Indians, he would reach the place of destination in eight days. As I had possessed myself with all the information I expected, I would have returned home after the departure of Captain Hendrick, but the chiefs would by no means consent to my leaving them, while the treaty continued. And, indeed, I have not since been sorry, as I have reason to believe that my continuance has been the means of more perfectly reconciling the Onondagas and Cayugas. The far greater part, of both nations, have resided at Buffalo creek, ever since the last war. On my first arrival, the principal chief of the Cayuga nation, commonly known by the name of the Fish Carrier, and, indeed, the whole of both nations, were extremely disaffected. For the grounds of their disaffection, I must refer you, sir, to the speeches delivered to me on the occasion, which I ordered to be taken down in writing on the spot, and transmit to you by this despatch. After several conferences with the Fish Carrier, in which I was greatly assisted by several chiefs who attended Congress, he gradually relaxed in his severity, and at last became perfectly friendly. A number of young warriors had gone off in the spring, to join the hostile Indians: the Fish Carrier promised me that he would not only recall the party, but would go in person to the Southern treaty, and use every exertion to bring about a general pacification between Congress and the Southern Indians. That, after he had been useful, he would go and see General Washington; and could then take him by the hand with confidence and pleasure. Few Indian chiefs have a more extensive influence than the Fish Carrier. The alteration, therefore, of his sentiments, could not but afford me the highest pleasure. I can only express it as my private wish, that all his reasonable requests might be gratified. You have no doubt heard, sir, that a number of the Senecas were concerned with our people in cutting off a scout of hostile Indians. This event has occasioned a good deal of uneasiness among the Five Nations. Their resentment is peculiarly excited against the commander of fort Jefferson. They say, that, contrary to the advice he has received from Congress, he has excited some of their thoughtless young men to strike the tomahawk into the heads of their brothers; that it has occasioned an uneasiness towards the whole of

their nation, and thrown obstacles in the way of their influence in favor of their friends. The chiefs from Oneida did not arrive during the council: I should otherwise have been able to have despatched the chiefs of the Five Nations to the Southern treaty, previously to my leaving Buffalo creek. Two of the Massasoiga chiefs attended council with the Five Nations: their appearance was perfectly friendly. They expressed a wish to be made acquainted with our great men. The Mohawks were sent for from the Grand river; but, as Captain Brandt was absent, and their principal chief sick, they did not attend. Colonel Butler, the British superintendent of the Six Nations, was also requested to attend. He came as far as the garrison: the commanding officer would not permit him to proceed further. He, however, sent a speech to the Indians, in which he told them they were in the right path, and advised them to continue in it. I was visited by several British officers and gentlemen from the settlement of Niagara; they behaved with a politeness that seemed nearly to approach to real friendship. On the whole, every circumstance that respects the Six Nations, wears, at present, a most flattering appearance. The chiefs that went to Congress are our zealous friends: they particularly explained to the nations, who convened for the purpose, the speeches they had made and received while absent; the reception and treatment they received at Philadelphia: and I had the pleasure of observing, that they met with universal approbation.

From the best intelligence I could procure, the Southern nations rest in quiet, except the Delawares and Shawanese: neither can I learn that they at present have any thoughts of sending out war parties; but are very attentive lest an enemy should surprise their villages. The grand council of Indian nations are now convening at the falls of the Big Miami. It is thought it will be the largest ever known. The Indians from Canada are invited, and every day expected at Niagara. No offensive step will be probably taken until after the general deliberation; and, from the number of friends we shall have there, I am induced to expect a favorable issue. The Five Nations manifested gratitude to Congress for their intention of erecting schools among them, and providing them with blacksmiths. I would, however, inform you, sir, that it will be out of my power to do either, except greater encouragement is given; and, if I may be permitted to give my private judgment, if Congress would establish at present only one school to the west of Genesee river, and endow it with a stipend that would make it an object for a gentleman of character, it might prove of infinite service, both in conciliating the affections of the Indians, and in laying a foundation for their civilization. I would wish, sir, some direction, how far I am to distribute to the Indians. I am continually surrounded by a crowd of them, since my appointment. They all expect to be fed from my table, and made glad from my cellar. Some instances, too, of clothing, I have not been able to deny. I would suggest the idea, whether a small store of provisions and goods, to be distributed on necessary occasions, might not be a saving to the public.

I am, with respect, your most humble servant,

ISRAEL CHAPIN.

*Extract of a letter from Israel Chapin to the Secretary of War.*

CANANDAIGUA, August 14, 1792.

SIR:

Since I had the honor to write you, on the 17th instant, Captain Brandt, together with Doctor Allen and my son, have arrived at this place. The former appeared highly gratified with the attention paid him during his stay in Philadelphia, and appears to speak of it with pleasure; and I flatter myself his visit to that place will produce the desired effect. He made but a short stay at this place, being very unwell. He was anxious to proceed on his journey with as much speed as possible, and was desirous to have Doctor Allen accompany him as far as Niagara: and I wishing to have a continuance of his friendly disposition readily complied, and they arrived at Niagara the 24th ultimo, as Captain Brandt has informed me by letter, a copy of which I do myself the honor to enclose.

Doctor Allen proceeded on to fort Erie, at which place he was taken with a violent bilious fever, and at present remains there very sick. I think it may be depended on, that the Canada Indians, to the number of fifty or sixty, have gone on to the Miamis to attend the general council; and by the latest information I have obtained, the chiefs of the Six Nations were at fort Erie, waiting for a vessel to carry them on to attend the council with their brethren, and I sincerely hope the result of their deliberations will be a general and lasting peace.

The Governor of Upper Canada, after perusing the papers the Indians brought from Philadelphia, encouraged them to pursue the good work they had begun, and he would grant them every assistance in his power.

*From the same to the same.*

CANANDAIGUA, 24th September, 1792.

SIR:

I wrote you on the 14th and 25th ultimo, to which letters I have not received any answer, neither have I received any despatches from you since the 27th of June. Nothing material has transpired in this quarter, except the intelligence received from the Farmer's Brother is so considered. He informs, that, on his arrival at Detroit, he despatched two of the Seneca Indians who had accompanied the Canada Indians to that place, to Buffalo creek, (where they arrived about the 16th instant, and on the 22d two others arrived at this place, with a string of wampum from him) and informed that the Canada Indians, after their arrival at Detroit, saw a large collection of the hostile Indians; they remained at that place some days, without having any conference with them; that two of the Canada Indians went to the camp of the hostile Indians, and related to them the business which had brought them into their country. The hostile Indians informed them that their requests would not be granted, and any overtures for peace they would not listen to.

On the return of the Canada Indians to Detroit, the conversation among them was as follows:

What shall we do? We expected we were sent for to attend a treaty of peace. Why did they not, when they sent for us, request us to bring our guns with us? We should then have known what they wanted of us.

The next morning, the Canada Indians left Detroit, to repair to the place appointed to kindle the council fire at the rapids of the Miami. On their route they met an Indian on horseback, who informed them that he was sent to call all the Western nations to war, and was directed to call them timely, as they complained of being neglected, and that timely notice had never been given. At the rapids of the Miami, they were told, by Colonel Magee, the British agent, that it was unfortunate for them they had come so far from home to attend the council which was intended to have been held at that place; but that it was determined it should be removed to the mouth of the river Muskingum; that the Shawanese and Delaware tribes were the cause of a removal, and all his influence could not prevent it. Had it been held at that place he intended to have supplied all the Indians bountifully with provisions and clothing, but it would not now be in his power.

They also inform, that scouts were daily going out and returning with prisoners, scalps, &c.

That the hostile Indians reported, that the American army were within three days' march of the rapids of the Miami; that, on the return of the two Senecas to Detroit, they had met the Farmer's Brother, who had that day arrived with the other chiefs of the Five Nations, amounting to forty-two, at that place.

That Simon Girty addressed them thus: You suppose you have come to attend a treaty of peace; you are mistaken—the tomahawk will be presented to you. The Farmer's Brother then directed the two Senecas abovementioned to return to Buffalo creek, and give particular information to the tribes at that place; and likewise to give me information of their reception in that country, where he would remain, and should any thing of consequence take place, he would despatch another runner.

I have not heard any thing of Captain Hendrick since he left Buffalo creek; hope he is safe. Captain Brandt is recovering his health, and, from information, I think it will be re-established in a short time.

I leave this place this day for the Oneida and Stockbridge villages; and should nothing extraordinary take place, I intend being in Philadelphia by the 20th of next month, unless I should receive your directions to the contrary.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

ISRAEL CHAPIN.

*Copy of a letter of Joseph Brandt to Israel Chapin.*

NIAGARA, July 28th, 1792.

SIR:

I arrived here on the 24th instant, without any thing remarkable occurring on the way, and only have to say that the Seven Nations of Canada and the Senecas are now waiting at fort Erie for the arrival of a vessel to take them to Detroit, on their way to the Miamis, at which place numbers of Indians are already collected, and others joining daily. From every information I can get, they all seem determined upon a new boundary line, without which I am apprehensive difficulties will be found before a peace will be established. From some conversation with the Fish Carrier and the Onondaga Chief, they wish much that justice may be done relative to the lands, which business has already been explained, and to you they look as a person in authority. I expect to be able to go up by the next return of the vessel, and hope the route will in future be taken that I pointed out as the safest for messengers in future to be sent. Major Trueman, I am sorry to have to say, is no more; being going with a message, was met by an Indian man and boy a hunting, the latter of whom killed him; a circumstance I much regret.

I am, &c.

PITTSBURG, ss.

Personally appeared before me, a certain William May, a private soldier belonging to Captain Armstrong's company, of the late first regiment; was born at Dover, in the State of Delaware, aged about thirty-one years, who, upon oath, saith: That, on or about the 13th of April, he was sent from fort Hamilton, with orders to follow on the trail of Trueman, who, with a French baker, and another man, were sent as a flag to the Indians. That, after passing Four-mile creek, he steered a north course, by a pocket compass, to General Harmar's route, which he reached the seventh day, and followed it about eleven miles, where he discovered Trueman, and the two other men, lying dead, scalped and stripped. He then steered west for General St. Clair's route. After travelling twelve or fourteen miles on that course, he fell in with three Mingoes, and soon after with eleven Chippewas, who took him prisoner about eleven o'clock the same day; and the next, at three o'clock, reached Gen. St. Clair's field of battle, where they remained two or three hours, and took a straight course, frequently falling in with the same Indian path which Gen. St. Clair followed. He knows it to be the same; and that, from the field of battle to a little village, burned by General Harmar, situate on the St. Josephs, is fifty-seven miles; from thence, they struck across the country for about fifty miles, when they fell in with a Delaware town, on the Tawa river, where he was much beat; from thence he was carried down the side of the said river, passing through several little villages, about ten miles, to a trading town, where many of the principal traders live, among whom are Messrs. McKenzie and McDonald, Robert Wilson, and two by the name of *Abbet*, to whose father, and to Simon Girty, it is said, Major Trueman had letters, which mentioned his name, as Captain Armstrong had requested the major to make inquiries after him in particular, which had nearly occasioned his being put to death. At this place the river Glaze forms a junction with the Tawa, and is the principal town, or Indian head-quarters, where there were 3,600 warriors. These men draw daily rations to that amount, which is sent them from Detroit. That he was employed three months in the transport service, on board of a schooner that carried about 160 barrels. That he made a trip generally once in eight, ten, or twelve days. That he had often loaded the vessel, and had the direction of her. That he had formerly followed the sea, and shalloping, and made the sails for the schooner. That from his knowledge of shalloping, &c. he was purchased by Mathew Elliot. That Alexander McKee is the principal Indian agent, and keeps his stores at the rapids, sixteen miles above the mouth of the river. From the mouth of the river to Detroit is one hundred and eight miles, or ninety miles along the lake, and eighteen miles up the river to Detroit. That he was condemned to die, but saved by Simon Girty, and sent to war with twenty-two Indians, on or about the beginning of May, and reached fort St. Clair in eight days, where they killed one man, and returned through the field of battle, where he discovered the cannon, two of them in Hiskee creek, one of them a six-pounder; that he put his hand into it; the other three are under a fallen hollow tree, on the opposite side of the creek from the field of battle. Just at the rising of the hill there is a hollow tree standing close by the fallen tree; these three were given to Simon Girty by the Wyandots, whom he commanded on the day of battle. The Shawanese did not behave well on the day of action, and were called cowards by the Wyandots and Mingoes; but that the Wyandots made them a present of two cannon in the creek. That in the latter end of June, some Indians came on board the vessel for provisions; among whom was one who had two scalps upon a small stick, one of them he knew to be William Lynch, Major Trueman's waiter, with whom he was well acquainted; he had light hair. That he mentioned at once whose scalp it was, the other they said was Major Trueman's; it was darker than Lynch's; the manner in which Trueman was killed, was mentioned by the Indian who killed him, to an Indian who used to go in the vessel with May, in his presence, and immediately interpreted, viz: This Indian, and an Indian boy, having met with Trueman, his waiter Lynch, and the interpreter, William Smally, that Major Trueman gave the Indian a belt; that after being together three or four hours, the Indians were going to leave them. Trueman inquired the reason from the interpreter, who answered, that the Indians were alarmed, lest, there being three to two, they might injure them in the night. Upon which, Trueman told them they might tie both his servant and himself. That his boy Lynch was first tied, and then Trueman. The moment Trueman was tied, the Indian tomakawked and scalped him, and then the boy. That the papers in possession of Major Trueman were given to Mr. McKee, who sent them by a Frenchman, called Captain Le Motte, to Detroit, on board the schooner of which he, May, had the charge. That upon his return from Detroit, to the rapids, he saw a scalp said to be Captain Hardin's; that he also saw a flag by the route of Sandusky, and that the hair was dark brown, but don't know by what nation he was killed; these papers were also sent to Detroit, on board the schooner, by Mr. Elliott; that a Captain Brumley, of the fifth British regiment, was in the action, but did not learn that he took any command; that Lieutenant Sylvy, of the same regiment, was on his march with three hundred Indians, but did not get up in time to participate in the action; that Simon Girty told him, there were twelve hundred Indians at the place, but three hundred of them did not engage, who were taking care of the horses, exclusive of the three hundred with Lieutenant Sylvy, in all fifteen hundred. That the hostile Indians say they are to be joined by seventeen nations, in case of war, among whom are now at the Glaze, the Pattawatames, Shawanese, Miamies, Tawas, Wyandots, Delawares, Munsees, Ottawas, and Chippewas; that ten chosen Indians were sent to accompany three Creeks, to the Creek nation, with seven horses loaded with presents, among which, were a great many suits of gold and silver laced clothes, sent on board the schooner from Detroit; that these Creeks were in the late action, and it was expected they would be joined by great numbers from the Creek nation.

That it was the common opinion, and the common conversation, that no peace would take place, unless the Ohio river be established as the boundary line, between the Indians and Americans; that this was the general and unanimous sentiments of all the Canada and other Indian nations, who were assembled and assembling at au Glaze, to hold the grand treaty; and that all the Indian nations are determined to join the confederacy against us, unless we consent to that boundary, nor would they return till they compelled the Americans to agree to it; having brought their families with them or sent for them. That he arrived at fort Erie about the 5th of September, where the Cornplanter, with about three hundred and eleven Indians, from Canada and the Six Nations, were, about one hundred of whom were Senecas; he don't think they will let the Cornplanter return, unless he agrees to join them, should they determine for war.



That Captain Brandt returned from fort Erie to Niagara in a chair; that he went to fort Erie, with a view of going to the treaty, but said he was too sick to go on; that he met Brandt at Niagara, two days after he returned from fort Erie; that he did not look like a sick man, and that it was the opinion of the people at Niagara, that he never intended to go to the council; that he was afraid of the hostile Indians.

That on Saturday, the 25th of September, Simon Girty, with two hundred and forty-seven Wyandots and Mingoes, and two guides, Darling of Captain Strong's company, and William Smalley the interpreter, with an intention to strike at the pack-horses, at a place called the Fallentimber, between forts St. Clair, and Hamilton; that if he missed them he would go to Columbia, and do every mischief in his power, before the meeting of the Council; that he would raise hell to prevent a peace; that Girty was sent upon that business by Colonel McKee, the Indian Agent. That he returned to Detroit on Sunday evening, and got a pass from the commandant of the fort, and sailed next day for fort Erie, where he arrived on the 5th of September as aforesaid; on the ninth he got a pass from the commandant of Niagara, and on the seventeenth from General Chapin.

Sworn before me, at Pittsburg, this 11th day of October, 1792.

WILLIAM MAY.

ANTHONY WAYNE.

*Information given by Sergeant Reuben Reynolds, of Connecticut, belonging to Captain Buel's company of the second regiment.*

He says he was sent by General Wilkinson to visit the hostile tribes of Indians, in quality of a deserter, to explore the waters in the country, and make what observations he could.

That he left fort St. Clair on the 12th of May last; that on the third day after, he reached the old Miami towns, which he conjectures to be about eighty or ninety miles from fort St. Clair; that he tarried at these towns three nights, and then set off towards the river St. Josephs, and after travelling three days more, in which he supposes he went about fifty miles, he fell in with a hunting party of Miami Indians, consisting of fourteen families; these at first threatened to kill him, but afterwards laid aside that intention, and treated him well. The place where he met with these Indians, was on a branch of the river St. Josephs, between two towns of the Miami Indians, about thirty miles from that river as the branch runs; but not more than eight miles in a direct line.

That after being with these Indians about three weeks, he was sold to a family of Wyandots, with whom he continued but three days, when he was again sold to the Miamies, and returned to the party by which he was first taken. He descended the St. Josephs with them to a town of the Pattawatamies, about one hundred and fifty miles from where he entered the St. Josephs, and about sixty or seventy from its mouth.

At this place he stayed about fourteen or fifteen days, and from thence went to the British post, called fort Michilimackinac, where he continued twenty days, and lived in capacity of a kitchen servant, in the family of a Mr. Champion.

*Observations made from the time of leaving fort St. Clair, till he reached fort Michilimackinac.*

He left fort Jefferson about one mile and a half on the left hand, and fell into the track from that fort to the ground on which the battle was fought on the fourth of November; crossed that ground, and went to the old Miami towns; the travelling very good. From these towns to the place where he fell in with the Indians, the travelling not so good, interrupted by swamps, and the country level and the lands good. The nearest village to the Miami towns, forty-five or fifty miles.

The width of the branch on which he met the Indians, was about six rods, and about two or three feet deep; the navigation tolerable to the St. Joseph, and after entering the latter river, the navigation is good to its mouth for canoes and large flat bottomed boats, and the St. Josephs is likewise navigable for the like craft, fifty miles above the mouth of the creek on which he met with the Indians.

The St. Josephs is about as wide as the branch mentioned above, and holds about the same width to its mouth, but it is much deeper than the branch.

The British fort, Michilimackinac, is garrisoned by a company of sixty men, commanded by Captain William Doyle, of the twenty-fourth regiment. The fortification is of stone, and of a circular form, with two bastions at each corner of the front. He was not allowed to go within the fort.

Indians were daily coming in and going from the forts; he saw arms, ammunition, scalping knives, provisions, &c. given to them; but whether sold as from the traders, or given on other accounts, he could not learn.

The soldiers of the garrison appeared to be inveterate against the Indians; he heard nothing of the grand council to be held. Fourteen chiefs went down to Canada, it was said, for the purpose of consulting the Governor with respect to the war with the Americans. After remaining at Michilimackinac twenty days, as before noted, he had a passport given him, by Captain Doyle, to go to Montreal in a boat of Mr. Champion's; and, accordingly, he set out, and went along lake Huron, two hundred and forty miles to the French river, from thence into a lake, called, by the French, lake Nipsang, afterwards into the Grand river, and down to Montreal, from which place he came through Vermont to the city of Philadelphia.

He observes, that the Grand river is nearly half a mile broad, and very rapid; that it has many carrying places, one of three miles; that some parts of the river are broad, and appear like lakes, and other parts narrow.

That the trade from Montreal is carried through that river by bark canoes; that there are several trading parts along the Grand river, and the nearest settlements to Montreal, about eighty miles, &c.

He knew not the strength of the different tribes which he was among. The Indians, living about lake Superior, had joined the hostile tribes; and it was said that there had never before been known such a confederacy of Indians against any nation; that they expected to have three thousand or three thousand five hundred Indians in the field against the Americans. He saw several of the prisoners, taken on the fourth of November; they were slaves; some were treated well, others ill. He could get no information, from these prisoners, of the designs of the Indians, as they could not speak their language.

The Indians which he met with, in the course of his tour, were the Miami, Sciota, Chippewas, Wyandots, Ottawas, Nipsang, from the French name of the lake mentioned above.

PHILADELPHIA, October 19th, 1792.

The foregoing information of Sergeant Reynolds was taken by Mr. LEAR.

*Captain Joseph Brandt to the Secretary of War.*

NASSAU, 27th March, 1792.

SIR:

Yours, of the 25th of February, I have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of, and entertain the highest sense of the honor done me by the invitation, and flattering compliment contained therein. It is a visit I have long been desirous of making, and the time now seems not to be far distant, when that desire will be accomplished. Visiting you, as an individual, would be by no means tending to the accomplishing any good end; as those meetings must show, that have hitherto been held with people not deputized by the nations, in general, to transact business. I should, therefore, wish to visit you vested with some power that will enable me to speak with certainty to what I may assert, and not assert what I, at the same time, must well know would be by no means approved of. This has been too much the case, of late years, and, in my opinion, principally the cause of the present disturbances.



An explanation of grievances, it is absolutely necessary should be made, and that to the head of the United States, from whom, I entertain not the smallest doubt, but justice will be given when due. To accomplish such desirable ends as civilization and peace-making, no exertions on my part shall be wanting; and though circumstances render it impossible for me to do myself the honor of accepting the invitation at present, as I cannot say whether the Western nations would approve of it, I shall, therefore, despatch messengers immediately to the Miamis, with your invitation, to have the opinion of the people there, who I have no great reason to suppose otherwise than that they will approve of my going, and, very possibly, invest me with such powers as will give energy to what I may do.

My messengers, I suppose, will return here in about thirty days, until when, I shall remain at home; if visiting you, after that, would not be too late to answer the good end intended, I shall endeavor to accomplish my wished for journey, at least if I may hear from you, in answer to this, ere that period.

I am, sir, with esteem, yours, &c.

JOSEPH BRANDT.

NIAGARA, 26th July, 1792.

SIR:

Since my arrival here, I am sorry to have to say, that intelligence respecting Major Trueman's being killed, by an Indian boy, who met with him a hunting, has arrived. This will induce you to recollect what passed between us, relative to messages being sent. The route, Presqu' Isle, I again recommend as the most eligible, from thence, keeping along the lake to Miamis, at which place the chiefs are aptest to be met with, and, when once there, they are safe; sending such a number of messages, rather makes the Indians suspicious of your intentions; and, by any other route, they are much more liable to meet with hunters. There are now great numbers of Indians collected; and, from all their councils, seem determined upon a new boundary line. In short, they are all sensible, that what has hitherto been done, which I fully explained to you, was unfair; and, I am of opinion, peace will not be easily established, without relinquishing part of your claim. The purchases were all made from men who had no right to sell, and who are now to be thanked for the present difficulties. The Senecas, and Seven Nations of Canada, are now waiting at fort Erie for a passage for Detroit, on their way to the Miamis. I shall be able to go up, by the next trip of the vessel; my intention and wish is still for the accomplishment of peace; 'tis a business will require time; things, too rashly or hastily agreed upon, seldom have the effect of those seriously and coolly reflected on; knowing the foundation to be just, and the benefits that will arise therefrom, afford a greater space for forwarding the business. After leaving your place, until my arrival here, I had a tedious journey; the fatigue is done away by the recollection of the politeness and attention shewn me by your officers of Government, for which I cannot but return my warmest thanks, and request you to communicate the same. If any return should be in my power to make, I shall think myself particularly happy, and am, sir,

Your most ob't servant,

JOS. BRANDT.

### No. III.

*Statement of the measures which have been taken to conciliate and quiet the Southern Indians.*

*The Secretary of War to Governor Blount.—31st January, 1792.*

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th of December, by Mr. Allison, and enclose a duplicate of mine to you, of the 10th December last.

The militia must not be called out, excepting in cases of real danger. I am confident, that this power will be used by you with a just regard to the interest of the United States.

It is important that the line should be run; but, perhaps, as there may be some misconception on that head, although I know of none, yet, as we may want the assistance of the Cherokees in our military operations, perhaps there may be a greater degree of delicacy in having the line ascertained previously than subsequent to the campaign.

I am impressed with the importance of having some of all the Southern tribes with our troops in the field; because, I am apprehensive, that their passion for war will constrain them to join the other side, if they do not ours. However, both the point of time, and the characters you propose for running the line, will be left to your discretion.

Captain Roberts will not be with you, and, therefore, the money intended for his rations, you will be at liberty to apply to the use of the Indian department. I presume your accounts are altogether satisfactory, and that they have passed the offices. Mr. Allison, who is an amiable and interesting character, will take with him the money for the militia guard, who attended at the treaty, and, also, the amount for the rangers of the county of Sumner; the money for the counties of Davidson and Hawkins shall also be paid, as soon as they shall be received and passed. We have been surprised with a visit of the following Cherokees: *Nenetooyah*, or Bloody Fellow, *Chutloh* or King Fisher, *Nontuaku*, or the Northward, *Teesteke*, or the Disturber, *Kuthagusta*, or the Prince, *Schucwegee*, or George Miller, the squaw Jane Dougherty, and James Carey the Interpreter. They have stated the following objects as their business, the most material of which will be complied with, especially the additional annuity.

1st. To obtain a higher compensation for the lands they relinquished by the treaty with Governor Blount, on the 2d July, 1791.

2d. That the white people, who are settled southward of the ridge which divides the waters of the Tennessee from those of Little River, should be removed; and, that the said ridge should be the barrier.

3d. That a person of reputation should be commissioned, in behalf of the General Government, to reside in the Cherokee nation, who should at once be their counsellor and protector.

4th. That the projected settlement of the Tennessee company at the Muscle Shoals, should be prevented.

5th. That the annual allowance of goods should be now furnished, together with some ploughs and other implements of husbandry, as mentioned in the treaty.

6th. That James Carey, and such other person as the nation shall hereafter choose, shall be appointed interpreters.

They will return in a few days, enriched with presents, personally, and carrying with them fifteen hundred dollars' worth of goods. They will return by the way of Charleston, by which route they came. It would appear, that General Pickens endeavored to prevent their journey, but in vain. They will be accompanied, on their return, by a worthy young gentleman, Mr. Leonard Shaw, who has been educated at Princeton college, and who, from the purest motives, is desirous of being employed in the Indian department. He is to reside with the Cherokees, and correspond with you regularly. I shall broach to the Cherokees the idea of their joining our army, but I have not yet fully done it.

I have been extremely desirous that all the proceedings which have taken place with these Indians, should have been transmitted to you, by Mr. Allison. But the particular circumstances which compel him to return by a given day, will prevent. But I shall do it, as soon as possible. You will then find, what you will always find, that, although this particular affair has been, and others which may occur hereafter may be, transacted separately from you, yet, that the whole will tend to induce a more perfect confidence on the part of the Indians, in your character, and, of course, will confirm you in an entire reliance upon the candor and uprightness of the Executive of the United States.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*The Secretary of War to Governor Blount.—16th February, 1792.*

SIR:

I wrote you on the 31st ultimo, by Mr. Allison, who, I hope, safely arrived. At that time, it was contemplated that the Cherokees should either embark at this place or New York. But, upon more mature consideration, it has been concluded to return them to their own homes, by the way of your government, and, accordingly, they will set out in a wagon, accompanied by James Carey, the interpreter, and Mr. Leonard Shaw, who is to reside in the nation as a deputy agent. This young gentleman is amiable and well informed, and has been educated at Princeton college. He possesses a strong desire of being useful in the Indian department, and this opportunity has been given him for the exercise of his talents. He will shew to you the communications of the Indians with the Government, the messages to the Creeks, the Choctaws, and the Chickasaws, and his particular instructions. But, independent of this information, I shall endeavor to have copies of all the papers transmitted by him, for your use. You will perceive the desire to employ the Southern Indians, and the motives which have led thereto. The President of the United States desires, that you will cordially exert yourself in pursuit of this design. James Seagrove, Esq. is, probably, with the Creeks at this time, and he will urge the same measure.

It will be absolutely necessary that I should be informed, at the earliest moment, of the decision of any of the Southern tribes to take up the hatchet; you will, therefore, please to send an express as soon as a resolution should have been entered into by any of the tribes, to join our troops, stating the time when they would join, and their numbers.

The first of June would be the best time for them to arrive at fort Washington, prepared to operate during the campaign.

It will be of the highest importance that the Indians, about to set out from this city, be shielded from all insult or injury, on their journey to your government; you will, therefore, please to take the most effectual measures on this head, by sending some influential characters at public expense to meet them on their journey from Staunton to Holston. This point is so essential at this moment, that you will not omit any measure to *render the protection perfect*.

Besides the goods for the Cherokees, it has been thought proper to send you a wagon load of strouds and blankets, wherewith you may, from time to time, conciliate the natives under your direction. The invoices are herewith included, amounting to seven hundred and three dollars and ninety-three cents.

For the delivery of these articles you will render proper vouchers at the treasury, when you will be exonerated from the charge.

You will perceive that we are about presenting the Choctaws and Chickasaws with goods from fort Washington; large quantities have been forwarded to the Creeks, by way of the Rock Landing, and the Cherokees have been well furnished at this time. I shall gladly receive the information from you of the safe arrival of these Cherokees, and the best consequences are to be expected from their visit, which, upon the whole, has been not a little expensive.

James Carey, the interpreter, appears to be desirous, and even zealous, to promote a good understanding between the United States and the Cherokees, and, therefore, he is to be encouraged, and his interest promoted.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*The Secretary of War to Brigadier General Alexander McGillivray.—17th February, 1792.*

SIR:

Your several letters of the 15th and 25th of September, and of the 4th of October, were received by Lieutenant Heth; they would have been replied to earlier, had not information been received of your departure for Pensacola, or New Orleans, with the intimation that you would probably return to the Tallassee, about the first of March. The ostensible reason of your leaving the Creek nation at this critical period, is said to have been the disturbances excited by Bowles' appearance, and the countenance given him by a great part of the Lower towns. If this should have been the true reason, then he must have gained ground rapidly soon after your letter of the 4th October: for you must probably, by a comparison of the dates, have set out from Tallassee somewhere about the first of November. Your knowledge of the Creeks, and the proper modes of managing them, induces a reliance upon your judgment. But whatever may have been the reason of your journey, it would appear that Bowles has availed himself of it, describing it as a flight; it is, however, probable, impressed as you were, that he, being an impostor, you were willing to give him time to verify your predictions concerning his being such; and that the Indians would, upon being convinced thereof, drive him out of the nation. You may rest perfectly assured, and assert the same with full confidence, that Mr. Hammond, the British minister to the United States, has, in the most unequivocal language, in writing to the Secretary of State, disclaimed, on the part of his court, the least countenance or support to Bowles. He is a bold adventurer, attempting to push his fortune by your destruction, and ought, therefore, to be developed, and expelled the nation. The United States will support you in any proper measures which you may think proper to pursue on this occasion. Captain Roberts' and Captain Mills' companies, of the second regiment, have been added to the troops at the Rock Landing, partly with a view to relieve any of the convalescents, and partly to be at hand to afford countenance to you and your measures, taken in pursuance of the treaty with the United States. James Seagrove, Esq. has been appointed by the President of the United States to communicate with you on the present state of affairs, and it will be important that you take immediate measures to have an interview with him, for the purpose of quieting the disturbances excited by Bowles, and running the line agreeably to the treaty of New York. The amiable manners of Mr. Seagrove, and his general character, which cannot be unknown to you, will probably render him highly acceptable to you; you will, therefore, mutually concert measures for the restoration of peace and good order; and to this end, he is furnished with goods and money, to a considerable amount. It is to be hoped, that, by a proper distribution of these articles, and judicious arguments impressed on the Indians, of the great advantages of connecting themselves closely with the United States, that you will gain a great ascendancy in the minds of the Creeks, and dissipate the cloud which has hung over you lately.

The expulsion of Bowles will probably be the first object of your attention, and it would seem to be a point on which there should be no unnecessary delay. The second will be the running of the line agreeably to the treaty. This is of great importance, as on it rests all the advantages expected from the treaty. The intimation, in your letter of the 15th of September, of a departure from that line, cannot be admitted; and when you reflect upon the injurious consequences which would result from an attempt to deviate, in the least degree, from the line established by the treaty, it is presumed you will exert yourself to the utmost to have it fulfilled. The treaty, upon both sides, is sacred, and must be complied with, in all its parts. The President of the United States and the General Government are responsible for its execution on our side, and you and the chiefs are responsible on yours. Your reputation, and all dependent thereon, will be blasted forever, if the line be not run as soon as the disturbances are quiet. The troops of the United States have been waiting at the Rock Landing for this purpose, since the first of October, together with Mr. Ellicott, the surveyor, and any further delays, without strong reasons, will excite general dissatisfaction, as well in the people at large, as the Government. I urge you, therefore, by the common interest of the United States and the Creeks, by your own reputation, and by a contemplation of the ruinous consequences of a deliberate and wanton breach of the treaty, that you agree with Mr. Seagrove upon an early day when the Indians mentioned in the treaty shall attend, and the line be run in precise conformity thereto.

Mr. Seagrove will inform the Governor of Georgia of the time which shall be agreed upon, so that the commissioners may attend from that State.

You have no doubt heard of the disaster of the troops northwest of the Ohio. Although we regret the blood spilt on this occasion, we are not discouraged from pursuing the war; and accordingly, a more adequate force will be sent the ensuing season.

The United States are desirous of peace, and they intimated the same even before you were in New York, and before the Government had taken any offensive measures. But the Wabash Indians refused to listen, and still

continued their murders. The Government were constrained to take the measures for coercion, which, however, as yet, have been very unsuccessful. I enclose you a printed statement of this business.

The apprehension is, that you may not be able to keep your young men from joining one side or the other. In this case, you and all the chiefs well know, that it is your interest to join us.

Confident of your attachment, and remembering your intimations upon the subject, I have asserted, that dependence may be placed upon a number of Creek warriors joining our army the next campaign.

I am persuaded you will exert yourself to accomplish this point. Select a party of three hundred, and put them under experienced leaders, and let them pass down the Tennessee river into the Ohio, and thence, up that river, to fort Washington, so as to be there about the 1st of June, prepared to operate for four or five months. It will be necessary to know your decision speedily, so as to inform the people of Kentucky.

The warriors who shall join our army shall be well paid, well armed, and, after the campaign, well rewarded. The same propositions are made to the Cherokees, and the Chickasaws and Choctaws. Piamingo, the mountain leader of the Chickasaws, acted with our troops the last campaign, and he will probably join the army the next campaign, with a body of three hundred of his warriors. Please to let me hear from you soon and explicitly on this head, as well through Mr. Seagrove, as Governor Blount, which will perhaps be the best route, if you should be at the Little Tallassee. The Bloody Fellow, and five other chiefs and warriors, have been here on a visit, and returned well pleased. They have obtained fifteen hundred dollars a year, instead of one thousand, mentioned in the treaty. Mr. Leonard Shaw, an amiable young gentleman, returns with them, to reside in the Cherokee country. He will probably pay you a visit, and I shall depend on your kindness to him. With an entire reliance upon your activity and attachment in the cause of the United States,

I am, sir, yours, &c.

*Instructions to Leonard Shaw, temporary agent to the Cherokee nation of Indians.—February 17, 1792.*

SIR:

The President of the United States is desirous that you should accompany the Cherokee chiefs, who are at present in this city, to their own nation, for the objects hereinafter particularly stated, as well as for the general purpose of attaching the said Indians, and all the Southern Indians, whom you may occasionally see, to the interests of the United States. It is the sincere desire of the United States to be at peace with all the Southern tribes, and all others within their general limits. Treaties were made at Hopewell on the Keowee, in 1785, and 1786, with the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, and in the year 1790, with the Creeks, all of which treaties you have herewith delivered you. Some dissatisfaction having occurred upon the treaty with the Cherokees, a new treaty was formed with that tribe, on the second day of last July, by Governor Blount, of the Tennessee government. The chiefs whom you are to accompany, were delegated for the purpose of endeavoring to obtain a higher annual compensation for their lands than was stipulated in the treaty, and to obtain satisfaction on other points, all of which have been freely granted by the President of the United States, and they are returning apparently well satisfied. The communications they have made, and the answers thereto, by the President of the United States, together with my answers, are contained in a book made for that express purpose, which is committed to you. Upon their return to their own country, it is highly probable that all the said communications will be duly considered at the public councils. Mr. James Carey, who has been present, will be the interpreter. His attachment to the United States, and his zeal in their service, will, I am persuaded, in future, realize the expectations which have been formed of him. You will continue to cultivate his friendship, and endeavor, through him, to infuse into all the Indians the uprightness of the views of the President of the United States, and his desire to better the situation of the Indians in all respects.

The proposal that the Cherokees should join our forces, will be a subject of discussion. You know the motives of this proposal; that it arises from an apprehension of their young men being constrained to join one side or the other, and that it will be for the happiness of the Cherokees that they should join ours in preference to that of the hostile Indians. You will fully and frequently inculcate the purity of the conduct of the General Government to the hostile Indians, and how reluctantly the war has been imposed on us; and further, that its views are to make a firm peace with the said Indians, as soon as they have manifested their sincere intentions for this purpose.

It is of high importance that the Southern Indians should be prevented joining the Indians north of the Ohio, and no expedient occurs, so proper to attain this end, as inducing them to join our army.

The difference between civilized and savage modes of life is so great, as, upon a first view, almost leads to the conclusion that the earth is peopled with races of men possessing distinct primary qualities; but, upon a closer inspection, this will appear fallacious, and that the immense difference arises from education and habits.

A due performance of your duty will probably require the exercise of all your patience and fortitude, and all your knowledge of the human character—the school will be a severe but interesting one. If you should succeed in acquiring the affections, and a knowledge of the characters of the Southern Indians, you may be at once useful to the United States, and advance your own interest.

You will endeavor to learn their languages: this is essential to your communications. You will collect materials for a history of all the Southern tribes, and all things thereunto belonging. You will endeavor to ascertain their respective limits; make a vocabulary of their respective languages; teach them agriculture, and such useful arts as you may know or can acquire. You will correspond regularly with Governor Blount, who is Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and inform him of all occurrences; you will also cultivate a correspondence with Brigadier General McGillivray, and you will also keep a journal of your proceedings, and transmit them to the War Office.

You will, for the present, be allowed at the rate of five hundred dollars, annually; a greater sum will probably depend on the evidence of your utility.

You have advanced you on this account, two hundred and fifty dollars; and you have herewith delivered you a sum of five hundred dollars, on account of defraying the expenses of the Indians' return. You will keep accurate accounts of such expenses, taking bills and receipts for every cent expended and charged; and you will, before you leave Governor Blount, transmit the said account and vouchers. Besides this sum, which is founded on an estimate, you have herewith delivered to you two hundred and fifty dollars. This is to serve as a contingent fund, after your arrival in the nation, and for which you will be held accountable.

You are to exhibit to Governor Blount the Cherokee book, and all the writings therein; the messages to the several tribes of Indians, and these instructions.

A stage wagon will accompany you to the navigable waters of the Holston, and also two wagons, loaded with the Indian goods; a contract has been formed for the wagons, and the hire is to be paid on their return to this city, and each wagoner is to pay the expenses of himself and his teams.

I will write to Governor Blount to furnish you with boats, to carry the Indians and their goods down the Holston and the Tennessee, to the Cherokee country; on your arrival at Staunton, you will embrace the first opportunity of informing him of your approach, that he may meet you and the Indians with a safe escort.

Your route will be hence to Reading, thence Harriss's ferry to Carlisle, to ——— ferry, on the Potomac, to Winchester, to Staunton, to ———, and to Holston. I should hope that you would travel upwards of twenty miles each day, and that you should reach the Holston in about thirty days.

You will write to me on your arrival at Carlisle, Winchester, Staunton, and Holston.

You have the invoices of the Indian goods, which accompany the said Indians; which goods are for three distinct purposes:

1st. The personal presents to the chiefs and warriors and interpreters, amounting to three thousand four hundred and sixty-two dollars and twenty-one cents.

2d. The personal presents to the chiefs, mentioned in the speech of the President of the United States to the Cherokees.

3d. The eight suits of clothing, and the silver ornaments, designed for the chiefs mentioned in the message to the Chickasaws and Choctaws.

This will leave a surplus of four suits, and four sets of ornaments, in your possession, which you will either give to the chiefs of the Creeks or others, as in your judgment may best promote the public interest. But it is to be observed, that a large quantity of valuable goods were sent from this city to the Rock Landing, in December last, designed for the Creeks.

4th. The goods for the Cherokee nation. This quantity amounts to one thousand seven hundred and fifteen dollars and fourteen cents, which considerably exceeds the promised compensation, and of which you will make a proper use, to shew that the United States mean to conduct munificently to the Cherokees.

Besides all the above goods, there is a separate wagon load, amounting to seven hundred and three dollars and ninety-three cents, put under your charge for Governor Blount; to be by him distributed for the public service. The Indians must be informed of this circumstance distinctly and strongly, so that no suspicion arise in their minds that this quantity was part of their goods.

All public goods, money, or property of any sort, passing through your hands, must be minutely accounted for; you will, therefore, keep accurate accounts of all deliveries, the motive, the time and place, and, if possible, to obtain vouchers of white persons present; but if this should not be practicable, you must take an oath to the truth of the statement.

Given at the War Office, &c.

*Message from the Secretary of War to the Creeks.—17th February, 1792.*

To Chinnabie, the great Natchez warrior, and the other chiefs of the Creek nation, who lately sent a talk to the President of the United States, by the Cherokee chiefs:

**BROTHERS:**

Your father, General Washington, the Great Chief of the United States, has directed me to send this talk to you; receive it therefore with gladness, as an evidence of his love and attachment to the Creek nation.

He recollects you, Chinnabie, and the other chiefs who accompanied your beloved chief, General Alexander McGillivray, to New York.

The treaty then made is the bond of union between the United States and your nation.

You have asked about one Bowles, who has caused disturbances in your nation; that man is an impostor, and deserves and ought to be driven out of your nation immediately.

It is not necessary to enlarge, as I have written fully to your beloved chief, General McGillivray, and sent a great white belt, as a perpetual remembrance of our friendship.

Your beloved chief will inform you of all the news, and you will obey him as your best friend.

Your friends, the Cherokees, have been well received, and have been gratified in all their requests; they therefore return home with great joy and satisfaction.

Given at Philadelphia, &c.

*Message from the Secretary of War to the Choctaw nation.—17th February, 1792.*

To the chiefs and warriors of the Choctaw nation:

**BROTHERS:**

Your father, General Washington, the Great Chief of the United States, has received your talk which you sent by the chiefs of the Cherokees last autumn. He received it with satisfaction, and holds it fast to his heart, as he does all the peaceable red people, and particularly the Choctaws.

The United States are at peace with the Creeks, the Cherokees, the Choctaws, and Chickasaws. General Washington is anxiously desirous that this peace should be rendered as firm and lasting as the mountains; he will cheerfully embrace every occasion to render our friendship closer and closer, and to unite us in bonds of brotherly love.

But, although the United States are at peace with all the Southern tribes, yet they are at war with some bad Indians, north of the Ohio. These Indians are the Kickapoos, and their allies, who are your enemies as well as ours. The war which the bad Indians have waged against the frontier settlements, is the cause of the United States raising troops, and attempting to punish the said Indians; but these Indians having, by their lies, seduced other Indians to join them, they beat our troops last year. But the United States are not disheartened at this event; they will still punish the bad Indians severely, unless they immediately come and make peace. We do not want their lands; we do not want to injure them in any respect; but we wish they could behave as good children, so that we might treat them with kindness.

**BROTHERS:** Your father, General Washington, desires that you will not believe any lies which these bad Indians shall endeavor to impress on you. I have told you the truth, that is, their murdering the white frontier people, which is the cause we make war upon them; and I repeat it, that unless they will be quiet, they must be destroyed.

**BROTHERS:** If these bad Indians continue the war, we shall send a large body of troops to fort Washington, on the Ohio, the next year. Your father, General Washington, says, that such of your young warriors as choose, may join our troops at that place. Those of them who shall come there, shall be well fed, well armed, and well rewarded after the campaign shall be over. Such of your warriors as shall join our troops, ought to be there by the first of June next. Your father, General Washington, sends you two great silver medals, and two sets of arm bands, and also two suits of rich uniform clothes, as a mark of his affection. You will point out the two great chiefs who are to receive these marks of distinction. But besides those articles, which are the forerunners of other good things, he has directed the commanding general at fort Washington to give you more extensive presents for your nation. Let him know when and where you will be ready to receive those, and he will send them to you.

Chiefs and warriors, remember the treaty of Hopewell as the bond of our union. Adhere to it on your parts as we shall on ours. The United States will be your friends and protectors upon all occasions, and you must regard General Washington as your father.

After the next campaign shall be over, General Washington invites four or five of your great chiefs to visit him in Philadelphia. He wishes to see you, and convince you personally how desirous he is of promoting your happiness. You shall be kindly received, well treated, and sent back enriched with presents. As an evidence of the goodness of his heart, and of the friendship of the United States, General Washington sends you a great white belt, to be kept as an everlasting token thereof.

Given at the city of Philadelphia.

*Message from the Secretary of War to the Chickasaw nation, dated 17th February, 1792.*

To Piamingo, the mountain leader, and the other chiefs and warriors of the Chickasaw nation.

**BROTHERS:**

Your father, General Washington, the Great Chief and President of the United States, has commanded me to send you this talk. Receive it, therefore, as an evidence of his affection, and the affection of the United States towards the Chickasaw nation.

He heartily thanks Piamingo, and the other Chickasaw warriors, for joining our troops the last season.

The Indians north of the Ohio have for several years been committing murders on the defenceless white men, women, and children, on the frontiers. General Washington sent a message to these bad Indians, to tell them they were doing wrong, and that they must be quiet, and make peace with the United States; but instead of complying with the invitations for peace, they were more violent than ever. Our troops were sent to punish the bad Indians for their crimes, but more Indians joining than was expected, our troops were defeated.

This defeat may appear a vast thing to the bad Indians, who will now think themselves great warriors; but, although we lament the blood which was spilt on the occasion, yet we are neither disheartened, or afraid to pursue the war; unless, therefore, the bad Indians come and make peace, the United States will raise a sufficient force not only to curb them, and prevent their murders in future, but, if necessary, to drive them out of the country altogether.

Although the loss of men is to be avoided, if possible, on our part, yet we can bear a much greater loss than we have sustained, without being greatly weakened, whereas, the loss of a thousand warriors to the hostile Indians, would be a blow from which they would never recover. Numerous as we are, the lives of the hostile Indians are at our disposal. We wish not, however, to cut them off from the face of the earth; but, on receiving evidence of penitence for their past crime, and proper security for their good behavior, we are willing to receive them into our protection, and to impart to them the blessings of civil life.

The President of the United States is very desirous to reward the attachment of Piamingo, and the warriors who were with him at fort Washington, and he now sends to Piamingo, and two other principal chiefs, — great silver medals, and each a suit of rich uniform clothes; and further, he has ordered presents to be sent from fort Washington to the Chickasaw nation generally, of such articles as shall be useful to them.

The Chickasaws must send a message to the commanding officer at fort Washington, giving him sufficient notice of the time when, and the place where, they will receive the goods.

These goods are sent as presents, and as an evidence of the attachment of the United States to the Chickasaws, and a reward for their friendship.

If Piamingo should, with other chiefs, choose to join their arms with ours in the cause of the next campaign, let them repair to fort Washington by the first of June next, where they shall be well armed, well fed, and, also, after the campaign, well rewarded for their services, in money or goods, as they shall best like it.

Mr. Shaw, the bearer, who accompanies the Cherokee chiefs to their own country from this city, will deliver you the message and the presents; he will receive also your answer to this request. Treat him kindly, for the sake of the President of the United States, and let him know at what time, and with how many warriors, you will join our army at fort Washington.

The President of the United States has received your talk by the Cherokees, and he has satisfied them entirely upon their business, and they are about returning home with great joy. Besides writing this talk, General Washington sends a great white belt to the Chickasaws, as a perpetual evidence of the pure intentions and strong affections of the United States to the Chickasaw nation.

After the next campaign, our beloved chief, General Washington, invites Piamingo, and three other great chiefs, to repair to Philadelphia. He wishes to convince them, by a personal interview, how desirous he is of promoting the happiness of the Chickasaws.

The chiefs who shall come forward shall be kindly received, well treated, and return to their own country enriched with presents.

Given at the city of Philadelphia, &c.

*The Secretary of War to James Seagrove, Esq.—20th February, 1792.***SIR:**

Your letter to the President of the United States, dated at Trader's Hill, on the river St. Mary's, near the Indian line, on the 30th of November 1791, and yours to me, dated at Savannah, on the 7th ultimo, have been both received within the last week.

Major Trescott, for whom I had written to fort Pitt, delayed his arrival longer than I expected. The rivers became obstructed with ice. Information was received of General McGillivray's absence from the nation, without whom it would have been impolitic to have taken any important measures. The arrival of certain Cherokee chiefs at this city, upon business collaterally connected with your mission; the time it was conjectured it would require you and the troops and goods to repair to the Rock Landing, combined to prevent the main objects of your instructions being sufficiently matured until this time.

You will now please to regard this letter as the general rule of conduct in the measures which you may take, for more closely cementing the interests of the Creeks with those of the United States. The main objects of your mission will herein be designated, but the accomplishment thereof will principally depend upon the wisdom of your conduct, your own resources and talents.

To assist you, however, in your operations, Captain Mills had under his charge, money and goods to the amount of seven thousand seven hundred and twelve dollars and thirty two cents, to wit: two thousand seven hundred and twenty two dollars and thirty four cents, in money, and four thousand nine hundred and eighty nine dollars ninety eight cents in goods at the first cost, independent of the transportation to the Rock Landing. I have enclosed you an order to Captain Mills for the delivery of the said money and goods to you.

Of the expenditure thereof, you will keep regular accounts—stating to whom delivered, the motives, and the times and places; and in all possible cases; the delivery must be evidenced by two commissioned officers of the troops of the United States, or two other white persons. You will please not to consider these rules as any evidences of distrust, but as general principles, operating throughout the Indian department; and you will, every six months, state your account, supported by vouchers, and transmit the same to me. In this account you will state the money or articles received and delivered, and the quantities remaining on hand.

You will also please to take an oath, prescribed by the laws, and transmit the same to this office, in order to be registered.

The following will be the main objects of your attention:

First. To quiet the disturbances which have been excited among the Creeks by the arrival of Bowles, and to have his impostorship properly exposed, and his person either secured or banished the nation.

Secondly. To have the treaty of New York complied with in all respects, as well of prisoners as of running the boundary lines, precisely according to the treaty.

Thirdly. To obtain a body of three hundred warriors of the Creeks, to join our army at fort Washington, on the Ohio, which is near where the great Miami empties into the said river.

I enclose you an open letter for Brigadier General McGillivray upon these subjects, in order that you may be fully acquainted with the views of Government, and that you may take a copy thereof, under the official restrictions of secrecy.

It is to be hoped that the accomplishment of the first object will not be attended with great difficulty: for Mr. Ellicott writes, on the 14th of last month, from the Rock Landing, and encloses a report of Charles Weatherfield, by which it would rather appear that Bowles was preparing to return to the Bahamas, as he had then retired eighty miles down the Flint river.

I am induced to hope, that, although General McGillivray had gone to New Orleans or Pensacola, yet that it was not with the intention of moving entirely out of the nation. He formerly intimated a removal of his residence nearer to Pensacola, upon some fertile lands, and it is probable that he had removed his negroes to his intended future residence; but, although I mention this, it is only conjectural.

As to Walker's information, perhaps it is to be received with caution: for I have been informed that Mr. McGillivray had entertained a penchant for one or two daughters of Walker's, and the apprehension on this subject may have occasioned the latter's removal.

At this distance, it would appear, that any strong attempts to remove even Bowles, unless in consequence of measures connected with Mr. McGillivray, would be to hazard his resentment and attachment to the United States. Jealousy is easily excited, and it would, at this time, be a delicate, and perhaps improper measure, to endeavor to establish an influence among the Creeks, independent of Mr. McGillivray. I am strongly impressed with the conviction, that his absence is a temporary one; that he will return in March or before; and that, if Bowles should not then have gone off, he will take the most decisive measures for his destruction.

It is a circumstance of the highest importance, and of which you will make the fullest use, that Mr. Hammond, the British minister here, has disavowed explicitly the least knowledge of, or support to, Bowles. He is, as it respects any of his assertions of being supported by the British Government, an impudent impostor; and it is most likely that it will prove the same with respect to his pecuniary promises. Your primary object will therefore be, to see Mr. McGillivray, and arrange with him the utter extirpation of Bowles.

With respect to the second object, you will attentively observe my letter to him upon that subject. The line marked in the treaty is the only one that can be accepted. The treaty was solemnly made and ratified, and has become the law of the land. The United States are bound to protect the Creeks in the boundary specified in the treaty, and they cannot consent to any other being marked. The true line, and that only, can be established.

The fifteen hundred dollars yearly, is given principally for that part of the treaty. The future importance of Mr. McGillivray, as it shall respect his connexion with, and support by, the United States, depends upon his carrying the treaty into full effect.

Although this object is of the highest importance, yet, considering the inflammability of the Indians, and their perturbed situation, owing to Bowles' interference, it would not be wise to make the running of the line *instantly*, a sole condition on which the United States will continue at peace with the Creeks. It may (if indispensably necessary to afford time for reflection, and better dispositions) be postponed a month or two, without diminishing the force of the claim or treaty. But you will hold up, in a firm, but temperate language, the ideas above suggested.

The United States will liberally compensate the Indians for any evidence of their attachment, and therefore, rewards to particular eminent characters may be held forth with a certainty of being realized: the continuance of which, however, always to be conditioned on evidences of the attachment of the party who shall receive them.

The third object is particularly mentioned in the letter to Mr. McGillivray. The entire defeat of our troops the last year, will render the hostile Indians intolerably audacious. They will have their emissaries with the Southern Indians, and unless powerfully counteracted, it is but too probable they will obtain assistance. To prevent this measure, which would be a prelude to a general war with all the Southern tribes, and also to strengthening the treaties that have been made, it is thought advisable to employ the Southern warriors to join our troops against the hostile Indians. You will endeavor to accomplish this point with General McGillivray, so that he may send three hundred of his people. He mentioned to me his desire, when the treaty was made, to find some employ for his warriors. One now occurs in which he may evince, decisively, the sincerity of his attachment to the United States.

The Cherokees will probably send a body of their warriors, and the same will also take place with the Chickasaws, and probably the Choctaws.

I enclose you three statements of the causes of the war with the Northern Indians.

It may be safely affirmed that the United States are desirous of establishing a general and firm peace with all the Indian tribes, founded on the principles of moderation and justice—a knowledge of, and reliance upon this principle, will be the pole star of your conduct. You will exert yourself to influence and attach the Indians to the President and the United States. Your exertions in pursuance of this service, will entitle you to the approbation and thanks of the President. You will, of course, avoid every thing that is harsh and disagreeable to the Indians, whom you will conciliate by kindness and mildness, instead of terrors or threatenings.

I have not mentioned the rate of your compensation, as a bill is pending before Congress upon the subject of Indian affairs generally, in which it is expected provision will be made for the agents employed in the Indian department. The appointment, for the present, will have the appearance of being a temporary one, and, therefore, a commission is not transmitted.

You will, as soon as possible, inform me of the receipt of these instructions, and of your movements consequent thereon.

The troops at the Rock Landing have been increased, under the ideas of awing and repressing any turbulent spirits among the Indians who might be disposed for mischief by Bowles' instigations.

I am persuaded that Major Call, the commanding officer, will do every thing in his power to concur with you in promoting the public service.

Mr. Ellicott, the surveyor, has been hitherto detained at the Rock Landing, with the expectation of running the line, and he will be instructed to continue there unless appearances should terminate the expectations upon that head, in which case he will return.

Although these instructions are not signed by the President of the United States, you are to consider them as formed by his express order.

In your letter to the President you mention an idea of Bowles' introducing goods, through the St. Mary's, into the Creek nation. If this should be the case, you will detain the said goods until you receive the further orders of the President thereon.

I am, sir, &c.

*The Secretary of War to Governor Blount.—31st March, 1792.*

SIR:

I have received your favor of the 2d of March, with its enclosures, all of which have been submitted to the President of the United States.

He approves the calling the Chickasaws and Choctaws to Nashville, the first of June next, for the purpose of conciliating and attaching them cordially to the interest of the United States.

You will, therefore, take the necessary steps to carry into full execution the objects contained in your letter, particularly the contracting for the necessary quantity of provisions.

Mr. Allison will stay here until the goods are prepared, which shall be done as soon as possible, although it is doubtful whether, until the arrival of the spring ships from Europe, a sufficient quantity of proper goods may be obtained.

You are hereby authorized to call into service, so many militia and officers, on the pay and rations allowed by the United States, as shall in your judgment be indispensably necessary for the defensive protection of your Government. Although the two companies you mention, do not appear excessive, yet the President requests it may be impressed upon you, that he regards that responsibility of character you possess, as an entire security against any



excessive number. You will regulate the time for which these men shall be engaged. You will please to observe, that they will be entitled to pay and rations only—the President not being authorized to allow the militia any clothing.

Mr. Shaw must have arrived with you long before this, with the Cherokees. As he is ordered to make a full communication of all the business transacted at this place with said Cherokees, I am persuaded it was satisfactory to them, and I hope it will be so to you.

I shall write you more fully by Mr. Allison.

I have the honor to be, sir, &c.

*The Secretary of War to James Seagrove, Esq.—11th April, 1792.*

SIR:

I have duly received your letters of the 14th of January, and 20th of February, with their several enclosures. I now transmit you, herewith, by order of the President of the United States, a certified copy of an official letter from Mr. Hammond, his Britannic Majesty's minister, now resident in this city, to the Secretary of State, relative to an utter disavowal of the court of London, of having any communication whatever with Bowles. You will make use of this information as you shall think best, in conformity to the spirit of my instructions to you of the 20th February last.

By the first opportunity from this place, I shall reply particularly to your letters.

I am, &c.

“PHILADELPHIA, 30th March, 1792.

“SIR:

By the last packet I have received from my court, (in consequence of a communication from me of the reports circulated upon the subject) a corroboration of the truth of the sentiments which I had the honor of stating to you as the result of my personal conviction, in my letter of the 14th of December, relative to Mr. Bowles.

I am directed to assure this Government, in the most explicit manner, that the assertions said to have been made by Mr. Bowles, of his pretensions having been encouraged or countenanced by the Government of Great Britain, or of his having been furnished by it with arms and ammunition, are entirely without foundation. The report, also, of his having obtained from the Government of Great Britain any sort of commission as superintendent of the Indians, or in any other character, or of his having received authority to promise to the Indians protection and assistance in the recovery of their old boundary with Georgia, or to hold out to them the expectation of any English reinforcements in the spring, is equally groundless.

I feel the sincerest satisfaction in being empowered to communicate to you, sir, this additional proof of his Majesty's Government to promote a good understanding with the United States, which solicitude cannot be more decidedly evinced than by this prompt contradiction of the rumors to which I have alluded, and which are as repugnant to the truth, as they are injurious to the establishment of that mutual confidence which ought to subsist between our respective countries.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

GEO. HAMMOND.

Mr. JEFFERSON.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, &c.

I do hereby certify that the preceding letter from his Britannic Majesty's minister plenipotentiary, dated 30th March, 1792, and addressed to the Secretary of State, is truly copied from the original.

In testimony whereof, I have caused my seal of office to be hereunto affixed, this thirty-first day of March, 1792.

[L. s.]

TH. JEFFERSON, *Secretary of State.*”

*The Secretary of War to Brigadier General Andrew Pickens.—21st April, 1792.*

SIR:

It is most probable that you are not unacquainted that hostilities have for many years past existed between certain tribes and a banditti of Indians northwest of the Ohio, and the people of the United States residing upon the frontiers lying along that river. That these evils, rising by degrees, at last became too enormous to be longer borne without attempting to curb them. That the attempts for this purpose, made both by Brigadier General Harmar and Major General St. Clair, were unsuccessful.

That the posture of affairs have induced the Congress to raise a large body of troops, and that recruits are raising accordingly.

In this stage of the business, it is the ardent desire of the President of the United States, that every effort for peace should precede coercion, and accordingly attempts are making to effect that end. But the success is too doubtful for the United States to place any dependence thereon. Every preparation will of course be made for a vigorous campaign, in case the efforts for peace should prove fruitless.

In the mean time, there can be no doubt but that the hostile Indians are endeavoring to excite the Southern Indians to join them. This event would be attended with the most pernicious effects, and it must, if possible, be avoided.

But when the passions for war of the younger part of the Indians be contemplated, it must be confessed to be a work of difficulty, and almost impracticable to keep them quiet; and, upon reflection, no expedient seems so proper, to prevent their acting against us, as inducing them to join our troops against the hostile Indians. It is presumed that, if the Indians northwest of the Ohio are offered the most moderate and just terms of peace which can be devised, and they still continue their depredations, that the United States will be justified by every principle of humanity in guarding themselves from injury by the very means used by an unjust and barbarous enemy. Little reasoning is required to establish a principle so self evident.

Governor Blount is to hold a treaty at Nashville, with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, about the first of June next, to which he will be requested to add some of the principal chiefs of the Cherokees. Some recent murders will render it proper as to the latter nation. At that treaty, offers will be made to the nations who shall be present, of joining their young warriors to our army, in case the hostile Indians should persist in their dispositions for war.

The President of the United States, who is impressed with respect for your character, has directed me to invite you to be present at that treaty, in order that your influence may be used, not only to induce the Indians to accede to the propositions which may be made to them, of the nature before described, but, if they accept, that you should command them combinedly on the proposed expedition northwest of the Ohio.

The President of the United States, upon mature reflection, has conceived that your influence over the Cherokees particularly, and the Southern Indians generally, would, if exerted at the present time, be peculiarly useful and important to your country.

And the reputation you possess will not permit him to doubt, that, if it be possible, you will not hesitate to undertake the object.

The compensation which will be allowed you, will be equal to a brigadier's pay, and, as you possess that rank in the militia, you will retain it while employed in the service, which will be in its nature temporary.



If a body of Southern Indians could be obtained, not exceeding in all five hundred in number, well armed with their own rifles, and, upon their arrival at fort Washington, to be combined with a body of riflemen and cavalry, they might be of themselves almost irresistible and of the highest utility.

In case of this measure being complied with by the Indians, the manner of their joining the army must be concerted with Major General Wayne, the commander of the troops at fort Washington, who might order boats to fall down to the mouth of Cumberland and there receive the Indians, or they might be marched by land, whichever may be considered as the best.

As this letter is written in consequence of the immediate directions of the President of the United States, and as it will be sent by express to Governor Blount, and from him to you, I pray you that you would not hesitate to communicate to him your determination by the return of Governor Blount's express, and he will instantly transmit it to me.

I am, sir, &c.

*The Secretary of War to Governor Blount.—22d April, 1792.*

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose you a duplicate of my letter to you of the 31st ultimo, acknowledging the receipt of yours of the 2d ultimo by Mr. Allison, and containing some general principles relative to the militia you may judge expedient to call into service, for the defensive protection of such parts of your government as are exposed to the incursions of hostile Indians; and also, containing the approbation of the President of the United States, for the proposed conference with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, at Nashville, on the first day of June next.

Having on the 13th instant received your letter of the 14th of the last month, I shall now reply to it, and the one of the 2d of the same month.

But previously thereto, I take occasion to state, that it is the most ardent desire of the President of the United States, and the General Government, that a firm peace should be established with all the neighboring tribes of Indians, on such pure principles of justice and moderation, as will enforce the approbation of the dispassionate and enlightened part of mankind.

That it is the intention of the President of the United States, that an adherence to this desire, as to a well founded maxim, shall be the leading feature in the administration of Indian affairs, while he is at the head of the Government.

That he shall lament exceedingly all occasions which shall either suspend or impede the operations of those principles, which he considers essential to the reputation and dignity of the republic.

That, in pursuance of these ideas, he endeavored that a genuine state of their situation, and of the general dispositions of the United States upon this subject, should be brought home to the minds of the Western Indians, before any coercion was attempted.

That, although the essays to this end were then ineffectual, yet it has been his directions that similar intimations should be continued.

That, therefore, every effort is making in order to impress the hostile Indians with their past errors; that the United States require nothing of them but peace, and a line of conduct tending to their own happiness.

That all which has past shall still be buried in oblivion, provided that they will immediately agree to a treaty of peace, in which they will obtain all they can possibly desire, and relinquish nothing; for we demand none of their lands.

That we are not sensible the hostile Indians, that is, the Miami and Wabash Indians, have any just claim to lands comprehended in the former treaties; but, notwithstanding, if they can show they possess a fair right to any of those lands, they shall receive a liberal compensation for the same.

It is presumed, if these sentiments could be fully impressed on the minds of the hostile Indians, (and measures are taking for that purpose) that the establishment of tranquillity on the frontiers would be the probable consequence.

But, if the hostile Indians should, after having these intentions of the Government laid fully before them, still persist in their depredations on the frontiers, it will be considered as the dictate of humanity to endeavor to punish, with exemplary severity, so incorrigible a race of men, in order to deter other tribes, in future, from a like conduct.

I have been thus particular in detailing to you these sentiments, in order that you may lay them before the assembled nations, at the proposed conference, in full and strong terms.

It will, therefore, be only in the result of the hostile Indians continuing in their hostility, that the aid of the Southern Indians would be required. But, as this result will be known, and as the commanding general will be directed to communicate it to you, by expresses, while you are at the conference, you will, of course, proceed in obtaining the number mentioned in the letter to General Pickens, which is enclosed open for your perusal and consideration.

The President of the United States, being very favorably impressed with the character of General Pickens, is greatly desirous, if the war must proceed, that he should command the Indians, combined with other troops.

You will, therefore, please, immediately, to forward the letter to General Pickens, first sealing it, and, upon receiving his answer, you will transmit it to Richmond, by express, whence it will arrive by the stages as soon as by express.

Mr. Allison has been detained for the arrival of the spring ships. But he has now provided all the goods you requested, as per invoice herein enclosed, excepting the rifles, which, unfortunately, cannot be obtained here, without taking those which are designed for the rifle corps.

If Mr. Allison can obtain the number requested, in the Southern district, he is requested so to do.

He will embark with the goods, for Richmond, on the 25th instant.

Besides the goods, which amount to eight thousand one hundred and ninety-one dollars eleven cents, he is charged with the sum of two thousand dollars, to pay for the provisions and other expenses of the treaty, as stated in your estimate, together with the sum of seven hundred and fifty dollars, contingencies of the treaty.

In addition, he is charged with the sum of three thousand dollars, to pay the expense of transportation to Richmond, and thence to your government.

He is also charged with the further sum of three thousand dollars, to pay the levies who served in the campaign under General St. Clair.

I am anxious to hear of the safe arrival of Mr. Shaw with you, and that they have gone forward into their nation, continuing in that grateful state of mind in which they departed from this place.

I flatter myself, the manner of their treatment here, and the impressions of good designed by the United States for their, and the other friendly nations, will be received with joy by all the well disposed Cherokees, and will, of course, put to the rout the ill disposed and bloody minded.

We have, in this city, at present, a numerous delegation of the principal chiefs of the Five Nations, who have been invited to make this visit, in order to prevent their being influenced to war by the hostile Indians and their emissaries. They will return in a few days, apparently well satisfied, and have engaged to repair to the Miami village, in order to influence the Indians in that quarter, to peace.

I am commanded by the President of the United States, to whom your letters are constantly submitted, to say, with respect to your remarks upon the line at Little river, that you will be pleased to make a liberal construction of that article, so as to render it entirely satisfactory to the Indians, and, at the same time, as consistently as may be with the treaty; and to observe that he is satisfied with your sentiments on that subject.

It is submitted to you, as the late depredations by the Cherokees must, in some degree, have interrupted that harmony and confidence which ought to have flowed from the treaty of Holston, whether it will not be for the public interest to invite a few of the chiefs of the Cherokees to be present at the proposed conference at Nashville.

And it were to be wished that Mr. McGillivray's affair with Bowles would permit him also to attend, provided you should be convinced of his cordiality to the post at Bear's creek, and the employment of some Creeks.

You would then have an opportunity, perhaps, of talking over the whole affair, relatively to Bear's creek, which the Chickasaws relinquished as a trading post, by the treaty of Hopewell.

If this could be established, by the general and open consent of all the tribes, it would be well; but, it is to be apprehended that starting a new object, at the mouth of Duck river, would have the effect to excite suspicions and jealousies, and unhinge any confidence they may have. That, at this crisis, the risk of inquiry would far overbalance any advantages, and therefore the attempt ought not to be made.

The distance from Duck river to Nashville, is not more than fifty or sixty miles; and, although not quite as convenient as at the mouth of Duck river, yet the difference is not so great as to require any hazard of bad consequences from the attempt.

General Robertson has, from his situation, character, and other circumstances, incurred expenses on account of the Indians, for which he has petitioned Congress. The petition is referred to me. Although general principles of equity seem to support the claim, more especially coming from a man of his character, yet it is extremely difficult to establish a general principle of law, to compensate such unauthorized advances, without fixing dangerous precedents.

The object of my mentioning this, is, that in future, and until further arrangements, the President of the United States will consent that General Robertson be considered as temporary agent for the Chickasaws, with an appointment at the rate of four hundred dollars per annum; you will therefore please to administer to him the oath of office which you yourself have taken.

It is to be observed, that the law authorizing such appointments has not yet passed; and that, therefore, this appointment can only, at present, have a temporary aspect.

He will, in future, distribute such things, and perform such duties, for the conciliation of the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and others, as you shall, from time to time, direct.

The business of the proposed conference will be interesting to the United States. I am happy it will be managed by you in person, as I am satisfied the Government may rest with great confidence in your exertions, as well as abilities, to execute its wishes.

The great object in managing Indians, or indeed any other men, however enlightened, is to obtain their confidence. This cannot be done but by convincing them of an attention to their interests. Deeply convinced of this general disposition of their protectors, they will be yielding in smaller matters.

The Indians have constantly had their jealousies and hatred excited by the attempts to obtain their lands. I hope in God that all such designs are suspended for a long period. We may therefore now speak to them with the confidence of men conscious of the fairest motives towards their happiness and interest in all respects. A little perseverance in such a system, will teach the Indians to love and reverence the power which protects and cherishes them. The reproach which our country has sustained will be obliterated, and the protection of the helpless ignorant Indians, while they demean themselves peaceably, will adorn the character of the United States.

It is the special direction of the President of the United States, that there be a *full* representation of the Chickasaws and Choctaws; and that all who shall be assembled shall have impressed on their minds, clearly and strongly, the dispositions of the General Government, towards the *hostile tribes, particularly*, as well as to *all the tribes, generally*.

You will find, in the letter to General Pickens, that it is the desire of the President, that the total of the Indians to be employed, should not exceed five hundred warriors; and, if the arrangement could be so made, that these should be taken in such proportions from the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, as you shall judge proper. The number, so constituted, would induce them to consider the war as a common cause, as well among one another as with the United States. It must be understood, however, that the number of five hundred is not to be considered as an ultimatum, but only as a general idea to govern the number to be employed.

It will be necessary that you should intimate to General Pickens, that you are, in confidence, made acquainted with the letter to him, and that you should also know the tenor of his answer.

If the Indians should object to joining our troops, on account of not being well armed, you may assure them they shall be well supplied at fort Washington with smooth-bored muskets, but they cannot be promised rifles.

Any subordinate arrangement of characters, which you shall judge proper to accompany them, will be confided to your discretion; and, also, the nature of the rewards for their services, which, however, must not exceed the pay of the troops. With rations they will be abundantly provided. I am, &c.

N. B. In the duplicate transmitted by Mr. Allison, the blanks were filled as above inserted, and the following added after closing the letter:

Instead of the sum of seven hundred and fifty dollars, mentioned in this letter, for contingencies of the treaty, a warrant has been issued for this consideration for one thousand dollars.

The sum of two thousand dollars is now advanced for the provisions at the treaty. Any excess of this sum will be paid on the final adjustment of the accounts.

*The Secretary of War to James Seagrove, Esq.—29th April, 1792.*

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters, of the 14th of January, the 20th February, the 27th of March, and the 12th of April; all of which have been duly submitted to, and have been considered by, the President of the United States.

But, previously to replying particularly to your several favors, it is necessary that I should state, summarily, the following general ideas relatively to the management of the Indians, throughout the limits of the United States, to wit:

That it is the most ardent desire of the President of the United States, and the General Government, that not only a firm peace should be established with the several nations and tribes, upon such true principles of justice and moderation as will enforce the approbation of this dispassionate and enlightened part of mankind, but to introduce among them, gradually, such judicious measures as will lead them to the blessings of civilized life.

That it is the intention of the President of the United States, that an adherence to this desire, as to a well-founded maxim, shall be the prominent feature in the administration of Indian affairs, while he is at the head of the Government.

That he shall exceedingly lament all events which shall suspend or impede the operations of this design, which he considers as essential to the reputation and dignity of the republic.

That, in pursuance of these ideas, he endeavored, at an early period of the establishment of the present General Government, to carry home to the minds of the hostile Indians the humane dispositions of the United States towards them. These intimations preceded, without effect, any attempts at coercion.

That, notwithstanding the ill success of former pacific overtures, attempts are still making to convince the hostile Indians of their errors, and that the United States require nothing of them but peace, and a line of conduct tending to their own happiness.

That the hostile Indians will be informed, that we require none of their lands, nor of any other tribe's, but such lands as have been ceded by fair treaties. That the United States are not sensible that the hostile Indians have any just claims to the lands heretofore ceded, but, if the said Indians shall make any such claims apparent, they shall be amply compensated for the same.

It is presumed, that, if these sentiments could be fairly impressed on the Indians northwest of the Ohio, that the re-establishment of peace would be the probable consequence.

But if the hostile Indians should, after having these sentiments fully displayed to them, still persist in their depredations on the frontiers, it will then be considered as the dictates of humanity, to endeavor to punish, with exemplary severity, so incorrigible a race of men, in order to deter other tribes, in future, from a like conduct.

I have been thus particular in this detail, for two reasons, to wit: First, That you may impress these sentiments on General McGillivray, and the other chiefs of the Creeks with whom you may converse; and, secondly, that you may thereby perceive that the intentions of the Government are to employ the Southern Indians only in case of the pertinacious obstinacy of the hostile Indians.

Being on the point of the employment of the Southern Indians, it will be proper, at this place, to call your attention to that object, in order that you may regulate your conduct by the directions now given.

The desire of the employment of the Southern Indians has not arisen so much from the actual aid to be derived from them, as from an apprehension that, if there be not, at this critical period, a mode provided for the employment of their active young men, possessing strong passions for war, on our side, they will, seduced by the entreaties of the hostile Indians, take up the hatchet against us, and thereby involve us in a general Indian war.

But you will please to understand, most explicitly, that it is the direction of the President of the United States, that no greater number be engaged, *conditionally on the progress of the war*, than will answer the purpose before mentioned—which is, *to engage all the Southern tribes in our favor, in order to prevent their acting against us.*

In my instructions to you of the 20th of February, which you received, the idea was held up, as well as to Gen. McGillivray, by the letter which passed through your hands, that the Creeks should furnish *three hundred warriors.*

Upon further reflection, it is the desire of the President of the United States, that the whole number to be furnished by all the Southern tribes, to wit: the Creeks, the Cherokees, the Choctaws, and Chickasaws, should not exceed *five hundred.*

A conference is to be held by Governor Blount, at Nashville, on this and other business, with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, about the beginning of June. These sentiments, therefore, have been fully expressed to him.

And General Pickens, on the frontiers of South Carolina, has been written to, to command those, combinedly, who may be employed.

But the *actual* employment of them must depend upon the orders of the commander-in-chief of the troops at fort Washington, on the Ohio.

He will be instructed, that, if the overtures of peace should fail, and the measure of war should be constrained by necessity, to send expresses to Governor Blount, who will communicate with General McGillivray, and the other Southern tribes, upon this point.

It is necessary, therefore, that the commanding general should be made the source from which the ultimate orders should issue, and that Governor Blount should be the channel of communication.

Hence you will perceive that the Government do not eventually require many Creeks. One or two hundred at most will be sufficient. Your idea of one thousand would be too many, and would be attended with expensive and ruinous consequences.

We cannot promise the Lancaster rifles you mention. We cannot procure a sufficiency for the troops. Muskets and bayonets may be promised them at fort Washington, as may be ammunition.

The rewards to be promised them must not exceed, besides some small matters, the pay of three dollars per month, excepting the leaders, who shall have the pay of the officers.

Rations they shall be abundantly supplied with.

Governor Blount will furnish them from his government to fort Washington, and you will furnish them to him.

The pack horses cannot be allowed—each man may take his own provisions to Governor Blount.

Having finished this subject of the employment of the Indians, I pray your attention thereto as a matter of moment, and requiring a strict adherence. It is on this point, more than any other, that the express is now despatched, not but that the matters hereinafter mentioned, are also of considerable weight.

You will communicate to Governor Blount, and request General McGillivray to do the same, relatively to the employment of the Indians.

The first object of my former instructions of the 20th of February, has been happily effected by other means, to wit: the capture of Bowles.

The second, to wit: the running the lines agreeably to the treaty of New York, still remains as an object, to accomplish which, in a manner consistently with the feelings of General McGillivray and the Creeks, will require the employment of your talents.

If the time for running the line agreeably to treaty shall be fixed, you are hereby directed instantly to inform the Governor of the State of Georgia thereof, in order that he may direct the attendance of the commissioners as mentioned in the Creek treaty.

The third object of your former instructions, to wit, the employment of Indians, has been herein amply discussed.

Your idea of distributing the goods impartially, is certainly well founded. But it is difficult to perceive any advantageous mode of distribution independent of Mr. McGillivray.

You will please to understand that the goods and money delivered you by Captain Mills, were designed, at the time they were sent, to be the means to enable Mr. McGillivray to counteract and overthrow Bowles.

The estimate of goods you have forwarded, far exceeds any provision made by Government. The United States, besides the money allowed annually to Mr. McGillivray, twelve hundred dollars, and six hundred dollars to six principal chiefs, each one hundred, have agreed to pay the nation, generally, fifteen hundred dollars, annually, and also two hundred dollars each to two interpreters.

To these fixed sums, the United States will add occasional gratuities, as the public interest may require.

But it never has been in contemplation, nor can it be carried into execution, to give, in any considerable degree, goods to the amount of your estimate.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that no promises on your part will be made of the presents you propose. Such promises are not conceived necessary, and would tend exceedingly to embarrass Government.

As to the opinion of Mr. Bryant, or any other person employed under the British Government, of the presents necessary, it cannot be made the foundation of a system by the United States.

Bowles' appearance, and his conduct, excited an apprehension that the peace between the United States and the Creeks might be disturbed by his machinations. But, independent of him, it is conceived the peace was not endangered, and Mr. McGillivray's letter to you seems to confirm this opinion.

The reasons of your drawing so great a number of Indians to the Rock Landing, are not apparent. Mr. McGillivray does not seem to approve it. It is to be apprehended that his jealousy may be excited by the measure. You will therefore endeavor to conciliate him to the measure.

The treaty of New York is to be carried into execution by the impressions of its propriety which shall be made at the respective meetings which the Indians usually have within their own nation. The assembling of them in large numbers, without their own country, excites their avaricious appetites, which, if not gratified in proportion to their expectations, issues in disgust.

It is by residents in the nation that the influence of the United States is to be silently and permanently established, not by withdrawing them from their usual modes of subsistence to a great distance. The expense and injurious consequences of which to the United States are certain, but the advantages not readily conceived.

Another probable and pernicious consequence attends a meeting upon the frontiers; the disorderly whites assemble there in great numbers, feuds ensue, and the peace is thereby greatly endangered.

Finally, upon this point, although it is apprehended that you have gone too far now to recede, yet it is the order of the President that in future no great assembling of the Creeks be made, but in consequence of a previous statement of the causes thereof, and his express approbation obtained.

The mode you have taken to furnish the provisions, appears judicious and economical. The account of the expenses which shall accrue upon this subject, or others of your mission, you will transmit to me as soon as ascertained, together with the vouchers accompanying the same, and the sums necessary to complete the payments will be furnished instantly by the treasury, on passing the accounts.

You are hereby instructed, on every occasion which shall occur, to evince the most cordial attention to the Spanish Government and interest on the Southern frontiers of the United States. In case you should know of any intentions

of any desperado similar to Bowles, or any designs of the Indians injurious to the interest or peace of the Spanish Government, you will communicate the same to the nearest Spanish officers, so that the evil apprehended may be avoided or repelled.

The communications you have been pleased to make, are cordially received by the President of the United States, who desires that you will continue them as amply as may be.

I have enclosed letters for General McGillivray, the commanding officer, and also for Mr. Ellicot, the surveyor. I shall be anxious to receive your further communications in answer to this letter.

I am, sir, &c.

*The Secretary of War to Brigadier General Alexander McGillivray.—29th April, 1792.*

SIR:

I have heard with pleasure of your return to Little Tallasse. Although it is satisfactory to hear from you, even through a third person, yet it is much to be desired that you would fully and frequently communicate to me from time to time.

The treaty made at New York, between the United States and you and the other Creek chiefs, happily laid the foundation, if properly used, of much happiness to your nation. But the fire then enkindled requires a renewal of fuel from time to time, in order to render it perpetual.

The interference of the impostor Bowles, and your absence, supposed to be in consequence thereof, occasioned some uneasiness. But his capture has happily removed that evil.

I sincerely hope that you will enter into immediate arrangements with Mr. Seagrove, for running the lines agreeably to the treaty of New York. You possess too much knowledge of human nature not to know, that any further unnecessary delay will excite unpleasant sensations, and that, therefore, it is the interest of all parties to remove, and prevent all causes of misunderstanding.

The system which the President of the United States and the General Government have adopted, relatively to Indian affairs, is so replete with kindness to them, that all good men ought to delight in forwarding the views of the Government.

They require no lands from the Indians; they require nothing of them but what shall tend to their own happiness. Mr. Seagrove, to whom I have written largely, will explain every disposition of the Government to your satisfaction.

Every proper measure is using to induce the Indians, northwest of the Ohio, to peace, and it is much to be desired that they may be effectual.

But, if the Indians, after being fully convinced of the humane intentions of the United States, should continue their depredations upon the defenceless frontiers, humanity, itself, will dictate a severe punishment.

In this event, and this only, some of your warriors, say one or two hundred at most, would be advantageously employed with our army. You will please to understand, on this point, that it is apprehended, that, unless they join us, they will join the hostile Indians; but I pray God there may be no use for them on either side.

Mr. Seagrove is particularly instructed upon this subject, which he will show you.

I have the pleasure to inform you, that your nephew is well, that his growth is great, that he learns as expeditiously as could be desired, that he is contented, and that his morals are irreproachable; as a specimen of his learning, he writes you the enclosed.

I am, sir, &c.

*The Secretary of War to Mr. Joseph Ellicot, surveyor.—29th April, 1792.*

SIR: I have received your letter of the 27th of March. The objects still remaining the same, I must request your staying where you are, until they are brought to conclusion, or until further orders.

I am, sir, &c.

*The Secretary of War to the Governor of Virginia.—16th May, 1792.*

SIR:

In order that you may possess all the information in my power to give, upon the subject of disturbances on the southwestern frontiers of Virginia, I enclose you the copy of a letter of Governor Blount, which was received two days ago.

It is most probable, that, upon the arrival of the Cherokees, who were at this city, among their own people, the apprehensions of hostilities from that tribe may subside.

Besides, Governor Blount has appointed to have a conference with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, at Nashville, early in June, at which the principal Cherokees will be invited.

The capture of Bowles, by the Spaniards, and the arrangements making at the Rock Landing, by Mr. Seagrove, in behalf of the United States, with Mr. McGillivray and the Creeks, will probably restore entire tranquillity in that quarter.

Judging from the information in my possession, it would appear that the United States have much to hope, and but little to apprehend, from the disposition of the Southern nations of Indians. It would appear, that if, by necessity, the war with the Indians, northwest of the Ohio, must progress, that we could obtain five or six hundred Southern Indians to join our army.

It is true that some of the Chickamagas, and others of the Cherokees, who have had considerable intercourse with the Shawanese, for some years past, have, at times, manifested bad symptoms. But the death of the Dragging-canoe, and the probable election of John Watts, a bold, sensible, and friendly half breed, to the chief direction of the said towns, would probably settle the remnants of the war on the Southern frontier.

From the information contained in Governor Blount's letter, together with such information as you possess by other channels, and this statement, your Excellency will be able to judge of the necessity of your presence upon the southwestern frontiers of the Commonwealth over which you preside.

In case, however, you should think proper to make the journey, I beg leave to repeat, what I have before mentioned to you frequently, by the express direction of the President of the United States, that he will concur in every reasonable measure for the defensive protection of the southern frontier of Virginia, which your Excellency may think proper to establish, as far as he is or shall be authorized by law.

He is impressed with the conviction, that all parts of the Union ought to be defended at the general expense, and he will, therefore, most readily impart that defence according to the authority vested in him.

The President of the United States, actuated by sincere desires of terminating the Indian war without the further effusion of blood, has directed that overtures of peace should be made, by explaining the designs of the United States relative to Indian lands, on which point there were grounds to believe the Indians had been grossly deceived.

Accordingly, these pacific overtures are in train, through various channels, and, it is to be hoped, they will be attended with good effects.

In the mean time, offensive operations are, of course, restrained, and the Indians have been desired to call in their war parties.

I have the honor, &c.

*The Secretary of War to the Governor of Virginia.—30th June, 1792.*

SIR:

Governor Blount, in a letter of the 2d instant, gives such information of the pacific dispositions of the great mass of the Cherokees, that hopes are entertained of the entire re-establishment of tranquillity with that tribe.

On the 23d of May, he met with a great number of chiefs, and people of all descriptions, at one of the Indian towns, called Coyatay, and received from them great satisfaction as to the sincerity of their dispositions for peace. They had appointed a still more general assembly, to be held at Estanaula, the 23d of June, at which it was expected that every point in dispute would be amicably adjusted. Upon receiving the result of this meeting, it shall be communicated to your Excellency.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*The Secretary of War to the Governor of Virginia.—11th July, 1792.*

SIR:

Your Excellency's letter, of the 4th instant, was received yesterday, and submitted to the President of the United States.

While it is to be hoped the troops stationed on the Southwestern frontiers, may intercept every party of hostile Indians, it is the desire of the President of the United States, that no expedition be made against the Indian towns at present.

If Governor Blount be not greatly deceived, the proposed general assembling of the Cherokees, at Estanaula, the 23d of last month, (of which I informed you in mine of the 30th) will probably have decided the conduct of the Cherokees.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*The Secretary of War to the Governor of Georgia.—11th July, 1792.*

SIR:

Yesterday I had the honor to receive your Excellency's letter of the 22d May, containing eight enclosures, and to submit it to the President of the United States.

The unfortunate murder of James Yarborough, and son, would not appear, by the enclosed papers, No. 1, and 2, to have been committed by the Creeks.

The information of Mr. Seagrove, who is acting agent to the Creeks, would lead to the belief, that the dispositions of the chiefs and influential men are pacific. He was to have a meeting with a considerable number of the Cowetas and Cussetahs, at the Rock Landing, the latter end of the last month.

At the time, it appears from his information, that the confusion excited by Bowles had not subsided, and that some further interference in the Creek councils had arisen from another quarter, and that it was probable this combination of events would retard the running of the boundary agreeably to the treaty.

It is, however, to be hoped, that, by a system of moderation and perseverance, the whole body of the Creeks may be convinced that their true interest depends on an attachment to the United States, and that they will manifest this disposition, not only by abstaining from all acts of violence, but by complying with all just requisitions.

It is to be deeply regretted, that there are many whites on the frontiers, whose resentments are so keen against all persons bearing the name of Indians, that they have adopted an opinion that it is meritorious to kill them on all occasions. The Indians, again, conceive themselves bound to retaliate every death by an indiscriminate murder.

With such dispositions on both sides, it is difficult, if not utterly impracticable, to prevent, or even to punish, every irregularity.

It will be necessary to do it, in all cases where it is practicable, and to urge the Indians to deliver up the aggressors who have taken their own vengeance. But, it is very questionable, while we are unable, in many cases, to execute our own laws, whether we ought, in justice, to levy a general war upon the Creeks, for the criminality of an individual.

The citizens of the United States are, generally, extremely adverse to an Indian war, almost in any event. Of this disposition, the Executive of the United States have had ample proof, in reference to the Indians northwest of the Ohio.

Although, perhaps, sufficient causes exist, upon an abstract view of the subject, to justify extreme rigorous measures with the Northwestern Indians, yet, the principles of policy, and the general opinion of the community upon this subject, have induced the President of the United States to endeavor, by pacific expedients, to terminate the war; and measures are accordingly in operation for this purpose; but, whether they will be successful, cannot yet be determined.

The same disposition will lead to endeavor to adjust, amicably, all difference with the Creeks, and to wait the issue of time and events, to bring them to a cordial acquiescence in the treaty of New York.

Major Gaither will soon set out for Georgia, in order to take the command of the troops. His orders will be discretionary as to the mode of the disposition of the troops for the defence of the frontiers, and, therefore, I have no doubt, but he will establish the desired post at the Big Shoals of the Oconee.

In case of a serious war with the Creeks, the number of troops to be employed will require an officer of a superior grade to a major. In such an unfortunate event, the President of the United States will make a due provision.

But, as it is not perceived there is any just cause to expect that the Creeks will make an irruption, it is conceived that a major, at present, will be adequate to the occasion.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*The Secretary of War to Joseph Ellicot, Esq. surveyor.—11th August, 1792.*

SIR:

The running the line, agreeably to the treaty, seems to be placed at a very uncertain period. You are, therefore, hereby instructed to consult Mr. Seagrove upon this point, and, if it shall appear to him that your services will not be soon required for that object, you will return to this city.

I am, sir, &c.

*The Secretary of War to Brigadier General Alexander McKillivray.—11th August, 1792.*

SIR:

I have received your letter of the 18th of May last, which has been submitted to the President of the United States.

It is painful to reflect, that, after the capture of the impostor Bowles, any of his pernicious influence should remain.

But the information communicated by you and others, of the interference of your neighbors in your internal affairs, and in your affairs with the United States, is still as extraordinary and more unaccountable.

I pray you, as early as possible, to unravel this mystery, and inform me precisely of the nature and extent of this interference.

It is to be hoped, that you will use your influence that the boundary line be run according to the treaty, at as early a period as may be.

If that line concerns principally the Cussetahs and Cowetas, and they are willing to abide thereby, it would follow, that other towns, who have no right to the lands, ought not to persist in upholding the only obstacle to our close union.

Let the situation of the Creeks and the United States be fairly estimated, is there any connexion so natural and proper? Or, in case of a rupture between the United States and the Creeks, (which God forbid) is there any Power which can permanently interpose and prevent the United States from exercising such conduct towards the Creeks as they shall think proper? This is not meant in the least as a threat, but, as the cool deliberate result of things.

The President of the United States, upon his first coming into office to the present time, has been desirous of an universal peace with all the Indian tribes; nay, more, of promoting such measures as would lead them to a better state of civilization.

We have indulged, and still indulge the hope, that you will actively concur in every measure which will blend more intimately the interests of the Creeks and the United States.

Some allowance ought to be made for the state of society in which the Creeks are; their ignorance is made subservient to the interest of such bad men as Bowles.

Exert yourself greatly, sir, to restrain all parts of the Creeks from committing hostilities upon any parts of the United States. A banditti are perpetually committing depredations upon the settlements on Cumberland river; this is an old grievance, and requires an instant remedy.

The fact is but too well ascertained, that parties of Creeks go to the Tennessee, under pretence of hunting, but in reality, to murder and rob. For God's sake take some decisive measures to prevent this horrid conduct, or all the ground work of peace, which has been so well and deeply laid, will be in vain.

Governor Blount has written you on this subject, and let you be where you may, upon receiving this letter, pray attend to this request, and take thereon the necessary measures.

Your request, that the money allowed to the Creeks, should be withheld entirely, is rather singular. Perhaps, as it relates to the nation and individual chiefs, it had better be given in goods. If the allowance be too small for the nation generally, I do not doubt, but that, upon a full compliance with the treaty, the United States would reasonably enlarge it. Under the idea, that goods would be better than money, I shall direct a quantity to be placed at the Rock Landing, in order to be delivered to the nation by Mr. Seagrove, on or before the first day of November next.

Permit me to urge, that you be as frequent as possible in your communications with me, and that you appoint times and places to meet Mr. Seagrove, in order to devise ways and means for adjusting, amicably, the mutual interests of the United States and the Creeks.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*The Secretary of War to James Seagrove, Esq.—11th August, 1792.*

Sir:

Your letters of the 24th of May and 14th of June, with their respective enclosures, have been received, and submitted to the President of the United States.

The suspicions you entertain of Mr. McGillivray's integrity may perhaps be well founded. It will therefore be an important part of your duty, that, while you appear to have full faith in his attachment, you use every rational expedient to search out his mind and inclinations towards us.

I have information from Governor Blount, relative to a Spanish officer endeavoring to prevent the boundary line being run agreeably to the treaty. Can this officer be a pretended character, set up by Mr. McGillivray, or is he really an officer of the Spanish Government, thwarting the interest of the United States? It is of considerable moment to ascertain this business.

To develop Mr. McGillivray, will be a work of considerable delicacy. Hitherto the General Government has had scarcely any other avenue than him to the minds of the Creeks. We must not, therefore, appear to distrust or make him jealous of us. We must use him as far as practicable, and devise as many other means as possible. But, to a jealous mind like his, perhaps the most indirect attempts to conciliate the Creeks otherwise than through him, will alarm his suspicions, and beget his enmity.

Indeed, all modes of acquiring an influence with the Creeks, excepting by an actual residence with them, seems precarious and temporary in their effects.

We are an agent, of respectable talents, present with them at their general meetings, administering to their convenience on all occasions, by means of artificers, husbandmen, and physicians, and always evincing himself their impartial friend and protector, with adequate means to their end, such an arrangement appears to me would be attended with more efficacy than all external applications, through bad interpreters and doubtful friends.

It is highly probable that some attempts will be made, in the next session of Congress, for a respectable establishment, generally, for the Indian department, on a conciliatory system. If it shall be adopted, an experiment will at least be made of its wisdom; if rejected, things will be pretty much left to regulate themselves. If so, hostilities will probably ensue, and be continued until the Indians are driven beyond the Mississippi, which may require a period of twenty-five or thirty years. But in case of corrosive measures, not a single particle of benefit will result to the United States generally, either in a pecuniary or moral view; but instead thereof, a black cloud of injustice and inhumanity will impend over our national character during the above period, and for many years after the extirpation of the Indians shall be effected. I trust, however that every thing will be embraced, on the part of the United States, which will be required for their interest or dignity.

Your explanations relatively to the estimates presented for goods, are satisfactory to the President of the United States, who considers your zeal and exertions as important to the public.

I have not heard from you since meeting the Indians at the Rock Landing in the month of June or July, as mentioned in your letters of the 10th of June.

I enclose you an open letter for General Mc Gillivray, which you will please to copy and transmit.

I send by Major Gaither twelve pair of silver arm-bands, four silver medals, and one hundred and thirty-two pair of nose and ear jewels.

These articles you will deliver to Mr. Jack Kinnard, and others of your friends, as an earnest of further rewards.

I shall soon have forwarded a respectable quantity of Indian goods, conformably to the intention expressed in Mr. McGillivray's letter. His expression to me is, "The money allowed us by the treaty is another subject for dispute among the Indians; 'tis too much for the few that pretend to it, and too little for the many, therefore I must desire that it be withheld entirely. The six chiefs are worthy men, and they get theirs in a way that others know nothing of."

But I believe the payment of the nation ought not to be suspended, however it might be with his own salary.

But in order that you shall be properly provided, I shall remit you shortly, his allowance, and also to the chiefs and interpreters.

Major Gaither is ordered to command the troops in Georgia, and Major Call to join the main army. You will find Major Gaither an amiable, discreet, sober gentleman, and a good officer, and who will cordially co-operate with you in all things for the public service.



Congress did not make any establishment for the Indian Department, therefore your salary has not been fixed; but I have transmitted you one thousand dollars, on account of the department, which you may appropriate to your private use.

I am, Sir, &c.

*The Secretary of War to Brigadier General Andrew Pickens.—15th August, 1792.*

SIR:

Your favor of the 15th May was received on the 20th of June, and submitted to the President of the United States.

Your ideas of the difficulty of establishing a peace with the hostile Indians, without further conflict, it is to be apprehended are too well founded. But it is an object of high importance, to make every reasonable effort for that purpose, in order to convince a considerable proportion of the citizens of the United States, that the thing is impracticable.

The cordial zeal with which you have left your private affairs in order to endeavor to benefit the public, is highly satisfactory and gratifying to the President of the United States.

It is probable that the service of the Indians may not be required this year, owing to the long protracted councils of the Northern Indians, who are to repair to the assembled hostile Indians, in order to endeavor to make a peace. At the time that the result of these pacific overtures shall be known, it will probably be too late to undertake any offensive operations of importance, and more particularly to engage any Indians for the purpose of their remaining idle.

But, if our pacific overtures fail, the war will be pushed with great vigor early in the spring, when our troops will be completed and disciplined for the nature of the service. In this event, auxiliary Indians may be required, and I am persuaded your taking a considerable command of them and other light troops, would be particularly acceptable to the President of the United States. Will you have the goodness to impart to me your dispositions on the case here stated, in order to be submitted to the President?

*The Secretary of War to Governor Blount.—15th August, 1792.*

SIR:

Your several letters, hereinafter mentioned, were received at the periods stated, to wit: yours of the 22d and 25th of April, on the 4th of June; of the 5th and 16th of May, on the 5th of June; of the 31st of May, and 2d of June, on the 28th of June; of the 4th of July, on the 23d of the same month; all of which were duly submitted to the President of the United States, excepting the one of the 4th July, which arrived after his departure for Virginia, but the purport of which was transmitted to him.

As the above letters were information consequent on my ample letters of the 23d and 25th of April, and the state of affairs; and as your departure for Nashville was expected, no particular acknowledgment has been made until the present time; and it is to be hoped this may find you at Holston, after having made satisfactory arrangements with all the Chickasaws and Choctaws.

By letters from Colonel Arthur Campbell, of Washington, to the Governor of Virginia and myself, it would seem that all the conferences at Coyate and Estanaula amounted to nothing; and that parties of the Lower towns had set off, not only to attack the boats under the charge of Mr. Allison with the goods, but also to attack you and General Pickens. These ideas are said to have arisen from the information of a friendly chief of the Upper towns.

I am very much inclined to believe, and I sincerely hope, from your letter of the 4th of July, that these fears will prove groundless. And I am the more encouraged in this, as I have been informed verbally, that Mr. Chisholm had brought in some prisoners, who had lately been taken near the Cumberland settlements, at a place called Bledsoe's Station. If my information, given by Mr. Vego of Post Vincennes, lately from Kentucky, be true, the above mentioned station was attacked by a banditti, formed of Shawanese, Cherokees, and Creeks, partly of the very men who attacked Major Doughty in 1790.

But although my hopes and belief unite for your safety and the tranquillity of the Southwestern frontiers, yet an anxiety will still remain until further information shall be received from you.

The five companies of infantry and one of horse, you have ordered into service, if the companies are nearly full, would amount to a pretty formidable force. If sufficiently alert and active, it would seem to be a reasonable expectation that they would intercept and chastise some of the banditti that have lately given your government so much trouble, and the southwestern frontiers of Virginia such serious alarms.

It is really painful to reflect, after all our efforts for peace with the Southern Indians, that affairs in that quarter are so critical. It would seem, from representations, that a few more sparks would light up a pretty general flame.

If this should be the case, it would be considered by the General Government as a very great, and by the mass of the citizens of the Middle and Eastern States as an insupportable evil.

Every thing depends upon your exertions to avert the event of a war, that will be reluctantly entered into, and at best but ill supported.

Every just pretence of grievances on the part of the Indians, if any such exist, must be removed, and if a war must inevitably ensue, it ought to be made appear to all the world, that the Government or citizens of the United States have not been the cause of bringing it on.

Understanding, as you do, the wishes of the President of the United States, a full persuasion must be entertained that you will leave no reasonable expedient unattempted, to effect a general tranquillity. Indeed, your efforts to preserve peace must, and I flatter myself will, be rendered conspicuous.

General Wayne seems at a loss what step to take, relative to any of the Chickasaws or Choctaws joining the army this campaign. I have written him, intimating that the bad season would be so far advanced before the result of our pacific overtures should be known, as to preclude any important offensive operations. That therefore it would be best not to engage any Indians for the present year. This point will be left to his judgment—his orders are to be obeyed.

But it would appear that it would be the preferable arrangement to calling any Indians this year to an ineffectual campaign, to make an agreement with them that they should hold themselves in readiness at an early period of the next year, to obey our call if necessary.

I shall expect that you will, at the earliest moment, give me an ample narrative of every thing proper for me to know.

I have the honor to be, sir, &c.

*The Secretary of War to the Governor of Georgia.—31st August, 1792.*

SIR:

I am instructed by the President of the United States to address your Excellency on the subject of certain intelligence, which he has lately received from the western frontier of Georgia. The purport of it has already been communicated to you by the Southern agent of Indian Affairs, in his letter on the 18th ultimo; and must doubtless have impressed your mind with an anticipation of the most serious consequences.

Your Excellency will recollect, that it is stated upon authority entitled to respect, that some of the western settlers meditate, if not to oppose, at least to impede the completion of the line, stipulated by the treaty of New



York, between the United States and the Creeks; that instead of cultivating friendship with those tribes, every opportunity is sought to provoke war, and threats have been denounced against the persons of those who shall attempt to run the line.

From your Excellency, not only as a public officer, bound by oath to support the constitution of the United States, nor merely as a citizen, interested in the general welfare, but also as a man, feeling for the distresses to which almost your own neighborhood will be exposed from the fury of an unrelenting enemy, a co-operation to defeat these wicked schemes may well be expected. Indeed, sir, the situation of the United States strongly demands that this co-operation be immediate, zealous, and firm.

An Indian war is so adverse to strict economy, and the due order of the finances, that it cannot be too warmly deprecated by the United States; and any new and considerable source of expense, as it would tend to protract the extinguishment of the public debt, would be particularly unfortunate.

Nor can it have escaped your Excellency, that other nations have acquired a solid and profitable confidence with the Indians, by giving steady proofs of a sincere and friendly temper towards them. With these nations, long known to them, we have to maintain a competition; having no professions of ancient habits in our favor, and beginning only to establish a reputation with them. We are, therefore, liable to constant misrepresentation, even with the purest conduct, and surely we ought not to afford cause of complaint by acting unjustly. These sentiments call for the attention of no State more forcibly than of Georgia; upon which the foreign power in her vicinity might, by gaining an ascendancy over the Southern tribes, let them loose with all the horrors of their warfare.

In the spirit of these considerations was the treaty of New York made. Among the means of perpetuating harmony, a permanent boundary was the primary and most obvious. Nothing was left undone to obtain the most advantageous line; and your Excellency may be assured, that the one which has been obtained is more advantageous than any other which the United States could then accomplish, or can by any possible effort be now effected. It is greatly to be feared, that the Creeks will accede even to it with extreme reluctance. But it will be disgraceful and perfidious in the United States to suffer it to be obstructed by the evil machinations of any turbulent men whatsoever.

Under these circumstances, your Excellency will easily discover what is the duty of the federal and your own Government. The constitution has been freely adopted; the regulation of our Indian connexion is submitted to Congress; and the treaties are parts of the supreme law of the land. It would be a criminal negligence in the federal administration to pass over the gross infraction of public tranquillity, and the insult to the public honor, which are said to be in contemplation. I am authorized to declare to you, sir, in order to testify the determination to uphold you in the most vigorous exertions under the laws of your State, that those of the United States will be strictly enforced and executed upon the offenders, without distinction.

To invite your Excellency to the strenuous exercise of the power which your office confers upon you, no arguments can be necessary. It cannot be believed that any State would assume upon itself a responsibility for the waste of blood and treasure, which the want of a timely interposition, on this occasion, must produce. It cannot be believed that any State would countenance, even by indifference, those individuals, who shall presume to set the constitution and the law at defiance. While every usurpation of power will be avoided, no legal power ought to be abandoned. Permit me, then, to exhort you, as you regard the Union, and love order, to suppress those violent and unwarrantable proceedings, of which you have been apprised. The affections of the enlightened citizens must be with you in such a contest: for those who may be compelled to step forward with energy in this exigency, can have no interest, distinct from theirs, nor any wish to gratify, but that of preventing the public authority from being trampled under foot.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*The Secretary of War to James Seagrove, Esquire.—31st October, 1792.*

Sir:

I wrote you pretty amply, on the 11th instant, by Major Gaither, on such subjects as arose from your communications, to the 14th June last, a duplicate of which is herein enclosed.

I have now to reply to yours of the 5th and 27th of July, to the President of the United States, per express; yours to me, of the same dates; and, also, to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 4th of the present month, introducing Mr. James Leonard.

Your information of the interference of the person styling himself Captain Olivar, in the affairs of the Creek nation, and his attempts to prevent the fulfilment of the treaty of New York, is also corroborated and confirmed, by similar evidence, received from Governor Blount.

To watch closely the further movements and designs of the said Captain Olivar, and to have them attested by undeniable evidence, on oath, are circumstances of considerable moment, and on which you will please to bestow your highest attention.

But, in the pursuit of this business, or in any measures you may adopt to obviate or counteract his impressions, you will observe an entire delicacy as it shall relate to the Spanish Government, rather holding up the idea that Captain Olivar may be acting without due authority from the said Government.

For, however important it may be to ascertain the designs of the Spaniards, yet it ought to be effected in such a manner as shall not commit the United States unnecessarily, by the conduct of their officers. While, therefore, your measures are calculated to give you perfect information of the measures pursuing in East and West Florida, you will appear always to hold openly, a cordial language towards Spain, and at the same time to be extremely cautious in making any communications to its officers, excepting those for which you shall have special directions, or arising out of the state of things specified in my letter to you of the 29th of April last.

However Mr. McGillivray's influence may appear at present to be diminished, yet it was all powerful a very short period prior to Bowles' appearance; perhaps his apparent shrinking from a contest with Bowles, may have been the consequence of a defect of nerves, or an artifice to accomplish some end of the sort you have mentioned. Although his attachment to the United States may be justly questioned, yet it may be a pretty dangerous experiment to proceed as if he had lost all authority or influence in the nation, or to endeavor avowedly to contribute to his degradation. His own and his wife's relations are numerous, and of considerable importance, and would, in this event, in conjunction with his own exertions, have the power of exciting hostilities against the United States. Until, therefore, he shall throw off the mask entirely, we ought apparently to treat him as our firm friend; but at the same time, to keep an eagle's eye upon all his conduct. His temper is naturally suspicious, and if he finds his fidelity is actually suspected, his open endeavors may be used to our injury. I am persuaded his prejudices are too deeply rooted ever to be cordial to Spain, and in any estimate he may make of assistance to be derived either from that Power or the United States, he would give us the preference. But as he is indolent, and hates trouble, and as they may have made him great pecuniary offers, although he does not appear to be avaricious, it is probable that he may have temporarily given his concurrence to some designs of the Spanish officers. The point is too well established, as to his duplicity both to you and me, relatively to the Spanish officer, in his letter of the 18th May; and, in order that you may possess all the clews in my power, to unravel his conduct, I have enclosed you a copy of that letter.

It is not only extremely difficult, but hazardous, to act in the dark. Hitherto, our approaches to the Creeks have been external only; our measures have been taken in consequence of imperfect information, arising from the ignorance or designs of the informants, or, perhaps, through the medium of bad interpreters.

The more the subject is considered, the more the idea stated in my former letters, of the actual residence of agents within the most populous parts of the nation, is confirmed. Were men, of respectable characters for talents and integrity, once established among the Indians, they would possess the opportunity, and most probably the power,

of regulating events as they should arise. They would acquire a knowledge of the characters of the most influential chiefs, and of the proper modes of managing them. Occasions would frequently occur of administering to their wants, and of fixing their gratitude. In short, such agents, so stationed, and acting purely for the mutual interests of the United States and Indians, would soon attain a respectable and pre-eminent influence. But the exterior impulse, or calls which are given now and then, attract principally the idle and worthless, hold out motives for diversion from their ordinary pursuits, and one gratification of a present of goods begets another.

It will therefore become expedient, in future, that you should, or some other person or persons, in behalf of the United States, take up an actual residence within the Creek nation, at least for a considerable portion of the year, and it is to be hoped the Congress will make an adequate allowance as a salary.

From the abilities you have exhibited upon the subject of Indian affairs, and the favorable opinion entertained and expressed thereof, by the President of the United States, I am authorized to say, that he considers you as the suitable character to direct the affairs of the Creeks, having under you one or two subordinate agents; but at the same time, to say, that he considers an actual residence within the heart of the nation, as indispensably necessary for the affairs of the United States; and, as it is necessary to be explicit on this head, I request your immediate information, whether such residence would be agreeable to you, and where you would fix your residence. It appears to me, that one person, at least, ought to reside with the Lower Creeks, making his head-quarters with the Cussetahs, and another with the Upper Creeks, at Tuckabatchie or the Oakfuskee, on the Tallapoosa river, whichever shall be the residence of the white Lieutenant, whose character renders his entire friendship of importance. And you, as principal, to reside sometimes with one and sometimes with the other: I have not the least doubt that you would soon be able to bring back General McGillivray to a sense of his duty, and to fix him decidedly in our interests.

If you know suitable characters, who would willingly reside among the Creeks, as before stated, whose abilities and integrity would afford due confidence, you will please to recommend them to the President of the United States, but without giving, at present, any encouragement whatever to such persons. They must neither trade or endeavor to obtain lands, excepting for their immediate cultivation. Although I am not able to say the probable amount of their salaries, I conceive it may be from five hundred to seven hundred and fifty dollars each, besides assistance of cattle, implements of husbandry, &c. to commence an establishment of the kind mentioned in the Creek treaty.

Although the foregoing reasons are considered as conclusive in favor of an internal, instead of an external communication, yet present circumstances may, in some degree, render the latter expedient.

The meeting, therefore, which you propose on the first of November next, with the Lower Creeks, has been approved by the President of the United States, on the expectation that it will, as far as possible, be restricted to the chiefs only, agreeably to your proposal; as you have conditionally agreed to this meeting, it might have ill effects, were it not complied with. The Indians will but imperfectly conceive the distinction between a conditional and an actual promise, and therefore it must take place. But, in future, you will carefully attend to the injunction contained in my letter to you of the 29th of April, to wit: That there be no great assembling of the Creeks, but in consequence of a previous statement of the causes thereof, and the express approbation of the President of the United States is obtained.

Goods, corn, and money of the sort, and for objects and amount specified in the enclosed estimate, will be transported from this city to St. Mary's, in due season, and for which you will be timely informed. [Amount of the above estimate, thirteen thousand three hundred and fourteen dollars and sixty-one cents.]

It will be confided to you to make such distribution of the goods and corn to the Lower towns as your judgment shall direct, making always a precise statement of the deliveries and evidences thereof, in the same manner as those transmitted by you on the 27th ultimo.

You will please to ascertain the extent of the loss of the Indian crops of corn, and whether it has equally, and in what degree, affected the Lower Creeks, and you will, as soon as possible, transmit the result, and an estimate of the amount of the quantity which would be an effectual relief to the parts oppressed.

If the real necessities of the Lower Creeks require a larger quantity than the five thousand bushels intended to be transported to St. Mary's; you may intimate to them that the President of the United States, actuated by his humanity and regard for them, will order a further quantity, provided they exhibit, on their parts, similar dispositions of kindness and attachment to the United States.

The advantages of removing the troops to the head of St. Mary's, are not readily perceived, were the position undoubtedly within the limits of the State of Georgia, the inhabitants being very few in number. But, according to the map in my possession, it would appear that the old line strikes the St. Mary's considerably below the head of the river. The change of officers has rendered the detachment at St. Mary's without an officer of the line. But Major Call sent Captain McLane hence, to inspect that post, and to enjoin Doctor Hayward, a surgeon in service, of merit, to remain in command until Lieutenant Nicoll, of the artillery, should return there.

The extremely reprehensible conduct of some lawless white inhabitants of the frontiers of Georgia, has been noticed in a letter to the Governor of that State, a copy of which is enclosed.

It may be expedient, and you are hereby requested to obtain well attested evidences of all irregularities tending to excite hostilities with the Creeks, in order that such measures may be taken thereon as the nature of the case and the posture of public affairs may require.

The sketches of accounts you transmitted are very proper, and will, I presume, serve to exonerate you at the treasury, where your accounts will be adjusted. I mean, however, to except your account for expense. It is probable a sum will be allowed you to embrace all your contingent charges; what that sum will be, must be left to the judgment of the Legislature, but I flatter myself it will be satisfactory.

The goods which remain at the Rock Landing will be disposed of hereafter, at that post, to the friendly Upper Creeks. To remove them would not only be expensive, but prevent the exercise of that public generosity, which, on the present occasion, seems in a considerable degree to be necessary in Indian affairs. It would have been satisfactory had you specified the quantity remaining on hand: for, although the accounts transmitted will show the deliveries at the time mentioned, yet it is not improbable, that, at other times, you have been constrained to make presents in a subordinate degree.

The Creek treaty points out the manner in which passports are to be given. It is presumed the Governor of Georgia, the commanding officer of the troops, and yourself, only, have this authority. Some copperplates shall be devised, in order to prevent counterfeit passes.

The licences for traders to go into the Creek country cannot at present be granted, consistently with what is understood upon the subject between the parties. You will, therefore, not give any such licences, and you will please to inform me whether such licences are, or have been, given by any other person. Trading houses may be set up, upon the line within the State of Georgia, to which Indians may, as any other persons, resort, to purchase goods.

I transmit you herein, certain regulations in the Indian department, formed by the President of the United States, on the twenty eighth day of August, 1790, in pursuance of the laws regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes; and also, a copy of said laws, by both of which your conduct must be governed.

I am, &c.

*The Secretary of War to James Seagrove, Esq.—24th September, 1792.*

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose you an invoice of the articles laden on board the Sloop Polly, Captain John Smith, and Schooner Oak, Captain William Mason. The remainder of the corn, about four hundred and fifty bushels, will be laden on board another vessel. [The amount of the aforesaid invoice, seven thousand three hundred and thirty-six dollars and eighty-one cents.]

You will please to transmit duplicate receipts for those articles upon your receiving them.  
I have transmitted you duplicates of my letter of 31st ultimo; one by your express, and the other by the way of Charleston; since which I have not received any of your favors.  
I hope these goods will arrive safe and in good condition, and that the happiest consequences may be effected by your judicious distribution of them.  
I pray you to continue your frequent and minute communications.

I am, sir, &c.

*The Secretary of War to Governor Blount.—9th October, 1792.*

SIR:

It is with infinite regret I have perused your letter of the 11th ultimo, which I have this day received, containing information of the declaration of war by the five Lower Cherokee towns, against the United States.

From the train of negotiations with the Cherokees, the causes of such a conduct on their parts is involved in obscurity, and the affair is still rendered more perplexed by their being headed by John Watts, from whom you have heretofore expected such assistance.

I beg leave to request as early as possible a statement of the alleged and actual causes of their violent conduct, in order that it may be explained to Congress.

As you have ample powers to call for such portions of the militia of your Government for its defensive protection as you shall judge occasions to require, no further steps can be taken at this moment.

The Congress, which possess the powers of declaring war, will assemble on the 5th of next month; until their judgments shall be made known, it seems essential to confine all your operations to defensive measures. This is intended to restrain any expedition against the Indian towns, but all incursive parties against your frontiers are to be punished with the greatest severity.

It will be of a high degree of importance on your part to confirm all the well disposed part of the Cherokee nation, and to quiet their apprehensions against our attacks.

Were it possible to make them the instruments to punish the revolted towns, it would seem to be just, as well as good policy.

Will it not be possible for you to send a faithful and intelligent agent to the Upper towns of the Creeks, to restrain the expedition of their banditti? Such a measure is indispensable.

Mr. Seagrove's communications are, it seems, more with the Lower than Upper Creeks—the depredations upon Cumberland seem to be confined to the latter.

The President of the United States will arrive here on Saturday next, being the 13th instant; any further measures which he shall direct to be taken, shall be communicated to you by the post, who will commence his operations on the 15th instant.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*The Secretary of War to the Governor of Virginia.—9th October, 1792.*

SIR:

I have this day received a letter by express from Governor Blount, dated at Knoxville, the 11th ultimo. He states, that the five Lower towns on the Tennessee, headed by John Watts, have formally declared war against the United States, and that the warriors had set out upon some expedition against the frontiers, probably against the Cumberland settlements. The numbers of the warriors who had set out, are stated variously from three to six hundred, including one hundred banditti Creeks.

Governor Blount had ordered one regiment of the militia of Washington district into service, and had also despatched an express to Miro district, on Cumberland river, with orders to Brigadier General Robertson to put his brigade in the best possible state of defence.

Although the details transmitted do not admit of the least doubt of the authenticity of the information as to the disposition of the five Lower towns, yet, as the express has been so long on the road, and no further information having been received, some hopes may be entertained that there has not been any sudden or successful stroke on the part of the Indians.

It is observed by Governor Blount, that the Cherokees have not complained to him, in a single instance, of the infraction of the treaty of Holston. That the Little Turkey, and the greater part of the nation, have now given the strongest assurances of their attachment to the United States, and their desire for peace.

Governor Blount has long been invested with ample discretionary powers to call into service such portions of the militia of his government as he should judge necessary for its defensive protection.

The nearness of the time at which Congress is to meet, who only are invested with the powers of war, will render it essential to wait the result of their deliberations, before offensive measures can be directed, supposing the information transmitted by Governor Blount to be authentic.

In the mean time, your Excellency will be the judge, whether any future measures should be necessary for the defence of the southwestern parts of Virginia, at the expense of the Union, of the nature and in addition to those before taken.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*The Secretary of War to the Governor of Virginia.—11th October, 1792.*

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's favor of the 4th instant, and it shall be submitted to the President of the United States on his arrival, and the result transmitted to you.

I have the pleasure to enclose an extract of a letter just received from Governor Blount, containing information of a contrary tendency to that which I communicated on the 9th instant.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*The Secretary of War to the Governor of Virginia.—14th October, 1792.*

SIR:

The President of the United States, to whom I have submitted your Excellency's letter of the 4th instant, has directed me to inform you, that he does not, from his present view of the subject, conceive any measures, on the part of the Legislature of Virginia, necessary for the defence of the frontiers, during the ensuing year.

That he flatters himself, the respectable force authorized by Congress, during their late session, together with the militia, which the laws authorize him to call into the service, will prove adequate to the occasions which may arise.

He has further desired me to tender you his thanks for your ideas relatively to the block-houses, for the purpose of cutting the communication between the Northern and Southern Indians, which he will take into his consideration; and he requests that you will be pleased, from time to time, to transmit such further ideas as may occur to you to be important, either respecting a defensive or offensive war with the Indians.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*The Secretary of War to the Governor of South Carolina.—27th October, 1792.*

SIR:

The President of the United States has directed me to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter, of the 30th ultimo, with the enclosures therein contained, from General Pickens and Colonel Anderson, dated the 12th, 13th, and 20th of the same month.

Governor Blount, of the territory of the United States, south of the Ohio, has also transmitted similar information to that contained in your enclosures, relatively to the hostile designs of the five Lower Cherokee or Chickamaga towns, on the Tennessee river.

It would appear, that the five Cherokee towns, containing perhaps from three to five hundred warriors, and abetted by a number of individuals of the Upper Creeks, chiefly young men, are disposed for war; and their principal object appears to be the settlements on Cumberland river. A summary of this information is contained in the papers No. 1, 2, 3, and 4, this day received from Governor Blount.

The information from Mr. Seagrove, agent to the Creek nation, dated at St. Mary's, on the 13th ultimo, appears to encourage the hope, that the Lower towns of the Creeks are favorably disposed for peace.

The United States have existing treaties of peace and friendship with the four Southern tribes of Indians: no complaints have been made of the infraction of those treaties, nor does it appear that any of the Southern tribes have any just cause of war against the United States. Valuable presents have been given to all the said tribes, in the course of the present year, and the Creeks and Cherokees have, each of them, an annual allowance of one thousand five hundred dollars.

The Chickasaws and Choctaws are friendly, and, it would appear, so are the mass of the Cherokees and Creeks, the five towns of the former, and certain individuals of the latter, excepted; for it has not yet been made to appear that the conduct of the Creeks is the result of any deliberation of any assembly of chiefs, or of any particular towns.

It has been said, that the sudden turn that the Indians have taken for war, has been dictated by the interference of a neighboring European Power; but the evidence on this head may be questioned.

As Congress will be in session in a few days, the information on this subject will be submitted to them. The constitution has invested them with the right of declaring war. Until, therefore, their decision shall be made known, the Executive cannot authorize offensive measures; although, in the mean time, it may be necessary to make the most vigorous preparations for defensive, and eventually for offensive measures, by providing abundance of arms and ammunition.

The President of the United States has commanded me to express his entire approbation of your Excellency's sentiments and orders on this head.

The agent appointed by you, to provide six hundred arms in this city, being unable to purchase any that were suitable, the President of the United States directed that he should be furnished from the public arsenal, at the prices mentioned in the within schedule.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

*The Secretary of War to the Governor of Georgia.—27th October, 1792.*

SIR:

I have the honor to inform your Excellency, that it appears, by information from Governor Blount, dated the 7th instant, that the five Lower towns of the Cherokees, on the Tennessee river, commonly known as the Chickamaga towns, containing perhaps from three to five hundred warriors, have decided upon hostility against the United States: that they are aided by a number of banditti Upper Creeks, and that their first object is probably the Cumberland settlements.

As Congress is on the eve of their session, the information upon the subject will be submitted to them. The constitution having invested that body with the powers of war, no offensive operations can be taken, until they shall be pleased to authorize the same.

But, as the evils existing and apprehended from some of the Southern Indians, may be greatly extended, it is submitted to your Excellency whether it would not be highly expedient that the militia should be well armed, and furnished with ammunition as soon as possible, so as to be ready for any events.

At present, the information does not warrant the conclusion that more of the Cherokees than the five towns and the Creeks beforementioned, are for hostilities; but when the flames of war are once lighted up, it will be difficult effectually to restrain them within narrow limits.

If the information which you may receive shall substantiate clearly any hostile designs of the Creeks, against the frontiers of Georgia, you will be pleased to take the most effectual measures for the defence thereof that may be in your power, and which the occasion may require. In such an unfortunate event, however, I will thank you for the earliest information, by express, of the circumstances of the invasion, and the force called into activity to repel the same.

I have written by this conveyance to Major Gaither, and have directed him to use the highest vigilance against any accident; but, at the same time, to avoid every measure which might tend to bring on the evil we anxiously desire to avoid.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

*The Secretary of War to Major Henry Gaither, commanding officer of the troops of the United States in Georgia. 27th October, 1792.*

SIR:

The information contained in your letter, relative to the hostile disposition of the five Lower Cherokee towns, on the Tennessee, is confirmed by Governor Blount.

Affairs wearing such an aspect, it will be highly incumbent upon you to be on your guard, and observe, together with all the troops under your orders, the most soldierly vigilance. Constant patrols secure against surprise, and habituate the men to that sort of discipline indispensable to an Indian warfare.

But, while you take every precautionary measure against being surprised, you must also endeavor to avoid an air of suspicion to any friendly Indians; always treating them with frankness and kindness, and assuring them of the friendship of the United States.

I am, sir, &amp;c.

*The Secretary of War to James Seagrove, Esquire.—27th October, 1792.*

SIR:

Since my last to you, of the 31st of August, triplicates of which were transmitted, I have received your letters of the 8th and 13th of September.

The information which you therein convey, of the pacific disposition of the Lower towns, is highly satisfactory; and you cannot render a more acceptable service than to confirm it.

The five Lower towns on the Tennessee, commonly called the Chickamagas, have probably decided for hostilities against the frontiers in that vicinity. The said towns contain probably from three to five hundred warriors, and are aided by a number of banditti of the Upper Creeks, chiefly young men. It does not appear in evidence, that the conduct of the said Creeks is influenced by the result of any deliberations of any assembly of chiefs, or even of towns.

It is of the highest importance that you strain every nerve, and make use of every possible expedient, by impressing the chiefs who will be at your conference; or otherwise to restrain the rash young men from joining in any hostilities against the United States.

Were you to make a journey into the nation, to the Upper Creeks, protected by your friend Jack Kinnard, the White-bird-tail king the Tallassee king, or any others of our friends, you might be the means of preventing a war. I believe Mr. McGillivray has returned to his house, at Little Tallassee; an interview with him would have a good effect. Every effort must be made to avert a war; and if you should be able to make it appear, that you had been the mean of effecting so good an end, it would at once enhance your political consequence, and entitle you to the warmest approbation of the President of the United States.

Pray continue to write frequently and fully, upon the subject of your charge.

I am, sir, &c.

No. IV.

*Information received relatively to the dispositions of the Southern Indians, and the causes of the hostilities of part of the Cherokees and Creeks.*

*Governor Blount to the Secretary of War.*

KNOXVILLE, March 20th, 1792.

SIR:

Enclosed are copies of letters from Colonel Robertson, of Davidson County, Richard Justice, and the Glass, two Cherokee chiefs, a description of the five Lower Cherokee towns; and a report of Major Craig, respecting the alteration of the sentiments and conduct of the Cherokees in the within described five Lower towns of that nation. I rely fully on the information contained in them severally. Mr. Craig is the person I engaged to bear my letter to the Little Turkey and other chiefs, of the 12th of February, a copy of which I forwarded by Mr. Allison to you; is considered a man of veracity, quite well acquainted with the Cherokee chiefs, generally, and their affairs, as well as with the white people traders, and others residing among them, having for years been a frontier man, on Nine-mile creek, within twelve miles of Chota, and generally viewed by the whites as too great a friend to Indians. This alteration of sentiment and conduct in the five Lower towns, and which I have no reason even to suspect, has extended to any other part of the nation, is to be accounted for by their intercourse with the Creeks and Shawanese, since the defeat of General St. Clair, and the arrival of Bowles from England, and perhaps to the death of the Dragging Canoe, who, under the Little Turkey, was their head; and, as a warrior, stood second to none in the nation, except John Watts, and well attached to the United States, as had appeared by his friendly treatment of Mrs. Starke, and others, immediately after the late treaty. The purposes for which Watts is invited to those towns, as mentioned in Mr. Craig's report, is to offer him the place of Dragging Canoe, of which it supposed he will not accept, as it is known he has a dislike to living in that part of the nation, and a strong desire for peace; but there is no doubt but he will use his influence, while among them, to induce them to desist from murdering and horse-stealing; and I have hopes that it will be so great as temporarily to lessen those evils. The Glass's own letter affords proof of a violation of the late treaty; and I consider the report of Mr. Craig equally as authentic. It is no less certain, (in my opinion) when satisfaction shall be demanded, that it will be refused by the nation; and thus impressed with the certainty of a refusal, it appears to me most prudent to decline making a demand, until I shall be honored with instructions how to act on such an event. In the mean time I shall say nothing to the nation on the subject; but use all possible means, by agents, public or secret, in the nation, to keep them from committing hostilities, and to protect the frontiers by calling into service a part of the militia. One reason for declining the demand of satisfaction, as before stated, is, that (in my opinion) the Indians of the five Lower towns would consider a refusal as an open declaration of war, and act accordingly; and, by declining it, it is probable they may hope the offence will be looked over, as murders and horse-stealing, upon and from the Cumberland and Kentucky people and others, have ever and repeatedly been before the late treaty; and under that hope they may not so immediately join the Shawanese and Creeks. Judging from the talk of the Little Turkey, as quoted in Mr. Craig's report, and every other information I have obtained, I believe the Cherokee nation lying on the southeast of Chatanuga mountain will remain neuter, if any attempt should be made to punish or destroy the five Lower towns; but if those towns receive timely information of such intention, they will, very probably, obtain auxiliaries from the Creeks, but what number I am not able even to conjecture. The depredations mentioned in Colonel Robertson's letter clearly point out the necessity of protection, in the quarter where they have been committed; and the information contained in Mr. Craig's report warrants apprehensions that the next conveyance will bring accounts of much greater. I am sorry to inform you that there does not appear any hope that the attempts to raise a company of Cherokees, to oppose the Shawanese, will be attended with success.

I have the honor to be, sir, &c.

[ENCLOSURES.]

*Colonel Elijah Robertson to Governor Blount.*

NASHVILLE, 28th February, 1792.

SIR:

I this moment received information that the Indians, a few hours ago, killed James Thompson, and family; also Peter Caffey's family, within about five miles of Nashville. It appears that, in the evening, they killed Mr. Thompson in the yard, and jumped into the house and killed all the women and children, except two small ones, who they spoke to in English, and told them to grow up, and then they would come and kill them. I am raising a party to pursue them.

I am, &c.

*Richard Justice and Thomas Glass to Governor Blount.*

LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN, March 5th, 1792.

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

We received yours by Major Craig, but as he can inform you of the Little Turkey being gone up to Major Craig's, or to your house, without knowing any thing of these letters coming this way; but we expect you'll see each other, and talk matters over, and whatever you and he agrees upon, we shall be satisfied with, as we leave it entirely to him, as he is gone your way. As he is not here, we cannot send you an answer such as we would have done had the Little Turkey been at home. But, when he returns, we shall expect to hear from you, and, whatever you and he agree upon, we shall abide by. These from your honor's sincere friends and brothers,

THO. GLASS,  
RICHARD JUSTICE.

P. S.—The Glass this fall went out a hunting, without thinking of any thing but to mind his hunting, and made his hunt in peace and quietness; but some young fellows coming from the norward, meeting with some of his young fellows, and telling them that all the people here was at war, the meeting some white people in the woods did some mischief unknown to the Glass. I think your people are to blame to be going through the hunting grounds, although ours are not blameless. You may think that the Glass and his people are bad, but what I tell you is the truth; for,

when it was in his power to have killed Colonel Hubbard and his party last spring, he, as it were, lifted them up and told them to go in peace. As we now think of nothing but keeping peace with you and all other white people. These from your Excellency's friend and brother.

RICHARD JUSTICE.

*Description of the Five Cherokee towns, lying northwest of Chatanuga Mountain, to wit:*

Running Water lies on the south bank of the Tennessee, except five or six huts which are on the north side, three miles above Nickajack, and twelve below the Suck; here some Shawanese are settled, containing one hundred huts in 1790, and is a common crossing place for the Creeks.

Nickajack lies on the south bank of the Tennessee, five miles above the Long Island village, and fifteen miles below the Suck, contained about forty huts in 1790; some Shawanese settled here in 1789 and 1790; here the Creeks and Northwards cross.

Long Island Village, which comprehends an island called the Long Island in the Tennessee, and a number of huts on the south side, is twenty miles below the Suck, and ten above Crowtown, contained ten or twelve huts in 1790; here the Creeks and Northwards cross.

Crow Town lies on the north side of the Tennessee, half a mile from the river, up Crow creek; 30 miles below the Suck, is the lowest town in the Cherokee nation, contained about 30 huts in 1790; the Creeks and northward tribes cross here.

Look-out Mountain town, on Look-out Mountain creek, lies between two mountains, 15 miles from the mouth of the creek, about 15 miles to the southward of the running water; contains 80 huts. A valley leads from the mouth of this creek, three or four miles wide, to this town.

The warriors of these five towns are now computed at from two hundred and fifty to three hundred, and are, generally, that part of the Cherokees distinguished as Chickamagas.

The Running Water, the upper of the four on the river, is about one hundred and fifty miles from this place, and the river may be passed in large canoes at all seasons.

Chatanuga mountain, which lies to the southeast of these towns, can be passed at several places, either by cavalry or infantry, with but very little difficulty, if not opposed. The base of it is said not to exceed two miles, and the height not very great.

It was in attempting to pass this mountain that General Martin was repulsed in the year 1790.

*The Report of David Craig to William Blount, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for the Southern district, made at Knoxville, March 15th, 1792.*

With your letters of the 12th day of February, to the Little Turkey, and Richard Justice and the Glass chiefs, of the Cherokees, I soon after proceeded to the Look-out Mountain town, the residence of the two latter, and delivered your letters to them on the 27th: their answers thereto you have herewith. At this town I stayed several days, as did Mr. McKee, who accompanied me, before we proceeded for the Turkey's town. During our stay, I was informed that a brother to the Drugging Canoe had, about a month before, brought in a white boy 10 or 12 years of age, to the Running Water, which he said he had bought from the Northward Indians.

Whether it is true that this boy was bought or obtained from the Northward Indians, is uncertain; but, certain it is, such a boy is brought in a prisoner. On the 22d, the Glass, of the Look-out mountain, as before mentioned, and the Turtle-at-home, (his Indian name not remembered) the head man of the Running Water, arrived at their respective towns, the Glass with a white girl, aged about eight years, a prisoner, and two scalps. The girl says, the party of which she was, consisted of her father, and two other men, and her mother and several children, on their way from the Natchez to Nashville, and that her mother and one child were killed and scalped; and this, with the Indian account, agrees so far as that the scalps by the Glass brought in, were taken from a woman and child, and that the men of the party escaped: and the "Turtle-at-home," with a white boy, a prisoner, and one scalp, taken on the barrens between Cumberland and Kentucky; the party consisted of his father, himself, and others, on their way to Cumberland, with salt, and his father was killed and scalped. On the 26th of February, the scalps of this man, woman, and child, were collected at the Look-out Mountain town, (the day previous to the arrival of Mr. McKee and myself at that place) and at night a scalp-dance was there held, and Richard Justice and the Glass took the scalp of the man and tore it with their hands and teeth, with great ferocity, as did, also, the warriors generally, with all the forms, gestures, exultations, and declarations, of a war-dance. The scalp of the woman and child were not treated in the same manner, because warriors do not exult in the killing of women and children.

On the 29th of February, (during the stay of Mr. McKee and myself, at the house of a friend near Look-out mountain) an Eagle-tail-dance was held, to which came warriors from the Running Water, which was also danced with all the forms of a war-dance, exulting over the scalps, &c. as on the 26th, at the scalp-dance. Notwithstanding this conduct, Mr. McKee and myself were treated with great attention and care, (not friendship, as heretofore) by Richard Justice and the Glass, instructing us to keep close, not permitting us to catch our horses, though near at hand, lest some mischief might be done us, as there were many bad Indians about. This appeared to proceed from their considering us as public messengers.

At the house of Richard Justice is a painting of Bowles, and two Cherokee chiefs, one each side of him, under which is written, "General Bowles, commander-in-chief of the Creek and Cherokee nations." There are, also, at his house, a number of dining cards, (copper-plate) addressed to Bowles while in England, styling him "commander-in-chief of the Creek nation." This trivial circumstance is mentioned, to show, among others that could be added, that Richard Justice, heretofore one of the warmest friends of the United States, now listens, in preference, to Bowles, and adheres to his counsels.

Near this town (the Look-out Mountain) lives Moses Price, a sensible half breed, who can read and write, and who was in England with Bowles. He speaks of Bowles as a very great man; that he can actually procure for the Southern tribes, from England, men and arms to defend them against the United States; and that he can obtain a free port in East Florida to extend trade to them directly from England. He says, while he was in England, he was informed that England, by treaty of peace, did not cede the lands claimed by the Creeks and Cherokees, to the United States, and, consequently, the United States could have nothing to do with the government of them, or their trade.

In further conversation with Price, he informed me that the Shawanese, in their invitation to the Cherokees to join them against the United States, made since the last battle with General St. Clair, had added a declaration that they should consider all Indians their enemies who did not join them, and treat them accordingly, when there should be peace between them and the United States, and applauded the justice of it, adding, that it had been McGillivray's wish that a general confederacy should take place among the Indians, and that, for that purpose, he had caused the Drugging Canoe to be despatched to the Chickasaws, to try to bring the mountain leader, and his party, into such a measure; that such a thing ought to take place, and he hoped would. I repeatedly saw the Glass upon a large, handsome, black gelding, which he took at the time he captured the girl and killed her mother.

About the 20th of February, eighty Creeks passed the Tennessee, saying they were for war against Cumberland, and that they expected to be joined by many others on the way; and it appeared to be a general opinion at the Look-out Mountain town, both of whites (traders) and Indians, that neither the Creeks, nor Lower town Cherokees would ever be at peace with Cumberland, because it was so immediately in the way of the intercourse between them and the Northern tribes, and that, if it was permitted to grow, it would be attended with bad consequences to them. As Colonel Hunter's and the other boats passed by the Running Water, the Indians hailed them, and requested them to come on shore, which they declined; the Indians then commenced a heavy firing, which was returned by the boats, but, as the distance was great, it is believed no injury was sustained on either side. Previ-



ous to Mr. McKee and myself leaving the Look-out mountain, I understood that a talk had arrived from the Little Turkey, addressed to the chiefs of that and the other four towns, lying northwest of Chatanuga mountain, namely, the Running Water, Nickajack, Long-Island villages, and Crow town, the particulars of which I could not exactly collect, but understood, generally, that it was expressive of his disapprobation of their late conduct, and that he himself had sat out from his own town, with a determination to pay you a visit at Knoxville. Nevertheless, as this was not quite authentic, I thought it my duty, under your instructions, to proceed for his town, and did, until I received certain information that he had been three days on his journey; I then returned, and, at Hiwassee, was again informed that the Little Turkey had declined his visit to you, and was gone home. Twice disappointed in attempts to deliver your letter myself, I thought it best to forward it by a safe conveyance, and to proceed myself to report to you the state of affairs. On my arrival at Chota, I found the Path Killer, a particular friend of the Little Turkey's, who lives in the same town with him, and who had set out with him on his intended visit, sent forward, on the return of the Turkey, to the Hanging Maw and John Watts, at Chota, with the talk that he had sent to the towns lying northwest of Chatanuga mountain, which he gave to me, in the following words: "That he (the Little Turkey) was tired of talking to them; that he had heard what they had lately done; that he did not intend to travel the path to them any more, to hold talks; if they wanted to go to war, go, and he would sit still and look at them; that they must stay on their own side of the mountain, (Chatanuga) and not mix with the other parts of the nation. That he would go and inform Governor Blount where they lived, and that they were for war; that he was done talking to them, and the Governor and they might settle matters as they would. He asked them where they would get ammunition; would they get it from the people they were going to kill, those of the United States, or would their conjuror, Richard Justice, find it for them in caves in the earth"—with a request that I would repeat it to you. The Path Killer also informed me, that the Little Turkey had given out this talk in his own town, and in such others as he had passed before his return home, and that he had commanded him to deliver it out in such as he should pass, and at Chota, to the Hanging Maw, and John Watts, which he had done, and that it had been generally approved.

He said the Turkey desired that the Hanging Maw and John Watts should send his talk to the governor, if they thought well of it; but as he had a good opportunity by me, he thought it best that he himself should send it. The Hanging Maw acknowledged to me, that he and Watts had received this talk from the Turkey, by the Path-Killer, (he was present when the Path-Killer delivered it to me, as before stated) but thought it best that Watts should first go down to the Running Water, from whence he had been twice sent for since the death of the Dragging Canoe (which happened immediately after his return from the Chickasaws) and if he could not alter their determination for war, then they would forward the talk of the Turkey to you; and Watts accordingly sat out from Chota on the 13th instant. I have omitted, in the course of this narrative, to inform you, that while Mr. McKee and myself were absent from the Look-out Mountain town, on the intended visit to the Turkey's town, a council was held on the subject of the Turkey's talk, in which it was agitated whether they should deliver up the late murderers, in case you should demand them, and it was determined they would not. To conclude, it is my opinion, that the present prospects and information warrants a belief, and hardly leaves a doubt, that many of the Creeks and the Cherokees, generally of the five Lower towns, will join the Shawanese in war, and that they will murder, and steal horses on the frontiers, and from all weak parties, wherever found, if they do not engage in a general national war.

*Governor Blount to the Secretary of War.*

KNOXVILLE, May 5th, 1792.

SIR:

Enclosed are copies of my letters to the chiefs of the Chickasaws and Choctaws, of the 27th of April, by a person who will certainly overtake Messrs. Robertson and Foster before their departure from Nashville. I shall again write them in such terms as shall appear to me proper, under the change of circumstances that have taken place, and shall invite them to meet me at as early a day as the information I have received will warrant an expectation of the arrival of the goods.

I beg you to assure the President, that I never shall order any part of the militia into service, only in cases of imminent danger; and I beg leave to remark in the present, I did not order them out until many murders had been committed, although Virginia, our next neighbor, with a less exposed frontier, and without a single murder committed since the 27th of August, had called out two full companies. I have not heard of any murders committed on our frontiers, since that of the 5th of April, on the wife and children of Harper Ratcliff, mentioned in my letter of the 22d of that month, and the information of the Lower towns is, that they generally are determined to desist from the commission of further hostilities.

The proposed meeting at Coyatee, of the chiefs, to hear the report of the Bloody Fellow and associates, from Philadelphia, has not yet taken place; but I am informed it is now intended to be held in twelve days.

There are two recent proofs that the Creeks still continue to steal horses. One is Mr. John Sevier, the younger, who you know was in the month of April in the Lower Cherokee towns (Look-out Mountain and Running Water) for several days, where he saw in different parties as many as sixty Creeks, returning from the north of the Tennessee, all well mounted on good horses, mostly large and fat, besides smaller ones, for pack horses for their skins and furs, the whole of which appeared to have lately been in the hands of white people. Perhaps it is necessary here to inform you, that people who are accustomed to see horses raised by the Indians, can distinguish them generally from those raised and fed by the whites, as readily as they can an Indian from a white man.

These horses must have been stolen from Cumberland and Kentucky.

The other is, on the 29th of April a party of Creeks stole twenty horses from Crooked creek, a branch of Little river, within fifteen miles of this place. The owners immediately pursued upon the trail, and with the assistance of some Cherokee guides, overtook them about sixty miles in the Cherokee country, as they were passing a river, fired on them, and regained all the horses but one, on which the Creek who rode him made his escape.

It is supposed some of the Creeks were wounded, if not killed.

These appear to be positive proofs against the Creeks; but besides these, there are great numbers of horses stolen every week from different parts of the frontiers, by somebody unknown, no doubt by Indians, Creeks or Cherokees. To particularize, as many as eleven were taken last week from a neighborhood within twelve miles of this place.

Horse stealing is a subject of complaint (almost continual) to me, without my being able to give any redress.

The only thing I can do, is to give passports to the sufferers to go into the nation in search of their horses, and letters to the chiefs, which, as yet, has never been attended with recovery.

This business is carried on by white people and Indians in combination, and as soon as a horse is stolen, he is conveyed through the Indian nation to North or South Carolina, or Georgia, and in a short time, to the principal towns on the sea board, for sale, so as to effectually prevent a recovery.

Horse stealing is the grand source of hostility between the white and red people in this district, and I fear will actually produce it, if not desisted from.

It is a subject on which the whites are very sore, and with difficulty restrain themselves from taking what they call satisfaction, that is, from killing some of the Indians; and I can venture to assert, in positive terms, would, if they were not fully impressed with the importance of observing the treaty, not doubting but all violators of it will be punished, whether white or red, in due time.

The Cherokee who was wounded on the 5th of April, on French Broad, as mentioned in my letter of the 22d of that month, has been with me, and received satisfaction in goods.

I have the honor, &c.



*William Blount, Governor in and over the territory of the United States of America south of the river Ohio, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern district, to Pianningo, the great chief and warrior of the Chickasaws.*

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

This will be delivered to you by Mr. James Randolph Robertson, the son of your good friend General Robertson, and Mr. Anthony Foster. They will also deliver to you a letter from Henry Knox, Esq. Secretary of War, written to you by the order of the illustrious President of the United States, which you are to attend to as written by the President himself. You will see by this letter, that it was intended to have been delivered to you by a Mr. Shaw; but when he arrived here, he found that his business in the Cherokee nation, would not permit him to come immediately to you.

To these gentlemen I commit the medals and clothing mentioned in the letter of the Secretary of War, to deliver to you, and three pounds of vermilion as a present from myself to you.

I would have sent you the rifle I promised you, and other presents, if these gentlemen, or your people, could have brought them to you. But, I expect the pleasure of seeing you next year, on your way to Philadelphia to see the President, when that promise shall be fulfilled.

Your friend and confidant, Tathola Thompson, and Tom, arrived here fifteen days ago, expressing a strong desire to proceed as you had ordered, to Philadelphia, to which I had no objection, but wished them to stay until Mr. Shaw should arrive, who I daily expected, and who, I believed, would bring a letter for you from the President.

Mr. Shaw arriving, and having a letter, as was expected, for you, I caused it to be explained to them, upon which they agreed to return to you with Mr. Robertson and Mr. Foster, and it was my opinion that it was best for them so to do.

At Cumberland, they were well treated by your old friend General Robertson, and supplied with horses, saddles, and bridles, to come to me.

While with me, for your sake, for that of your nation, as well as their own, I have treated them with all possible attention and civility, and return them to you with many valuable presents; and they might have had more, if they could have carried them to their own country; but they could not.

When you go to visit the President, I beg you to call at this place to stay and rest yourself, and to accept of the necessary supplies for the journey of yourself and friends. It gives me pain to hear the manner in which Governor St. Clair neglected you; but I hope this will not prevent you from following your inclinations to turn out again, and join our troops the ensuing campaign, on which event, be assured you will experience a very different treatment.

From the representations of your good friend General Robertson, and your conduct last campaign, I am impressed with the great worth of yourself and your people, and shall always be happy in opportunities of manifesting to you the friendship of the United States, under whose authority I act. And whatever Mr. Foster and Mr. Robertson shall say to you respecting my personal regard for you and your people, I beg you to believe, and that I am

Your friend and brother.

*William Blount, Governor in and over the territory of the United States of America South of the river Ohio, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern district, to the chiefs and warriors of the Choctaw nation,*

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:

To Mr. Anthony Foster, and Mr. James Randolph Robertson, with this letter, I commit also a letter addressed to you by Henry Knox, Esquire, Secretary of War, written by order of the illustrious General Washington, President of the United States of America, and with it the medals, arm-bands, and clothes, therein mentioned, with instructions to deliver them to you.

You will see that the letter of the Secretary of War, and the articles therein mentioned, were originally intended to have been delivered to you by Mr. Shaw; but, on his arrival at this place, his business in the Cherokee nation would not permit him to come shortly to you, and conceiving it important that you should have the letter as early as possible, I have sent it by them. They are citizens of the United States, resident on Cumberland, who I recommend to your particular notice and attention, and whatever they shall say to you, respecting the friendship of the illustrious President for your nation, you are to pay full faith and credit to.

For myself, and I act by appointment from the President, I saw your people at the treaty of Hopewell. I saw Toboco at Philadelphia, with John Woods, and have a love for them, and shall be always happy in showing you and your nation proofs of the friendship of the United States and of myself.

If any of your young warriors have a thirst for military fame, I beg you to indulge them in joining the troops of the United States at fort Washington, as mentioned in the letter of the Secretary of War, and you may have the fullest confidence that such as go will be well fed and well paid, and it will afford a pleasing proof of your strong friendship for the United States.

The Chickasaws, your neighbors, are very good people; take care and keep friendship with them as well as with the United States. But there are many red people, not Chickasaws, who tell lies to you. Take care and don't believe them. With every wish for your future happiness, I am your friend and brother.

*Governor Blount to the Secretary of War, (Extract.)—May 16, 1792.*

SIR:

I am truly glad of the objections you offer against attempting to obtain a post at the mouth of the Duck, in exchange for Bear creek, as it now appears to me the attempt would probably have the consequences you state, and with you I sincerely hope all designs that would rouse the jealousy or suspicions of the Indians, will long be suspended.

When the goods will arrive at Nashville is uncertain; but it is very certain that the Indians will not be there before the 15th June, if so soon, and I fear not until towards the last of that month, so that I do not count on the business with them being completed before the 10th July.

I had hopes of closing this letter without troubling you with further accounts of murders or horse stealing; but this moment a letter is handed to me, express, in the following words:

“CAMPBELL'S STATION, May 16, 1792.

“SIR:

“Just now, Mr. Cole, one of the guard, came to this place, and informs that the Indians killed two boys this day, about 10 o'clock, at Mr. Wells', in Hinds's valley, about three miles from this place. Mr. Cole, on his scout, went there shortly after the mischief was done.

“I thought it might be right to give you immediate notice. The settlements seem much alarmed. I intend to go and follow the track. I am, sir, yours &c.

“DAVID CAMPBELL.

“GOVERNOR BLOUNT.”

Campbell's station, where this note is dated, is on the north side of Holston, fifteen miles below this place, and the place where the boys were killed is not far distant. They were of the name of Wells; one about eight, the other ten years of age; they were picking strawberries near their father's door, in his view, when the Indians, six in

number, came up to them, tomahawked and scalped them, and went off without making further attempts on the family. Judging from the place where these boys were killed, suspicion falls on the Cherokees or Creeks. There is no instance of the Northern tribes having killed so low down, nor within less than eighty miles.

Having again entered on this disagreeable subject, I add an extract of a letter from General Pickens to me:

“HOPEWELL, 28th April, 1792.

“I trust the inhabitants of this State will observe the late treaty. It has ever been my wish to observe treaties, though the Cherokees have stole more horses from the frontiers of this State, these six months past, than they have done for years before. If there is not a stop put to it, I know not what the frontier inhabitants may be provoked to do. While a part, and that the ostensible ruling part of a nation, affect to be at, and I believe really are for peace, and the more active young men are frequently killing people and stealing horses, it is extremely difficult how to act.

“The people, even the most exposed, would prefer an open war to such a situation. The reason is obvious; a man would then know, when he saw an Indian he saw an enemy, and be prepared and act accordingly.

“I have the honor to be, with very great respect and esteem, your obedient humble servant.”

*Governor Blount to the Secretary of War.*

KNOXVILLE, June 2d, 1792.

SIR:

For the present state of affairs with the Cherokees, I refer you to the enclosed minutes of the conference at Coyatee, believing it the way in which I can best communicate it fully to you. To me the appearing change is a very pleasing one, and I am sure it will be so to you.

Enclosed also is a duplicate of a letter by me written to General McGillivray, which will show you on what grounds the Creeks may be charged with a part of the depredations committed at Cumberland.

Those lately committed in that quarter, meaning those in the past month, have compelled me to order into actual service two more companies of militia from the district of Washington, for a three months' tour from the time they arrive at Cumberland river. These make, in the whole, five companies by me ordered into actual service, and will, I hope, be quite sufficient to give protection to the frontiers.

No contractor can be had, at this scarce season of the year, to supply these troops for the price to which I am limited, eight cents. As yet, each man has furnished himself, under an assurance that he shall therefor receive eight cents per day in addition to his pay. But this has been done with great difficulty and grumbling, and the necessity for a contractor is such that I shall be obliged to give such price as will engage one, relying that the necessity will justify the measure.

Mr. Allison arrived here the day before yesterday, by whom I had the honor of receiving a duplicate of your letter to me of the 22d April, and of that of the same date to General Pickens.

The Indian goods will be here in a few days, and probably at Nashville by the 20th. They will be escorted down the Tennessee by a part of the two companies last ordered into service—a mode of getting them to Cumberland quite as cheap as marching them over the Cumberland mountain.

Yesterday, as a man was riding the public road that leads down the north side of Holston, about forty miles above this place, he was fired on by four Indians, and struck in his clothes and powder horn by as many balls, but received no further injury.

This attempt to kill was made twelve miles south of Clinch, that is, so many miles within the boundary, and most probably by the Bench and his party.

John Thompson, the interpreter at the late treaty, was here yesterday, directly from the Little Turkey. He informs me that McGillivray did not meet Mr. Seagrove at the Rock Landing in Georgia, as had been proposed, giving for reason that Mr. Bowles's party still continued to believe in him, to expect his return, and were too strong for McGillivray to manage. This information, I believe, may be depended upon.

I have the honor, &c.

*Minutes of the conference at Coyatee with the chiefs and warriors of the Cherokees, in May, 1792, with the incidental circumstances relative thereto.*

The killing of the two boys on the 16th, and of Mr. Clack on the Cumberland trace on the 17th, as he was coming to this place with Judge Campbell from Miro district court, induced to postpone my visit to Coyatee until the chiefs at that place had repeated their invitation to me, which they did in a very pressing manner, by two messengers.

On Sunday, the 20th, I sat out, and, as I approached Coyatee, I sent a person to give them notice thereof. They had requested that I would, giving for reason that they wished to pay me all possible honors. Upon receiving the information, the chiefs immediately dressed themselves, and commanded all the Indians of every description to appear on a field adjacent to the house prepared for my reception, and at which they had erected the standard of the United States, upon a pole nearly of the height and size of a liberty pole.

At the Tennessee, about half a mile from the ground on which they were paraded, I met a well dressed young fellow on horseback, with a request from the chiefs that I would there halt until they should be quite ready to receive me in the way they wished, of which they would give me notice. In a short time information was given; I advanced, and found their whole number, chiefs and others, (supposed to be two thousand) divided into two lines, extending about three hundred yards each, leaving an open space between for myself and honorary escort to pass. As soon as I entered the space, a firing was commenced in the manner of a feu de joie, and handsomely kept up until I had passed through. Shouts of joy instantly followed, and immediately after I had alighted, under the standard of the United States, I was surrounded by the whole number, with countenances demonstrative of more joy than I had heretofore been a witness of.

The evening was spent in eating, drinking, and cheerful conversation with Eskaqua, John Watts, the Hanging Maw, Richard Justice of the Look-out, the Breath of Nickajack, Will of the Running Water, and others.

On Monday, early in the day, Eskaqua waited on me, and said he thought it best to postpone public business until Tuesday, offering for reason, “that, to devote that day to happiness unalloyed with public cares, would be better prepare us.” It was spent in eating, seasonable drinking of whiskey, and in holding many private talks with the chiefs, and in a ball play, where great activity was displayed. Eskaqua was on the losing side, and having staked much, bore it not quite well.

On Tuesday Eskaqua again waited on me, and said he had been drinking too much whiskey to be capable of public business; that it was an accident might have happened to any man; that he hoped I would agree to its being postponed to Wednesday; he would let every body know the fault was his, not mine. Tuesday was spent as Monday had been, in eating, drinking, and a ball play, on which the stakes were very large; even chiefs staked their clothes, saving only their flaps. Eskaqua recovered his losses. His getting drunk on Monday night was supposed to be a manoeuvre to get some of the best players of the adverse party in the same situation, which he effected. He did not play himself, and none of his players drank to excess.

On Wednesday the chiefs assembled at an appointed shade, and Eskaqua waited on me, and requested my attendance, and, having seated me, addressed me, saying, he was happy to see me in their country, and offered an apology for having detained me a day longer than was necessary, which he hoped I would excuse. To this I replied, returning thanks for the friendly reception they had given me, &c. and proceeded to deliver to them an address, which I had previously written, as follows:

*The address of Governor Blount to the chiefs and others of the Cherokees, assembled at Coyatee, on Wednesday, the 23d May, 1792, to divide the goods by them received for the first annual payment, agreeably to the treaty of Holston, at which were present the following chiefs: General Eskaqua, Nontuaka, the Breath of Nickajack, Richard Justice of the Look-out, Charley of the Running-water, the Hanging Muw, Kattagiska, the Broom, the Cabin, the Head-man of Ekwasse, Tuskigatahee, and other chiefs—the whole number of chiefs, warriors, and others, computed at two thousand.*

**BROTHERS, CHIEFS, AND WARRIORS, OF THE CHEROKEES:**

It is now near a year since I had first the pleasure to meet you in council, and to form a treaty with you on the part of the United States, the object of which was the benefit of both parties.

Since that event, your nation, in a grand council, held at the beloved town of Estanaula, appointed deputies, namely: the Bloody Fellow, Nontuaka, the Old Prince, the Jobber's Son, Captain George, and other good men, to wait on the President, *himself*, and to ask him whether he has authorized me to form a treaty with you, and, if he had, to solicit him, on your part, to give you one thousand five hundred dollars per annum, the same the Creeks receive for their lands, instead of one thousand, as stipulated by the treaty.

The President answered you, that he had authorized me to make a treaty with you; that he had approved and ratified it; that he had instructed me not to stipulate for the payment of more than one thousand dollars per annum; but that he himself would give you one thousand five hundred dollars per annum for your lands, which sum you are in future to receive.

This at once proves to you, what I before told you is all true—the *President's goodness* and his *love for you* and *your nation*.

The President has also informed you, that, whatever shall be said by me on his part, you are to attend to as if said by himself. Thus you see you are no more to doubt the truth of what I have said, or shall say to you.

I was pleased that you did send deputies to visit the *President*, and with the *persons* you sent; with their conduct there, and their report since their return to you.

Here, brothers, I think it proper to inform you, that the President has been pleased to direct that the Bloody Fellow shall, in future, be known and distinguished by the more honorable name of General Eskaqua.

When first you invited me to come down, and be present at this meeting of yours, I hoped and believed, the great book, which the Secretary of War has given to your nation, containing the talks of your deputies, and the answers of the President and the Secretary of War, would here have been opened, read, and explained, but that I now find it to be done at the beloved Estanaula, in a grand national council. Then, my brothers, at Estanaula, it must be read and explained by James Carey, whom the President, at the request of your deputies, has appointed interpreter.

The choice has been very agreeable to me, as I am told he well understands your language, and I know he does English, and I believe him to be an honest man, who will tell you truth only—a man in whom you may fully depend.

You are to have another interpreter, of your own choice, and when you have made it, you will please inform me on whom it has fallen.

These interpreters are to explain all public letters and talks, and no other person must be permitted to do it. You must not permit other persons *even to read* your public letters: then there will be no more misunderstanding of letters and talks.

I shall now speak about the objects of the present meeting: it is to divide the goods of the first annual payment for your lands, to talk about the proceedings at Philadelphia, (not to open the book) and about what has happened since the treaty.

The division of the goods is with yourselves; I have nothing to do, with it; but I am glad to hear that you have determined, that the four Lower Towns shall have a large share of them, and that so many of the people of the Lower Towns are here ready to receive them. If they had as generally attended the treaty, they would have had a full share of the goods they paid the nation. That they did not get a full share, the fault was their own.

Thanks and credit are due to the Badger for his talk, respecting the division of these goods.

I have already spoken of the proceedings at Philadelphia, and what I have said will appear to be fully proved to you, when the book is opened and explained, at Estanaula, by Mr. Carey.

What has happened since the treaty, has appeared in a very bad light to the white people. With difficulty I have restrained those whose relations have been killed and scalped, or made prisoners, and those whose horses have been stolen, from falling on the Indians, without regard to age or sex, and taking, instantly, what they termed *satisfaction*.

Since the treaty, have been killed, wounded, or made prisoners, the persons described as follows:

Oliver Williams and Jasen Thompson, two peaceable well disposed men, on the 28th January, at night, encamped on the road which leads from Bledsoe's station to the ford of Cumberland, that is, on the north side of Cumberland river, where they were fired on by Indians, and both wounded, and their horses, one gun, and other articles, taken from them; they both got back to the settlements much injured by the frost, as there was snow on the ground.

Early in March a party of Indians attacked the house of Mr. Thompson, within seven miles of Nashville, killed and scalped the old man, and others of the family, and made prisoners a Mr. Caffrey, and Miss Thompson, a child.

On the 5th March, twenty-five Indians attacked Brown's station, eight miles from Nashville, and killed four boys. On the 6th, they burned Dunham's station; that is, houses, corn, &c.

On the 12th, they killed Mr. McMurray, on his own plantation, near the mouth of Stone's river. On the 5th April, killed Mrs. Radcliff and three children. On the 8th instant, killed Benjamin Williams, and family, consisting of eight persons, in the heart of the Cumberland settlement, on station Camp creek; a boy wounded with three balls, near the same place. And on the 16th, two boys killed, within twelve miles of Knoxville. On the 17th, a man within thirty miles, as he was passing the road from Cumberland with Judge Campbell, and five other unarmed men; and, besides these, within three months, a man was killed on the road from Kentucky to Cumberland, and a woman and boy made prisoners. Another party, on their way from the Natchez, of which several were killed, and a girl made prisoner; and two boats taken, coming up the Cumberland river, in which four people were killed, namely: three of the young *Seviers*, and a Mr. Rice, and, since that time, upwards of two hundred horses have been stolen from Cumberland, and the district of Washington, besides a great number from the frontiers of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

I do not say, Brothers, your people have done all these murders, and stole all these horses, because I do not positively know. But, from a variety of circumstances, suspicion falls on the people of your Lower towns, and the Creeks. I write General McGillivray, and make the same complaints.

I am well aware, that the chiefs of both nations are fully determined to preserve the treaties they have made, inviolable; but that is not enough; it will be expected of them to inform who did commit these depredations, and that they make restitution of such of the prisoners and horses as are, or have been, in the possession of your nation; and that such acts shall not be committed in future.

The President of the United States, your father, loves you, and undoubtedly wishes you to be happy, but he equally loves the white people, and it is equally his duty to protect them, and he cannot see your people kill the white people, and compel them to bear it in peace.

My Brothers, you must exert yourselves to restrain your young people, as well as all others, from such acts. Attend to what General Eskaqua, and his associate deputies, shall tell you: they will tell you how much the President loves you, and how earnestly he wishes you to do well and be happy.

Already I have told you, that with difficulty I have restrained the people, whose relations have been killed, from falling on the Indians and taking satisfaction, without regard to age or sex. Now, my Brothers, I have to inform you, that, to secure the white people of the frontiers against the further depredations of your bad people, I have been

forced to order out a part of the militia upon the frontiers, from Holston to Clynch, and up Clynch, and upon the frontiers of Cumberland.

These militia are not ordered on duty to come to your country to injure you or your people, but to stay in their own, and to take care that your bad people do not come and hurt the white people.

If any of your people come into the settlement, (and I shall always be glad to see the chiefs at my house) they had best come in by way of Major Craig's, for nobody has been killed in that quarter, and the people there are not so sore as on the other side of Holston, and on the frontiers of Cumberland.

Speaking of frontiers, it may occur to you that I should say something on the subject of extending and marking the land, agreeably to the treaty. I shall write you on that head, so that you shall have my letter before you in council at Estanaula.

With respect to prisoners taken before the late treaty, I have one in my possession, who has been treated well; and I have been at all times ready to deliver him at the place appointed; and you have some which I wish restored to their friends, and I expect you will deliver them to me immediately after the council at Estanaula.

THE BREATH OF NICKAJACK then rose and said, That man (pointing to Eskaqua) has induced me to come here. The people of the Lower towns have been very deaf to your talks, but now we will hear them; (he then presented a string of white beads, the usual token of peace and friendship.) I have heard your charge of the murders and horse stealings, and I tell you truly, I do not know who committed the whole of them; but from the great council at Estanaula you shall be informed of whatever has been done by our nation, and there the prisoners in our possession, taken since the treaty, shall be delivered to any body you shall appoint.

THE HANGING MAW then gave public notice, that the council was to meet at Estanaula, in thirty nights, (23d June) to hear the report of the Eskaqua, and the other agents, and for all the chiefs to attend, and not to be absent, under any pretence whatever.

JOHN WATTS said, "You shall hear all the talks from Estanaula," and that he wished Capt. Chisolm to attend, and bring them up as soon as the council should finish their business.

In a private talk with Dick Justice, of the Look-out, he expressed great concern for what had happened since the treaty, as did several others, and said, "they hoped they should be able to restrain their young people after the council at Estanaula."

I had privately intimated to the chiefs that I wished they should reply to what I should say from Estanaula, in preference of doing it at Coyatee. They would otherwise have confessed their nation guilty of several of the murders, &c. and there were sundry frontier people present, and the answer from Estanaula will be more a national one than could have been at Coyatee; and I have no doubt but they will answer fully from Estanaula.

The chiefs and warriors of the Lower towns arrived at Coyatee on the Saturday previous to my going down. They marched in, painted black, and sprinkled over with flour, meaning to show they had been at war, but were then for peace.

Eskaqua, John Watts, and the other chiefs, received them under the standard of the United States. The former, who appears to have entered fully into the views of the United States, and the latter, as fully determined to second him, rejoiced much on this auspicious event. They may be said to be the champions of peace.

Finding the nation, in general, so apparently disposed for peace, and Eskaqua, and other chiefs, soliciting me very earnestly to give a part of the goods in my possession, in addition to those they had received at Philadelphia, I agreed to it, believing they never could be disposed of more to the advantage of the United States.

*Governor Blount to General McGillivray.*

KNOXVILLE, May 17th, 1792.

SIR:

I am already informed that the murders and horse stealings lately committed by the Creeks, may, in a great degree, be charged to the attention they paid to the pernicious counsels of Mr. Bowles. Nevertheless, I conceive it essential, they should be known to you; they are as follow:

Oliver Williams and Jason Thompson, two peaceable, well disposed men, on the 28th January, at night, encamped on the road which leads from Bledsoe's station to the ford of Cumberland river, where they were fired on by the Indians, and both wounded, and their horse, one gun, and other articles, taken from them. They both got back to the settlements much injured by the frost, as there was snow on the ground.

Their horses were, one an iron grey, branded on the rising shoulder I D, and lately put on, about three years old; and the other a bay, branded with Spanish brands.

In the latter part of February, eight Creeks were met in the Cherokee country, on their return from north of the Tennessee, by a young Cherokee of veracity, well known to you, with two such horses as above described, and a gun, which they acknowledged they had taken from people they had attacked on the Cumberland road, in the snow. The young Cherokee was particular in describing to me the horses, before I had a description from the owners, and he did it with such exactness, that no doubt remains on my mind but the eight Creeks whom he saw, were the Indians who fired on Thompson and Williams, and stole their horses, gun, &c.

Their own acknowledgment is a sufficient evidence of the fact.

Early in March, a party of Indians attacked the house of Mr. Thompson, within seven miles of Nashville; killed and scalped the old man and others of the family, and made prisoners Mrs. Caffray and Miss Thompson, and a child.

A few days since, some Cherokee chiefs were here with me, from the Little Turkey's quarter of the country, who informed me, as they were returning from the Chickasaw country, about the last of March, they came to a camp of the Creeks, on the trace that leads from the Cherokees to the Creeks, where they had prisoners two women and a child about two years of age.

My informants add, that there were with them two white men that had come with them from the Chickasaws, and going to Georgia, who the Creeks could with difficulty be restrained from killing, giving for reason, that they suspected them to be citizens of the United States; and my informants saved them, by declaring they lived in the Chickasaws, and were not citizens.

The description of the prisoners taken, and those seen by the Cherokee chiefs, and the time when taken and when seen, afford a violent presumption that it was Mrs. Caffray, Miss Thompson, and the child taken with them, which the Cherokees saw prisoners in the possession of the Creeks, as above described.

I have premised that the disorders of the Creeks have flowed from the villany of Mr. Bowles; permit me to add, that I am sure you are as much opposed to the commission of such horrid acts as I can be, and that I have no doubt but you will take every measure in your power to have these unhappy people returned to their country and friends. And to receive and bring them to me is the business on which I send the bearer, Captain John Chisolm, to you.

I believe he has heretofore been known to you, and I beg leave to recommend him to your attention and civilities.

I have yet to trouble you on the disagreeable subject of horse stealing.

In the course of this spring, from Cumberland and this quarter of the country, more than two hundred have been taken, stolen by the Indians; and I am informed by a gentleman of veracity, who was among the Cherokees in March and April, that he saw sixty of them in the hands of the Creeks, returning to their own country from north of the Tennessee, and the Cherokees assure me, that the whole of them have been taken by the Creeks; which, *by the by*, I do not credit, as I well know some of them got a part. What, my good sir, can be done to put a stop to this evil?

The white people are daily making the heaviest complaints to me of their losses, and to their credit it can with truth be said, they are strict observers of the Creek and Cherokee treaties.

I pray you, my good sir, now to interpose your influence and authority to put a stop to it. Bowles, I hope, is no more of consequence enough to prevent you from so doing.

In September last, I found myself compelled to address you on this painful subject of complaint, and I have been informed you wrote me an answer, but it never reached my hands. I shall, at all times, be happy to hear from you, to cultivate a friendly correspondence with you, and to use my efforts with your's, to keep order on the frontiers, so essential to the happiness of all parties. But I cannot conclude without informing you, that besides Thompson's family, the persons whose names follow have been killed by the Indians, by what particular ones, not exactly known, but there is violent presumption that it has been done by the Creeks, and the Cherokees of the Lower towns: namely, on the 5th March, twenty-five Indians attacked Brown's station, eight miles from Nashville, and killed four boys; on the 6th, burnt Dunham's station—that is, houses, corn, &c.; on the 12th, killed Mr. McMurray on his own plantation, near the mouth of Stone's river; on the 5th April, killed Mrs. Radcliff and three children; on the 8th instant, killed Benjamin Williams and family, consisting of eight, in the heart of the Cumberland settlement, in Station Camp creek; a boy wounded with three balls near the same place; yesterday, two boys killed within twelve miles of this place, and to-day a man within thirty, as he was passing the road from Cumberland, with Judge Campbell, and five other unarmed men; and besides those, within three months, a man was killed on the trace from Kentucky to Cumberland, and a woman and a boy made prisoners; another party, on their way from the Natchez, of which several were killed, and a girl made prisoner; and two boats taken coming up Cumberland, in which four people were killed, namely, three of the young Seviere and a Mr. Rose, but of these, the Creeks, I believe, are clear, there being good proof against the Cherokees of the Lower towns.

I sincerely lament that the necessity exists for detaining you so long on so disagreeable a subject, but I trust that necessity is a sufficient apology. I have the honor, &c.

May 31st, 1792.

P. S. I am since informed that the Creeks who had two women and the child prisoners, belonged to the Oakjoys. One of the white men with the Cherokee chiefs was Francis Willis, another of the name of Thompson, and the name of the other I have not heard. They also saw the women and child, and one of them conversed with one of the women on the fatigue she suffered in walking, and would have offered his horse to ride, had he not feared it would offend their captors, and render his own safety more precarious.

They mention that they heard one of the women complain to one of the Indians that she was tired of walking, and the Indian answered, that he would get briars and scratch her thighs, and that would make her walk fast. The reason given by these men why they did not inquire of these women who they were, and where taken by the Creeks, were the same that prevented the offer of the horse. It was the second night that the Creeks and Cherokees had encamped contiguous to each other, that the former insisted on killing the three white men, as stated in the above letter.

These circumstances are mentioned, the better to convince you that Mrs. Caffrey, Miss Thompson, and the child, have been made prisoners by a party of the Creeks; and prove, that they also killed Miss Thompson's father, and the rest of the family.

Governor Blount to the Secretary of War.

KNOXVILLE, July 4th, 1792.

STR:

I make no doubt but you will be a little surprised at receiving from me a letter of this date, from this place, but so it is that I could not leave it sooner, consistent with the good of the service I am engaged in.

The last of the goods, for the conference with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, did not arrive more than eight days past, owing to the weight, compared with the strength of the teams; and the boats could not be got in readiness to proceed with them down the river before yesterday.

The boats are under the command of Alexander Moore, the most experienced waterman in all this country, who has been four times down the river, and the goods in the care of David Allison.

An uncommon drought prevails at this time, consequently, the waters were never lower; and some difficulties as to water may be expected, but none, it is hoped, but what may readily be surmounted by the activity of the crews, who are, in my opinion, uncommonly good.

My delay here will in no wise affect the object of the intended conference, as I am informed the Chickasaws and Choctaws will not be at Nashville before the 25th day of this month.

General Pickens has been with me since the day he appointed, the tenth of June, and we set out for Nashville to-morrow morning.

By the enclosed journal of the council at Estanaula, you will see that a Cherokee escort will meet the boats, at my request, at Tuskega, to guard them against Indian depredations; it contains, also, the whole of the proceedings of that body, at that place.

As you have the whole journal, and a copy of my letters of the 4th of June, respecting the running of the line, and the exchange of prisoners, any comments appear unnecessary; but I can't help observing, that the speech of the Little Turkey's, on the subject of the line, is very different from what might have been expected from any part of the nation, but especially from him. The ostensible reason given for the absence of Eskaqua from the council, is, that some distant relation was sick, and he stayed at home to attend them; the real one is supposed to be, that he foresaw, or strongly suspected, the business would not be conducted to his wishes, therefore did not choose to be present. That given for the absence of John Watts, was, that he was gone to Pensacola, at the invitation of Mr. Panton, on mercantile business, a place to which he had not heretofore been since the war. This Mr. Panton, of Pensacola, has lately, that is, in the latter part of May and first of June, been in the Lower Cherokee towns, and some others, under the pretence of collecting old debts, and extending his trade; but there are reasons to suspect that his real business was to invite some principal characters to attend a treaty which the Spaniards are about to hold with the Creeks, at Pensacola, in the latter part of August, or early in September. Enclosed is the deposition of James Ore, a man of observation and veracity which will give information on that head.

Believing it essential to the interests of the United States, that a perfect account should be obtained of the proceedings and objects of the Spaniards and others, at the meetings mentioned in that deposition, I have engaged a man, qualified in all respects, to be present at them for that purpose.

On the eighth of June General Robertson and his son were wounded by Indians on his own plantation, himself shot through both arms, one broke, and his son through the thigh; but both are on the recovery.

Besides the parties mentioned in Ore's deposition, I have other information of parties of Creeks, and Cherokees too, having gone to Cumberland with declared intentions of hostility, particularly a fellow called the Pumpkin Boy, of the Look-out mountain, a brother of Double Head, a rising popular character among the young warriors. And, since I wrote you last, two Indians have been wounded in the settlements of this district, by whites in pursuit of stolen horses; one of them was shot as he was sitting on a stolen horse, and the other was in possession of a stolen horse, and fired first on the whites, who were pursuing of him and his accomplices.

These continued depredations, and the militia infantry turning out into actual service with great tardiness and reluctance, have induced me to order out a troop of cavalry for the protection of the frontiers, for a three months' tour, unless sooner discharged, which also serves as an escort to General Pickens and myself through the wilderness.

I have not heard any thing lately which warrants an assurance that the Chickasaws or Choctaws will turn out and join the arms of the United States, or the contrary; but I am informed that John Thompson, the late interpreter to the Cherokees, who will be at the conference, is instructed by his great friend, the Little Turkey, to oppose it.

I have the honor, &c.

## [ENCLOSURES.]

*Journal of the Grand Cherokee National Council.*

ESTANAUOLA, Tuesday, 26th June, 1792.

Present, the Little Turkey, great beloved man of the whole nation; the Badger, the beloved man of the Southern division; the Hanging Maw, beloved man of the Northern division; the Boot, the Black Fox, the Cabin, Path Killer, &c. head-men of the Little Turkey's town; Keatchiskie, and Sour Mush, of Hightower; Nontuaka, of Cheestie; Teakakiskie, of Hiwassee; Richard Justice, and The Glass, of the Look-out Mountain town; the Thigh of Celicæ, the Big Bear, and the Kingfisher, of Estanaula; Charley, of Alljoy; Nanotey, of Kautokey; the Ter-rapin, of Kiukee; the Breath, and his nephew, of Nickajack; Chickasautehe, of Big Savannah, and warriors; Chinna-bee, ambassador from the Natchez and the Creeks; Leonard D. Shaw, Esquire, agent, resident in the Cherokee nation, and James Carey, interpreter.

NONTUAKA gave a history of his tour to Philadelphia; enjoining his people to listen to the talks which he and his fellow-travellers had brought back.

THE LITTLE TURKEY.—This is not the first time I have spoke respecting Mr. Jack Thompson and Mr. Carey; the former is one of my own people, and has grown to the age of a man. I always expected he would be serviceable to his country when grown up; he shall be at all public meetings, as well as Mr. Carey, who, though a white man, I consider as one of my own people, for I have raised him from a boy; together, they are to be consulted, and their words taken upon all public business. Mr. Thompson shall be considered as a speaker in all national councils, and the head-men are to attend to his talks.

MR. SHAW.—FRIENDS AND BROTHERS: As I am sensible you must have heard, from your own ambassadors, that I am sent by our Father, the President of the United States, to be your friend, your counsellor, and protector, I think it necessary to express, on this occasion, my own feelings. I thank the Great Spirit who has brought me in safety to your country, and who has brought you all here to listen to the talks of peace and friendship; he knows my heart, how straight it is toward your nation—how anxious to promote your welfare. As the Great Spirit delights in the works of peace, he, I hope, will incline your hearts to receive me favorably, whilst I read the good things your Father, the President, has committed to my charge to say to you. And now, in token of cordial friendship, I shall take your beloved chief by the arm, and, I hope, his warriors will receive me with the same friendship.

Mr. Shaw then took the Little Turkey, and the other chiefs, by the arm, and stood before them, whilst some of the young men came forward and took him by the hand; he then took out a large belt of white wampum, which he observed to the chiefs was a token of friendship from the President, and, placing it over his right shoulder, proceeded to read the book. He read as far as the President's speech, which he wished not to read till to-morrow, observing, that he had gone through most of their business at Philadelphia.

NONTUAKA.—What you have heard is only what was said by our people; to-morrow you will hear the answers to these requests.

Adjourned till to-morrow.

WEDNESDAY, 27th June, 1792.

The council met pursuant to adjournment. Present, the Little Turkey, &c. as before.

NONTUAKA desired the warriors, &c. to come forward, that they might hear attentively, whilst Mr. Shaw proceeded to read the President's speech.

THE GLASS moved to hear that article of the treaty at Holston, which describes the boundary of the nation, read from the book, to know if the President had altered the lines. Mr. Carey informed him that he had not. The Glass, however, repeated his anxiety to hear it read. Mr. Shaw then read it. The chiefs murmured somewhat about the line striking Cumberland, forty miles above Nashville. Nontuaka commanded silence, till the book should be read through, that then they might deliberate on the line. Mr. Shaw then proceeded to read the remaining part of the book. After finishing, he walked up to the Little Turkey, and, in the name of the United States, presented him with a belt, observing, that he would readily attend them, and communicate any thing for them to the President.

Some observation was made concerning the proper person to keep the book; when Mr. Shaw observed, that he had been sworn, when he was appointed agent for the nation, to do justice to the United States, and that, in order to do that, it was necessary he should have the book to record their answers to the President.

THE LITTLE TURKEY told him to keep the book until the answers were made, when it must be closed till the next meeting.

THE KINGFISHER, or Jobber's Son, moved, that Captain Chisolm's papers should be brought forward, who sent immediately for them.

THE BLACK FOX desired the audience to sit still; that Governor Blount's letters were to be read immediately; and to-morrow they would have nothing to do but make their answers. Captain Chisolm then presented to the Little Turkey a letter from Governor Blount, accompanied with his Excellency's address, at Coyatee. The Little Turkey gave the letter to Mr. Shaw, requesting him to read it, which he did. The Glass observed, that, as the Governor had mentioned in his letter that no person, except those appointed, should interpret their letters, it was, therefore, proper that he should send his letter to Estanaula and the Turkey's town, and not send so many over to the Big River. With respect to the prisoners mentioned in the letter, it was observed by Dick Justice, the Glass, and the Breath, that but two had been brought into the nation since the treaty, and one before.

Captain Chisolm then, in the name of the United States, delivered a prisoner boy, named *Abe*, into the hand of the Little Turkey.

Adjourned till to-morrow.

THURSDAY, 28th June, 1792.

The council met, pursuant to adjournment. Present, the Little Turkey, &c., as before.

NONTUAKA.—We are all gathered together here, and there seems to be a little variance; I wish, therefore, to explain myself. My warriors, I have been to Philadelphia to see the great beloved white man. When I left our father, the President, and General Knox, my heart was easy. I came here and brought Mr. Shaw. When we left Congress, you, Mr. Shaw, were appointed to come with us here. Governor Blount was also appointed; and you, as well as we, were to attend to him. I hope there will be no disturbances, but that the President may hear there is no jarring amongst you. Governor Blount, and you under him, were appointed to do justice, both to the reds and whites. (To the chiefs.) You are my people, and I am one of yours. I hope you will pay attention to my talks. The young warriors went out, the day before yesterday, to counsel amongst themselves, but one young fellow came in and disturbed the business. [The young fellow denied that he had interrupted the business. A young warrior came forward and justified Nontuaka. The fellow continued to deny, and said he was glad to hear good talks.]

A young warrior, Comasuliskie, came forward, holding the pipe to each of the head men, assured them he had let go the hatchet, that he would always attend to their talks, and that the quarter of the nation where he lives should do the same.

THE BLACK FOX.—The Dragging Canoe has left the world. He was a man of consequence in his country. He was a friend both to his own and the white people. But his brother is still in place; and I mention now in public, that I intend presenting him with his deceased brother's medal: for he promises fair to possess sentiments similar to those of his brother, both with regard to the red and white. It is mentioned here publicly, that both whites and reds may know it, and pay attention to him. Another person I also nominate as a head-man, *Taloteeskie*, who is



to be considered in the place of the *Corn Tassel*. Though some of the young fellows of the nation, and the white people together, occasioned the Tassel to fall under a flag of truce, his talks shall not be forgot. We have, therefore, appointed this man to support his talks, and we hope that both whites and reds will attend to him.

The young warriors then withdrew from their beloved seat, to consult in private—after some time, sent for the beloved men, and with them remained in private consultation for some time—when the Glass got up, and, taking the head men and warriors by the hand, said: "I have now left the business in your hands. As long as I live I will stick by you and your talks. I am now come to take you by the hand, as I am going home." He then, with Richard Justice, departed. The head-men and warriors then came forward, and

The **LITTLE NEPHEW** then delivered the sentiments of the whole, in the following words:

The warriors of my nation went ambassadors to Congress. They have returned; but every thing is not to our satisfaction. The warriors from this part of the nation said but little. Eskaqua, from the other river, took the business off their hands. I came from the Running Water to Hiwassee, and from that to the Hanging Maw's. I mentioned to the nation that I had sent five beloved fires, of five towns, and their talks. At that time, I put on my belt and tied up my things, to start from here to Seneca. I desired them to think of that place, the Little Turkey's old town, and the coals of fire which are yet to be seen there; and that I expected an answer to my talk, but have got none. I desired Nontuaka to mention that the white people were on our land, and that I hoped they would be removed, and give our young fellows more room to hunt. I desired them to go to the great beloved white house, and I hoped they would bring good talks. I am rejoiced at their return. Nontuaka returned when Ballew was with him. I thought he would have done something then, but he did not. I was glad to see him. The President may easily see the present situation of this nation: for, though we have raised the whites, they have become so numerous that I must consider myself speaking to my elders. When our ambassadors got to the beloved white house, they spoke with the President: for, though we are red, you must know one person made us both. The red people were made first. I also told them: Tell the President, though we were red people, to take notice of us, and take pity on us, with regard to our land: for red people were the first owners of it; that he would let us know his sentiments, respecting our land, whether he intended taking or restoring it, or what he intended doing with it, and send an answer back. I told them to tell him, if he would only sweep our lands, and send an answer back, we would be satisfied. But no answer came. We are all struck very much to think nothing is done to remove the people off our lands. Yet, if the President will take pity on us, and remove them off, we will be much better satisfied. We are beloved men, and speak once more to the President, and hope he will look to us, and consider our young warriors, who are now in council with us: for, I declare to you, they have not hunting ground to maintain their families; and, if you will but open our ground for us once more, we will be satisfied, and rejoice at the news. I hope the President will take pity on us, both old and young of the nation, if he but fully knew our present situation. We are bound up all round with white people, that we have not room to hunt. I speak once more, and hope and request that he will take pity on us, and do something in this matter. Upon his doing this, and sending an answer, it will make us all rejoice. Our father, who lives in Philadelphia, says he will take pity on us. It is now in his power to do so, if he will: for, if it is not in *his* power, in whose is it? And, on his answer to this, I hope we will be all happy. Our great father above made us both; and, if he was to take it into his head that the whites had injured the reds, he would certainly punish them for it: because he made both red and white, and it is his wish that they should live together under a white cloud, without darkness. It is our desire to live in peace and friendship with oldest brother. Our warriors, old and young, are here, and have consulted, and say they love their lands, and cannot think of parting from them, as they have no other way to make a living. I make not the least doubt but some of the whites are the cause of the President's wishing to purchase our land; this we are sensible of: for we have proven it. The whites settle on our land, and improve till he is obliged to purchase: for we are not of force to drive them off. We apprehend he is ignorant of the proceedings of the frontiers, who impose on us. We will stop till to-morrow, and consult. We will then meet again. Do not leave the ground, until we have finished what we have to say in answer to the President's speeches.

Adjourned till to-morrow.

FRIDAY, 29th June, 1792.

The council met, pursuant to adjournment. Present, the Little Turkey, &c. as above, except the Glass and Richard Justice.

**MR. SHAW.—BROTHERS:** When I first set off to come to your country, I flattered myself that I might prove the happy instrument of peace and harmony. The Secretary of War, General Knox, enumerated to me, with pleasure, the good things which our father, the President, had done for you, and what he yet intended to do; and he gave it to me particularly in charge, to inform you of these kind intentions. I was very much rejoiced to hear these things; and I came to your nation, with the greatest wishes to render you services. Though the President of the United States only promised you fifteen hundred dollars per year, he actually sent you seventeen hundred and fifty dollars' worth of goods, by your ambassadors; he paid, likewise, for the transportation of these goods, which amounted to something considerable; he sent besides, one thousand dollars' worth of clothes by me, to be presented to the beloved men of your nation, with many other valuable articles in medals and other things, all which I have nearly distributed according to direction and advice. He has, likewise, ordered me, (should you think fit) to instruct your children, to teach you whatever useful arts you may be desirous of knowing, and he has offered to supply you with every thing necessary to cultivate your farms, at his own expense. Thus you see that, by acts, and not by words only, he is a kind and attentive parent. I hope I shall be able to inform him, that, on your parts, you will pay attention to his words. Your young warriors seem to harbor some uneasiness about the line, for which, I am extremely sorry. Your father, the President, would be much grieved to hear it. I shall only observe, that the part of the line of which you so much complain, was formed by commissioners, before General Washington became President, by a treaty held at Hopewell, on the Keowee. That same part was again ratified when Governor Blount, on the part of the United States, held a treaty with you. So that, Brothers, you see, that, by two separate treaties, the line has been confirmed. I know that every thing your father, the President, can do with propriety, he will be always ready and willing to perform. For my part, I consider myself as one of your people, and that my interest will hereafter be inseparably connected with your own. What, therefore, I can do for your interest, I shall readily perform; and I shall think nothing too much. I hope, therefore, you will put confidence in me, and esteem me as your friend and brother. Should you think proper to call on me for advice, I shall deliver it with sincerity and truth. As the Great Spirit has called me from amongst my own people to reside amongst you, and has created me for the express purpose of being your friend, in compliance with his will, I shall forget all my former connexions, and attach myself to you. If I can only preserve peace, and see your children grow up in safety, and see you every day increase in happiness, I shall have accomplished my business; and if you will only follow the advice of your father, the President, he will lead you to happiness, and all that he asks in return, is, that you will be friends with the United States. But it will be necessary, that you let me know fully your mind, in order that I may inform him what your wishes are; and as he has empowered me to see his business, in these respects, carried into execution, you shall never find any remissness on my part.

**THE LITTLE TURKEY.**—You, Mr. Shaw, are my brother; you were directed here, which makes me very happy. This is not the first time, nor do I wish to be considered the first time, that I have spoke of Mr. Thompson as a person from whom I anticipated much good to his country when growing up; he is now a man, and I wish his talks to reach throughout the nation. Likewise Mr. Carey, whom I have raised from a boy; he is our interpreter, and is to aid, assist, and consult with the head-men.

Last spring was a year since I heard of Governor Blount's arrival in the territory, bringing peace talks, and to hold a treaty. I desired some of my beloved men to go and see him, and requested that he would take notice of them; that I would respect him for it. I mentioned that I would send my young warriors to see him, as I heard he



was a beloved man from Congress; that I hoped the dark cloud would be removed, and a white one restored, with peace and friendship once more. I heard of his powers, and hoped he would do something for us; instead of that, they were there seven days with their eyes full of tears, and he did nothing to dry them. At their return from the Governor, I expected to hear good news, but was disappointed. I found there had been a deficiency, which disturbs our minds to this day; I found by their answers, that, not only they, but the Four Nations differed; that their hunting ground was gone, and they had no support without it. I remember the talk respecting the line; I wish it to be opened a little further down the river once more, as we are so bound up, that we, as well as the other three nations, have not room to hunt.

I wish the line to run from Campbell's line to the crossing of Cumberland river, on the Kentucky road; from thence to strike the edge of a big savannah, called the Barrens of Cumberland, to continue on the edge of the said savannah, on the dividing ridge betwixt the waters of Greene and Cumberland rivers, a middle course, till it strikes the Ohio. I speak this freely from my heart; if this can be done, it will be a great happiness, and establish a permanent peace. I wish the President to take this into consideration, and take pity on us. The big island of Holston has never been given up yet; it was objected to last summer, at the treaty; it is still ours; and our ambassadors mentioned it to the President and General Knox in Philadelphia. If we can have this line, we will relinquish our title to the island, which is a just one; it was justified by General Martin to Governor Blount, at the Holston treaty. Governor Blount is appointed by Congress, and has sent me many talks, but I have never had the happiness of seeing him yet. I am always glad to hear from him. Likewise, you, Mr. Shaw, are appointed from the same place; you are but a stranger to me yet, but any thing you have to say, I am willing to hear. As all men should be proved, I wish to do the same with you.

I have heard the President's good talks, which give me great satisfaction; he desires us to abide by the treaty; I mean nothing else, than to keep it and have it kept. I say nothing about any part of the line, except that part which I mentioned above; if he will open a door for us that way, I will be satisfied. I wish to inform the President, that I have consulted my whole nation; the passing of boats up and down the Tennessee, is disagreeable, and, a settlement at the Muscle Shoals, we cannot agree to, as it is the common hunting ground of the Four Nations. A station at the mouth of Bear creek, is also objected to for the same reason.

You, Mr. Shaw, say you are willing to assist us; I am happy to hear it; you must not let crooked talks disturb you, but continue your assistance. You will observe, that Governor Blount is here in place; I wish you to be of one way of thinking; you are to correspond with him, and if any partial disturbances should take place, I wish you to lay your heads together to keep peace, and I will assist.

Mr. Thomas Gegg, who has long resided in the nation as a magistrate, he has always attended our public meetings, during the time when there was no officer appointed by the United States, at our request. We hope the President will make him some allowance for his services, rendered both to the United States and our nation; we would do it, but we are poor red people, and can scarcely clothe ourselves. We wish, therefore, that it may be taken into consideration, and that he may receive a reward as well for the services he has rendered, as those he may hereafter render. Mr. Benjamin Hawkins, who is a member of your Senate, is well acquainted with Mr. Gegg, and to his recommendation we refer.

Captain CHISOLM then observed, that he was sorry his duty required him to put them in mind of Governor Blount's requests to them, per him, that he would name, and expect their answers. One was, the running the line, appointing commissioners, and the time and place of their meeting. The second was, the delivery of the prisoners in the nation, which is an important one; he told them to observe, that he had delivered up one without reserve. The last request is, recording the address at Coyatee, and waited the result.

The BREATH.—When at Coyatee, I had the pleasure of seeing Governor Blount, who then mentioned the subject of prisoners; I told him I did not wish to say any thing from myself, that we would have a meeting at this place, and I would consult my head-men.

The LITTLE TURKEY.—I have the happiness of being acquainted with Captain Chisolm, who is here from Governor Blount, who is a good faithful honest man, and I have dependence in him; I am going to send the Breath and a man from this town, to try to get the prisoners—a woman has purchased one of them, for how much I do not know; I hope, however, the Governor will not forget her. He then addressed the head-men of the different towns, desiring them to attend to Mr. Shaw, to put a stop to horse stealing, and to treat every white man well who might come amongst them, as ill treatment made even bad people worse.

Capt. CHISOLM then handed to the Little Turkey a copy of the address at Coyatee, which had been before returned, the hurry of other business not giving time to have it read. The Little Turkey desired it to be read, which was done accordingly.

The BADGER.—I have heard my oldest brother Governor Blount's talks. He sent my flesh and blood to me by Captain Chisolm, and now we undertake to send my nephew the Black Fox of Estanaula, with the Breath, to go and get the prisoner which one of my family has got. The Governor speaks so clever to us, I think it is for the benefit of our country to get the prisoners; as one of them is in my family, (the Paint) I consider it my duty to have her given up. The murders the Governor mentions, and requests information of the perpetrators of, I shall give every notice in my power. I tell you it is the Usauleys, a town in the Creeks; every person knows the loose Creeks frequently pass through our towns and do these mischiefs, and it is impossible for us to prevent them. Now I give this information, and hope it will have weight, as I wish to raise up our young men in peace and unity with the whites. I desire Captain Chisolm to wait five or six days, till I send for the prisoners. We are determined, in a council of the whole nation, to hold the white people fast by the hand hereafter.

Adjourned till to-morrow.

SATURDAY, 30th June, 1792.

Council met pursuant to adjournment. Present, the Little Turkey, &c. as before.

A letter per despatch from Governor Blount was read, containing a request of the Little Turkey, and his head-men, to despatch some of his people to Tuskegee, there to meet certain boats and canoes on their way to Cumberland, with goods for the Chickasaws and Choctaws, and to escort them through the muscle shoals; they readily complied with the request, and accordingly appointed Mr. Jack Thompson, Cotteatoy, Nontuaka, Cheelageeskikie, the Cabin, and Keatekiskikie, for that purpose the three latter are to go with the boats through the Muscle Shoals; and then return. The other three are to continue on to Cumberland. Captain Chisolm is also requested to go with them to Cumberland; they are to start from this place to-morrow. The Little Turkey says he has despatched with orders to have the prisoners delivered to Captain Chisolm on his way to Cumberland. Skeuka is to go to Teeskege and return with any despatches from thence to the Little Turkey.

Kealekiskikie, in behalf of the Council, requested Mr. Shaw to furnish them with an English yard-measure, and that he would compel the traders to sell at eight pounds of leather per garment or leave the nation.

The Little Nephew said, they intended to procure, by force or otherwise, all the stolen horses that are now in the nation, without making any allowance to the possessors, and deliver them to the owners, in order to prevent horse-stealing in future; and they have appointed persons to go throughout the nation on that business. The council wish that Governor Blount will assist the Kingfisher and John Walker in recovering two horses which were stolen from them at the treaty, or their value.

Adjourned *sine die*.

ESTANAULA, 1st July, 1792.

I do certify, that I have examined the foregoing journal, and find it a literal one, as near as the idioms of the languages will admit.

Witness my hand.

JAMES CAREY, Interpreter.

*Deposition of James Ore.*

TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES, SOUTH OF THE RIVER OHIO, KNOX COUNTY, 33:

Personally appeared James Ore, before me, David Campbell, Esq. one of the Judges of the territory aforesaid, who, being sworn, deposes and saith, that he was at the house of General McGillivray, on the 13th and 14th of May last; that he saw in company with McGillivray, a man called Captain Oliver, whom this deponent heard, was an agent from the King of Spain, in character of superintendent of the Creek nation, under the pay of one hundred dollars per month, and had there with him a Spanish interpreter by the name of Antonio; that on the second day, the deponent being in company with General McGillivray and Oliver, for two hours, during which time, he heard General McGillivray asked when he went to New Orleans; McGillivray answered, four nights; Oliver then observed that he would be glad if McGillivray would stay until the public talk was over, meaning one which he, said Oliver, had appointed to hold with the Creek nation, within eight nights from that time, which he, McGillivray did; this deponent saith, that Oliver lived in a new house of McGillivray's, and had for some months, and that he and McGillivray appeared in habits of perfect intimacy.

This deponent further saith, that he remained in the nation to hear the extent of the talk, and was informed by a white man, who understood the Creek language, and one in whom this deponent had entire confidence, that the purport of Oliver's talk with the chiefs of the Creeks was, "That the Spanish talk, the French talk, and the British, were all one; when was the day they asked them for land? But the Americans were still wanting their lands; and if they wanted ammunition and arms to defend their lands, come to them, meaning the Spaniards, and they should have them. He told them not to be crazy, to listen to every body's talk; to mind their hunting and mind their lands." He then invited them to a talk, to be held at Pensacola, where the Governor of Orleans would meet them, and to which the Cherokees were also to be invited; at which time he said they would hear a great deal more.

This deponent further saith, that he heard among the Creeks, that Oliver was to hold talks with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, at the Natchez old fields, immediately after this talk with the Creeks at Pensacola.

This deponent further saith, that he was at Kialigees, a Creek town on the waters of the Tallapoosa river, on the night of the sixteenth of May last, where he was informed, by a trader living in that town, John Oriley and Sarah Fletcher, a white prisoner, that the people of that town had brought in two women and a child, prisoners, from Cumberland, and that one of them was called Elsey Thompson, the others names they did not know; that Oriley offered to purchase them at the price of a negro, each, for their ransom; which the Indians refused, saying, they did not bring the prisoners there to let them go back to the Virginia people, but had brought them to punish and make victuals and work for them, the Indians, and said they did not think he had so great love for the Virginia people; adding, that if he was not so great a friend of theirs, they would knock him in the head for the proposal, and requested him never to talk so to them any more.

This deponent further saith, that he was informed that the Indians had put Miss Thompson and the other woman into the fields to work. Miss Thompson cried, and they put her into the house again to pound meal; and that the child was taken from the mother by one of the captors, and carried to another town, where he committed it to a Mrs. Williams, who has been a prisoner with the Creeks for some years, and treated with the greatest degree of barbarity, and with much severity, having been often beat until she was black and blue.

This deponent saith, that the reasons why he did not converse with the prisoners, and know their names and situation, were, that he was told, and has reason to believe, such proceedings would, in all probability, have been attended with bad consequences to himself.

He further saith, that he saw one party, consisting of five, and was informed there were several other parties on their way to Cumberland, with an express intention to take hair or scalps, and to steal horses; that he also saw several large and new encampments, which had signs of war about them, and appeared as though the parties were going out on some war design.

This deponent further saith, that, during his residence in the Creek nation, which was about six weeks, there were four fresh scalps brought there, said to be from Cumberland, and that the general talk in the Creek nation was, that they would never be at peace with Cumberland, for it was their particular hunting ground, and that appearances in the nation well warrant a belief of this declaration.

Sworn to, and subscribed, this sixteenth day of June, 1792.

JAS. ORE.

DAVID CAMPBELL.

*The deposition of Ezekiel Abel.*

This deponent saith, that the — day of February last, on his passage down the Tennessee river, in company with Colonel Harry Hunter, their boat lodged on the Muscle Shoals; that this deponent, in company with one Mr. Wilson, (who had a pass from his Excellency William Blount, Esq. in his care, granted Colonel Hunter) went to shore in a canoe, to a party of Indians, in order to get assistance over the shoals; that five Indians went into the canoe, apparently very friendly, but, after going some distance up the river, one of the Indians, who stood behind this deponent, gave him (the deponent) a blow on the neck, aimed, as he supposes, at his head, with a tomahawk, which the said Indian had concealed under his watch coat; by the force of which blow the deponent fell into the water; the other Indians, or a part of them, fell on Mr. Wilson with tomahawks, which they had concealed in the same manner as above. This deponent saith, that the canoe oversat in the time of the engagement; that Wilson was, after repeated blows given him while in the water, killed, scalped, and stripped, but that he (the deponent) made his escape, after receiving several blows.

This deponent further saith, that the Indians, at all the towns the boats passed, fired heavily on them, and that a number of balls struck heavily in the boats: he also saith, that every part of the Indians' conduct to them, during their passage, seemed inimical. And, finally, this deponent saith, that he is well convinced that one of the Indians who killed Wilson, was a Cherokee, as he had last summer seen him at the treaty, and knows him by a remarkable scar on one of his thighs. And further saith not.

EZEKIEL ABEL.

Taken before me, this 16th April, 1792,

Test: JOEL RICE, J. P.

*The deposition of Daniel Thornbury.*

This deponent, being first sworn, saith, that he was at the place called l'Ance la Grace, now New Madrid, on the Mississippi, last winter, on his own private business. That, about the 11th March last, he left the said place in company with a Doctor Waters, and one Bryant, to proceed up to Cumberland settlement; that, about fifteen miles above New Madrid, at an island in the Mississippi, they met five canoes of Cherokees, which had on board nine or ten Cherokee men, and several women and children, which Indians had a chief with them called Double-head, who related to Doctor Waters and this deponent, as follows: That, last fall, they sat out from their nation to hunt, low down on the Tennessee river; that, while they were hunting, (their whole number at camp being twenty-eight men, besides women and children) a party of seven men, the Double-head being their chief, went to the Cumberland river, near the mouth thereof, and took one boat laden with salt, fired on some other boats, killed several men in the Cumberland river, and stripped some of them. Their clothes the said deponent saw; particularly a hat, coat, and pair of boots, which, on coming to Cumberland, he was informed belonged to one Curtis, who had such clothing on

when he was killed. They also related, that three of their party had fired on a house in Clarksville, at the mouth of Red river; and, in short, related that they had done all the mischief which, on coming to Cumberland, he was informed had been done in the river. That his (the deponent's) two companions, and himself, had hired one Barcelo, a French trader, who had been trading great part of last winter on the Tennessee with the Cherokees, to go with them up to the mouth of Cumberland; that Barcelo told them he had seen several guns, and other articles, taken from the boatmen in Cumberland, by these Indians, and scalps also, when trading with them on Tennessee.

This deponent further saith, that, while at New Madrid, he saw twelve Creek Indians, who came there and related they had been watching the Tennessee river great part of last winter, to take American boats; that none came along while they were watching it; that they intended, from New Madrid, to go home through the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations, to engage them to join the Creeks in a war against the Americans, which, if they could not do, the Creeks would then attack these two nations.

The deponent saith, he could not speak the Creek tongue himself, but sundry people, whom these Creeks spoke with, related these circumstances; that, when they met the Cherokee party on the island, Barcelo could speak Cherokee and English, and, by his means, they principally conversed, although some of the Indians could speak a little English. Indeed, he thinks the Indians supposed his two companions and himself lived at New Madrid, as Barcelo was with them, who doubtless contributed to their safety.

DANIEL THORNBERRY.

Taken before me, this 10th April, 1792, at Nashville.

JAS. ROBERTSON.

*Postscript.*—This deponent further saith, that, besides their trading business at New Madrid, he heard Double-head say, he intended to try to get the Indians in the neighborhood of New Madrid to join him, and the Creeks also, as they had declared open war, with a fixed purpose to cut off the Cumberland settlement. And further saith not.

DANIEL THORNBERRY.

This Double-head, or Tucalatague, is a signer to the treaty of Holston, and, at the close of that treaty, begged, and I granted him, a written permit to hunt on the waters of Cumberland.

WM. BLOUNT.

July 4th, 1792.

*From Governor Blount to the Little Turkey and other chiefs of the Cherokees.*

KNOXVILLE, 4th June, 1792.

BROTHERS:

Enclosed is a copy of my address to you at Coyattee (as I promised) which I request you to have recorded in your book.

By the bearer, your friend Captain Chisolm, I send you the prisoner boy, Abe; he is all I have, and to Captain Chisolm I request you to deliver such prisoners as you may have in your possession, as well those taken before the treaty as since. Captain Chisolm is a man in whom I have great dependence, and he will have them conveyed safe to me.

BROTHERS: The running of the left line is a thing I know you want done, and so do I, but I can't attend to it before I have finished my business with the Chickasaws and Choctaws at Nashville, and rested myself a little after my return home, which will not be before some time in August. I propose to you that the commissioners to run the line shall meet at Major Craig's, on Nine-mile creek, on the second Monday in October. The commissioners on the part of the United States are people of high character and distinction, namely, Brigadier General Smith, Colonel Landon Carter, and Judge Campbell, and I beg that three of your principal chiefs may be appointed on your part. The running a line between nations is a great business, and none but head-men are proper to do it.

James Carey being appointed interpreter, it will be his duty to attend, and interpret what shall be said on both sides.

I keep in remembrance that no persons are to be with the commissioners when they run the lines, except a few people to mark it.

But if a few of your principal chiefs, besides those appointed to run the line, should wish to attend, I shall be glad to see them. For head-men to see and know each other, ever contributes to the happiness of both parties.

BROTHERS: I have engaged Mr. McKee, who writes a good fair hand, to attend your council, to make for me a correct journal of what you shall do and say in council at Estanaula, and to forward it to me by Captain Chisolm. Mr. McKee, as well as Captain Chisolm, is a friend of mine, and I request you to receive and treat them both as such.

When your council rises I shall be at Cumberland about business with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, and it is my wish that Captain Chisolm should come to me there with the journal of your proceedings, provided some of you will come with him; and I again request General Eskaqua and Captain Watts to meet me there, to be present and hear the talks I shall hold with those nations; and if any other chiefs will come I shall be glad to see them, and I will be glad also to see a few of the young warriors.

BROTHERS: I have to repeat to you that nobody must read or explain your letters but the interpreters; they are appointed for that purpose.

I am your Brother, &c.

*Governor Blount's Instructions to Captain John Chisolm.*

KNOXVILLE, 5th June, 1792.

SIR:

Herewith you will receive, Abe, a Cherokee boy, a prisoner, who you will please to deliver to the chiefs of that nation, in council at Estanaula, which is to meet on the 24th instant, and urge them to deliver to you all the prisoners they have.

By the treaty, the exchange was to have been made some time past, at this place, and I have always been ready on the part of the United States. You will also use your endeavor to recover Mrs. Caffrey and child, and Miss Thompson, taken by the Creeks, and carried captives into their nation.

I am, sir, &c.

*Governor Blount to the Secretary of War.*

KNOXVILLE, August 31st, 1792.

On the 10th instant the conference with the Chickasaws and Choctaws ended; there was a very full representation of the former, but not of the latter, owing, there is reason to believe, to the Spanish influence; the minutes of which will be forwarded to you by Mr. Allison, who leaves this, in ten or fifteen days, for Philadelphia.

During the conference, General Pickens and myself received the strongest assurances of peace and friendship for the United States, from both nations, and I believe they were made with great sincerity.

The Cherokees, as well as the Creeks, commit depredations, and deserve to be punished; that is, the young and unruly part of them: for the chiefs, to a man, except *Double Head*, who was a signer of the treaty, I have great reason to believe, most earnestly wish for peace and friendship; but, to punish them, with a view to giving peace to the frontiers, would be like lopping off a bough from a tree, for the purpose of killing it. The root of the evil is the numerous and insolent Creeks, and it is they who encourage and lead forward the too willing young Cherokees to murder and rob. By Mr. Allison I shall forward you a report upon the state of the four Southern nations, in which I shall be as particular as the information I am in possession of will allow me.

Annexed is a list of the killed and wounded in this territory, since the date of my last letter to you; and by Mr. Allison I will forward a list, containing the whole number killed, wounded, and made prisoners, since January, 1791.

*June 26, At Zeigler's Station, near Bledsoe's Lick, on the North side of Cumberland River.*

4 killed,  
4 wounded and escaped,  
3 escaped unhurt,  
13 made prisoners.

NOTE.—Of these prisoners, nine have been regained by purchase, made by their parents and friends, from the Cherokees, Shawanese, and Creeks, at the Running Water; of the four which remain, one is a Miss Wilson, now with the Creeks, the other three are negroes.

*July 15, On the road that leads from Nashville to Kentucky.* Isaac Pennington and Milligen, killed, and McFarland, wounded.

*July 31, At Greenfields near Bledsoe's Lick, in a Peach Orchard.* John Berkley, Junior, killed and scalped; John Berkley wounded: who, after he was wounded, killed an Indian in the act of scalping his son.

*In July, On Cumberland River, two persons, unknown, killed, near Clarksville.*

*Governor Blount to the Secretary of War.—September 11, 1792.*

SIR:

Enclosed are copies of letters I received this morning, at three o'clock, express from the Little Turkey, the chief of the Cherokees, the Boot, who was his immediate representative at the treaty of Holston, and the two interpreters of the United States, James Carey and John Thompson, by which you will be informed, that the five Lower towns of the Cherokees have declared war against the United States; you will observe, James Carey estimates the number who were to leave the towns on the 7th instant, to make an attack on the settlements, at three hundred.

These letters were delivered to me by Mr. Ore, who received them yesterday at Chota, at the green corn dance, where there were a great number of Indians, as well as white people, from the settlements. He was there informed by Nontuaka, and others, that the party was estimated at five hundred, of whom one hundred were Creeks, the whole commanded by John Watts; and from the best information he could collect, it appears their destination is against Cumberland, or the frontiers of Knox county.

Since writing the above, I have received a letter of yesterday's date from Brigadier General Sevier, a copy of which is also enclosed, containing the same information, with the addition of three hundred more than mentioned by Mr. Carey, a part of whom are mounted on horses, supposed to the number of one hundred; and I also enclose copies of three letters from Mr. Shaw, all of which serve to show the designs of those Indians against the United States.

I have ordered the regiment of the county of Knox into actual service for its defence, for a few days, until the destination of John Watts and his party is certainly known, and have despatched an express to General Robertson, giving him the necessary information, with orders to put the brigade of that district in the best possible state of defence.

I have also given orders to the colonels of the several counties of Washington district, to be in readiness to march on the shortest notice.

This declaration of war was very unexpected, and has given great alarm to the frontiers. Indeed, I do not find that any thing of the kind has before been done by Indians in so formal a manner.

It is my opinion the stroke will fall on Cumberland, and I fear will be very heavy. The settlements of that district are very extensive, and the guards stationed for the protection thereof no ways equal to the weight of so unexpected an attack.

Enclosed is a copy of my orders to Major Sharpe, of the 10th ultimo, which will shew the force and destination of those guards.

I am apprehensive the numbers may be thought too few, but it was with great difficulty so many were turned out—difficult with myself, lest I should be charged with extravagance, and equally difficult to get so many from the district of Washington to the district of Miro.

I hope for the honor of your immediate orders, and in the mean time shall act on the defensive, so as in my judgment best to secure the frontiers.

I have to observe, that the Cherokees have never complained to me of a single infraction of the treaty of Holston, nor do I know that one has been committed by any citizen of the United States.

I have the honor to be, &c.

No. 1.

TURKEYTOWN, September 2d, 1792.

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

Your good talk I have received, and am glad to find that you are pleased with the conduct of Mr. Thompson, and the rest of my people that was in company with him. It was my earnest request to them to do the best for your people in the boats, which I am glad to hear they did. Now, my good friend and brother, you wrote me to tell you what I thought and knew of the people that lives on the Big river. Now I will let you know, and tell you the truth, which I am sorry and ashamed for to tell you, of their proceedings and bad conduct; you may be assured it is not lies. I now tell you (as you wrote me never to write or send you word about any thing but the truth) the eighth day of this month they are determined to go off to war, all the five lower towns on the Big river; they have and will make war by themselves; you may be assured and believe me, it is not the consent of the whole nation, nor no part of it only them five towns—they agreed amongst themselves.

Now you may know where the bad people lives; both you and your people may now know where the good and bad lives. Now, I desire you and all your people not to come to war against no other towns but them five towns on the Big river, that has made war against you. The Spaniards has gave them ammunition and guns, hatchets, knives, &c. and told them it was not to go to war, but to keep it a reserve by them; you may blame no body for all this, only the Spaniards. Now as I look on you to be my friend and brother, all we good people that lives off in other towns, and especially the towns on this river, that you will not molest or trouble us, for myself and all the headmen in the nation have talked and done all in our power to have them stopped, and all our young men sent messen-

gers to them to have them leave off, and think about nothing but peace, and not to bring war on themselves; but they would not hear them; they are determined to do mischief every way to try to bring the white people against the towns that is for peace, and threatens us all, both white or red, that if we write or send any news, to strip us of every thing, and perhaps kill us; but I shall always acquaint you with their proceedings at all events, for you may depend, I never will be deceitful to you, nor no man, especially my friends and brothers the white people.

Now my good friend and brother, write me, and let me hear good from you, and let me know whether all we that is for peace, may stay at home in our towns. I shall be always looking your way until I get your answer, and my ears open to hear your talk, let it be good or bad. I want you to send me an express back immediately, that I may know if I am obliged to run away, or to stay at home in my town.

I am, and ever shall be, your friend and brother,

THE TURKEY.

No. 2.

TURKEYSTOWN, September 2d, 1792.

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

We are sorry to acquaint you of bad news, but we can't help it; we done all that lay in our power to hinder them. The Little Turkey will acquaint you all about it; but you know I myself, and others, are at peace, and gives out good talks to our young men. Last summer, I went with Mr. Hath to the Creeks, and he promised me that I should be paid; and I would be glad if you would take it into consideration, and send me a gun, as I am without a gun, as I want to go out soon to make my winter's hunt. I shall always remember you, and never forget your goodness, as I am in need of one. All the good men intends to go out a hunting—soon as you send the answer back, then we shall go out. Send the gun by Mr. Carey.

I am, your friend and brother,

THE BOOTS OR CHUTCOE.

No. 3.

TURKEYSTOWN, September 2d, 1792.

DEAR SIR:

I am sorry to acquaint your Excellency of the bad conduct and proceedings of the Indians on the Big river, or you may call them the five Lower towns. On the 8th day of this month, they intend to start out for war; but what part on the settlements they will fall on, we can't tell. The 11th day of this month, I got to the Turkey's town, and there the news was, that the Indians was making readiness for war. I made all haste I could back to send you this news. You told me to tell you nothing but what was the truth, and you may believe this to be the truth; and I am in hopes you will do the same by me as agreed. Those Indians will kill people every where to bring on the whites upon them that is for peace; they have said it, that they intend to do so; but when mischief is done, you will know where they come from; and you may depend the Creeks will do their part. Your Excellency has got to blame the Spaniards for all this; they have give them ammunition, guns, hatchets, knives, &c. but not to make war with, but to keep it as a reserve. These Indians that is for peace, wants to know if they can stay in their towns; you may depend these Indians will be at peace, if the whites will not come against them. Please, sir, write me and let me know whether we shall stay in our towns or not; as I have been as good as my word, I expect you will do the same by me, and send the express off as soon as possible. Don't make my letter known to the people, or even to your friends, but commit it to the fire. I will always write when an opportunity affords that way, and I hope you will do the same, and let me know how things is going, and I will do the same. Please, sir, excuse haste, for I have had hardly time to write these lines to you.

I am, dear sir, with great regard and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

JNO. THOMPSON.

No. 4.

ESTANAULA, 7th September, 1792.

SIR:

This day Mr. Thompson arrived here with the express from the Little Turkey, directed to you, and likewise for me to be the bearer of it to you; but it is out of my power to go with it to you: for death is my portion if I go that way; but I hope you will not think hard of my not coming; but I have got an Indian to carry it to the Hanging Maw's, and there he is to wait for the answer from you; I hope you will send him two blankets for his trouble, as it will be the means of getting another to go another time.

Sir, the five towns on the river has declared war against the United States, and this day they set off from their towns for the settlement, wherefor I do not know, but be on your guard for them; there will be about three hundred of them. Mr. Shaw went from here yesterday for Seneca: for the Creeks were determined to kill him.

Sir, if you want me to come on, write me by the bearer; and, if you want me, I will come, let the consequences be what it will. This quarter of the nation is entirely for peace, I can assure you, and wishes for nothing else.

From your most humble servant,

JAMES CAREY,  
*Linguister of the United States.*

No. 5.

LITTLE RIVER, 13th September, 1792.

DEAR SIR:

I am this moment arrived from the Cherokee nation, and have the following disagreeable intelligence to communicate to your Excellency, viz: The Hanging Maw, Notowego, the Long-fellow, Tichagiska, and a number of their chiefs, and a great number of their young warriors, was this day assembled in their beloved town Chota; they informed me they had a matter of great importance to communicate, and desired I would attend at their council or town house; to which place I immediately repaired, where they informed me that part of their nation, to wit: the five Lower towns, had actually declared war against the United States, and, in consequence of which, six hundred had set out, several days since, with a determination to give a severe blow to some part of our frontiers, the particular spot I cannot be informed of; but it is not likely that Knoxville is their object; they say one hundred is well mounted, our friend Watts at their head; they are also joined by the Creeks, and one hundred of the party consists of that nation; you will readily perceive that this declaration of war is announced in a very formal manner, more so than any thing of the kind has heretofore happened, and the truth of which, you will permit me to observe, is not to be doubted; they assure me that every other part of the nation is entirely of a tranquil disposition, and well disposed towards the people of the United States. I shall be at Knoxville in a day or two, at farthest, when I can communicate to you further particulars relative to the subject. You will please to observe, that the five Lower towns spoken of, is composed of the twelve lower towns on the Tennessee and its vicinity.

I am, your obedient servant,

JOHN SEVIER,  
*Brigadier General of Washington District.*

NOTE.—General Sevier, when he says, “observe that the five lower towns spoken of is composed of the twelve lower towns on the Tennessee,” must mean that the Indians, first called Chickamagas, originally settled in twelve small towns on the Tennessee, are the same who now live in the five lower towns; the fact is, the Chickamagas

abandoned the first towns they settled in, and have now settled in five towns; it is also true that many Indians, from other parts of the nation, have also settled in these five towns. I have heretofore informed you that the Look-out Mountain town, Running Water, Nickajack, and Crow town, including Long-island village, were the four towns; the fifth, now mentioned, is Wellstown, where John Watts lives, as does the Bloody Fellow. In justice to the latter, I add, that he has made use of every exertion in his power to restrain the unruly part of his nation, and to attach them to the United States; and the whole party, who were with him at Philadelphia, remain firm. (Nontuaka is now with him, not to be surpassed either in honesty or good nature.)

It is also due to the Glass, and Captain Charley, of the Running Water, the Breath of Nickajack, and Dick Justice, of Look-out Mountain, four principal chiefs of those towns, that I inform you of their attachment to the United States, and opposition to the measures taken by their towns; they have removed themselves, and sundry of their adherents, to other parts of the nation. The names of three of these chiefs are among those to whom clothing, &c. was sent by Eskaqua, he having pointed them out as principal chiefs; and the fourth, Captain Charley, I found of such consequence that it was essential to give him a suit also, fearing, if I did not, he might feel the neglect so sensibly as to alienate his attachment to the United States.

[The foregoing note subjoined by Governor Blount.]

No. 6.

ESTANAULA, 13th August, 1792.

SIR:

Though I have not yet heard how soon your return is expected, I shall make use of the present opportunity to inform you of the situation of the nation. On the first instant I received a message from Wipeme, a young warrior, who promises at the talk to be peaceable; he informs me, at a meeting of twenty-two towns, it was unanimously agreed to quit all horse stealing; and that he will bring at the public meeting all the horse thieves, and make them publicly declare their future good intentions. From the Lower towns I have had advice of their rejecting the Northern talk, and their determination to be peaceable. But a new source of uneasiness has lately presented itself; the Creeks have spread themselves in small parties throughout the nation, and do just as they please. After their attack upon Mr. Wallace, (which, no doubt, you will fully hear) two of the party pursued him to Estanaula itself, and would certainly have overtaken him, had not a Cherokee, who met them by accident, designedly detained them. They, that night, stole Mr. Gagg's horse out of the middle of the town, and they have stole thirty horses, in ten days, from Hightower; and two Creeks, a few days since, were discovered way-laying some person in this town. It is even dangerous for a white man to travel from one town to another, without an escort. The intrigues of the Spaniards (seem to me) to be immediately directed against the United States. The Indians consider them in a serious light, and conceive that a rupture is not far distant. They have certainly offered to supply the Indians with ammunition: for every account I receive agrees in that point, and in such quantities that it is obvious their intentions are hostile. I should have visited the Lower towns before this, but I received information that most of the young warriors are absent on a short hunting excursion. When I visit the Lower towns, I propose taking a jaunt to the Creeks, with an intention of examining into the affairs of that nation, and of picking up some intelligence respecting Bowles and the Spaniards. As matters now stand, it will be impossible to preserve peace long here. The Indians robbed of their horses will supply themselves again from the settlements; besides, the Creeks are daily stealing from the frontiers through this nation. Before my departure, I should wish to receive your Excellency's advice and instructions, should you think proper to communicate any.

I am, with respect and esteem, your Excellency's very humble servant,

LEONARD D. SHAW.

No. 7.

August 29th, 1792.

SIR:

In my last letter I informed you of the frequent incursions of the Creeks, and the reason I had to apprehend some daring attempts from them. Since that time they have killed Mr. Ramsay, and a person who had lately arrived from Charleston; this happened on the 24th instant. They were very nigh killing Moses Price, the preceding day, notwithstanding he was accompanied by the Kingfisher and his wife, and they had formerly been intimate with him. Mr. Ramsay was not above thirty yards from his own house when he was killed, and scalped on the spot; the other person reached the house, but instantly expired. The open and avowed intention of the Creeks is, to kill every white man they meet, and they declare that such is their orders. The great quantity of ammunition given to the Indians by the Spaniards persuades me that we are indebted to the former for these visitations. I am apprehensive that they have formed a coalition with Bowles. Since I first sat down to write, I have been informed of a party that is now lurking about this place. I am unsafe fifty yards from the house, unless towards the town. The day before yesterday I received the first intelligence of your Excellency's return, and, from some hints, I expect every thing terminated as you could have wished. Every idea of my travelling, must, for a while, be laid aside, until matters come to some final determination. The Indians have sent a very spirited letter to the Little Turkey; and as a few days since I received a letter by Captain Faushe from Captain Roberts, commandant of fort Matthews, I took that opportunity to write to Mr. Seagrove, who, I understand, is superintendent of the Creek nation. The Cherokees are exceedingly irritated at the Creeks, and nothing but a consciousness of their inferiority restrains them from seeking satisfaction; I think it necessary to give you this information, as the facts will, doubtless, be canvassed in the first national council, which, I understand, will be soon.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your Excellency's humble servant,

LEONARD D. SHAW.

No. 8.

ESTANAULA, 2d September, 1792.

SIR:

As Notewego informs me he intends to visit you immediately after his departure from this place, I shall make use of him to convey to you this letter. On the thirtieth of August, six Creeks left this town, and, as I afterwards learned, proceeded immediately for the settlements; no doubt they are determined on mischief, and, unless the good fortune or the vigilance of the inhabitants defeats their purpose, they may do some essential injury. Every thing carries so much the appearance of a Creek war, that, were I to deliver my judgment, it would be, that it is unavoidable. As Mr. Thompson did not pass through this place, I have not yet heard any thing material respecting the present state of things. Whenever I see the Creeks bending their course towards the settlements, I feel distressed lest they might fall on the frontiers undiscovered, and, after committing some pitiful act of barbarity, escape. And yet, to send, on every occasion, an express, would be too expensive. I should be happy to know your opinion respecting conveying intelligence. I expect the Nettle-carrier here to-night from the Lower towns. When I was, by the advice of some of the head-men, induced to defer my jaunt to the Lower towns, I thought proper to despatch him to collect intelligence, and in a particular manner, to learn the talk John Watts brought from the Spaniards. In my next, I hope I shall be able to say something on the Spanish manoeuvres, as the Nettle-carrier is a person entrusted with all the state secrets. Notewego has mentioned to me a circumstance that he wishes me to communicate; it seems that Jack Thompson promised him, on your Excellency's behalf, a gun; but that he has never received any. His chief business, therefore, (I suppose) will be to inquire into the matter. On the 29th of August, I sent John Christy with letters, which I hope by this time have arrived safe.

I have the honor to be, &c.

LEONARD D. SHAW.

No. 9.

*Governor Blount's orders to Major Sharpe.*

Major Sharpe, of Summer county, who commands all the troops in service, for the protection of the frontiers, is to be considered as subject to the orders of no superior militia officer not in actual service. But in case of any militia being turned out from either of the counties, by the commanding officer, to chastise Indians for recent depredations, he will cordially co-operate with such part of his command as may be in that particular county. No pursuit to be continued beyond the ridge dividing the waters of Cumberland and Duck rivers. Patrols and reconnoitering parties to be kept out from the stations, in search of, and to prevent any further depredations by, the Indians, and in case any Indians should be found skulking or lurking about to the northward of the ridge aforesaid, in the woods, off any path, or fleeing, to be considered and treated as enemies, save only, Chickasaws and Choctaws, women and children.

Annexed are the names of the stations, and the number of men at each; but in case Major Sharpe should conceive it essential for the better protection of the frontiers, he will increase the number at any or either, and lessen them at any other, either the cavalry or infantry or both, but erect no new ones, until his command shall receive an augmentation of troops; and on that event, he will either augment the number at the present stations, or erect new ones, so as best to effect the object of protection. Such men of Tennessee county on duty, as are draughts, to be discharged on the arrival of the men under the command of Captain Lusk, and their places to be supplied by a part of his men. Major Sharpe will call militia officers, not in actual service, into court martial for the trial of offenders, in cases where he cannot collect a sufficient number who are in actual service. Major Sharp is to be considered in service from the first day of July. The present militia in actual service, to leave their posts on the first day of October next, (meaning those from the district of Washington,) and to march immediately, in a body, to Knoxville, under the command of Captain Beard, of the cavalry, there to receive their discharge. Those of Davidson and Summer, to be discharged on 1st October, at their respective posts, and also those of Tennessee.

*Treaty Ground, near Nashville, }  
10th August, 1792. }*

Cornet Milligan, with twenty of Captain Beard's troop of cavalry, will escort the Governor to Knoxville, and there be discharged on the 20th instant.

*Stations and Numbers.*

No. 1. Cavalry—a Sergeant and 13,	-	-	-	14	} Taylor's spring, near Bledsoe's.
Infantry—an Ensign and 15,	-	-	-	16	
2. Cavalry—Sergeant and 13,	-	-	-	14	} Spencer's lick.
Infantry—Lieutenant, Ensign, and 15,	-	-	-	17	
3. Cavalry—Lieutenant and 13,	-	-	-	14	} Sconer's lick.
Infantry—Sergeant and 15,	-	-	-	16	
4. Cavalry and infantry, officers inclusive,	-	-	-	15	} Brown's spring.
5. Cavalry and infantry, officers inclusive,	-	-	-	21	} Kilpatrick's.
6. Cavalry and infantry, officers inclusive,	-	-	-	13	} Gower's cabin.
7. Cavalry and infantry, officers inclusive,	-	-	-	20	} Edmondson's.
8. Infantry, officers inclusive,	-	-	-	18	} Near the — of Sycamore.
9. Infantry, officers inclusive,	-	-	-	12	} Cave spring, near the mouth of red river.
Total,				190	

*Governor Blount to the Secretary of War, 15th September, 1792.*

SIR:

Enclosed are copies of letters from Eskaqua, otherwise the Bloody Fellow, and the Glass, dated on the 10th instant, at the Look-out Mountain town, informing, that they, with the assistance of John Watts, and other head-men, had prevailed with the party that were collected for war, to disperse, and go peaceably to their hunting, with copies of my answers thereto, and of my answer to the letter of the Little Turkey.

The information contained in these letters has induced me to discharge the regiment of Knox, and to despatch an express to general Robertson of Miro district, with orders to discharge such of his brigade as may be in service under my order of the 11th instant, forwarded express on the receipt of the letters from the Little Turkey, Brigadier General Sevier, Cary, and Thompson.

Enclosed, also, is information given through Major Craig, by the Red Bird, which seems verified, in part, by the firing upon William Cockran, as appears by his deposition, forwarded herewith, and by the killing of the two young Gillaspies, on the evening of the 12th instant, at their father's house, on the south side of Holston, about eighteen miles below this place.

Such information, attended with such circumstances, very much alarmed the frontier inhabitants, much more than can be conceived, or scarcely believed, but by such as have either seen or heard the particulars upon the spot; but they are now recovering themselves, and will, I hope, be able to profit by their folly, when an attack may really be made.

Although I have paid such credit to the information given by the Bloody Fellow and the Glass, as to discharge the militia called into service by my order of the 11th instant, in consequence of the letters from the Little Turkey, and others, yet, I have my apprehensions, that smaller parties of Cherokees will join the Creeks in committing depredations on the frontiers; and to protect them, I shall order additional numbers of militia into service, for a three months' tour of duty; respecting which, I shall report to you particularly, by Mr. Allison, who will leave this in eight days at the farthest, for Philadelphia, and would before this, but for this unexpected alarm of wars.

As his arrival will be so immediately after this reaches you, and the information by him, respecting this country, more full, permit me to suggest whether it would not be best to postpone the forwarding to me any orders, until his arrival.

The gentleman who, I informed you in a former letter, I had engaged to attend the treaty or conference the Spaniards were about to hold with the Southern Indians, to collect information, has not yet returned; his name is James Alexander Douglass, a Scotchman by birth, (he will get ready access to Panton, and all the Scotch, of course) has been bred a Jesuit, and understands the Spanish language; has lived several years among the Indians; introduced to me through General Pickens, with whom he had lived as a teacher of his children several years. The general thinks well of him, and I have the fullest expectations he will answer the object of his mission.

I am yet without the honor of any advices from you, since the 22d April,

But have that of being, with very great respect and esteem, your obedient humble servant.



## No. 1.

*A talk from the Bloody Fellow to his Excellency Governor William Blount, dated at the Look-out Mountain, September 10th, 1792.*

## FRIEND AND BROTHER:

At this time I am in a bad state of health, and my brother the Glass has told you the reason of our young warriors being assembled together at this time, from different parts. I overtook them at this place, and it was a long time before I or the other head-men could put a stop to their intended proceedings, as we much pitied the innocent people that must have suffered on both sides.

It is but a short time since I came from seeing the President of the United States; my tracks are scarce yet blotted out. The talks we had, was, that we should not war with one another, and that his people should not encroach upon our lands; but in place of that, they are daily encroaching, and building houses on our lands; this is not what we agreed upon.

I let all my people know what I agreed upon with the President; he was to let the different Governors know, so as they might not let the people settle on our lands, as they have formerly done.

I hear you are displeas'd with us for holding talks with the Spaniards, or any other neighboring Power; why should we not hold talks with our neighbors, as we do not want to be at war with any body, if we can avoid it?

What I tell you is the truth; it has given me a great deal of trouble; but I am glad it was in our power to put a stop to the effusion of blood. If you was to consider well, you would see it was more your people's fault than mine, by daily encroaching on our lands, and sending threatening talks. If there is any bad people in your land that wants to hurt us, I hope you will likewise stop them, as I have done mine, and that we may live in peace one with another, and hear no more of war. You will, likewise, please to send to Cumberland, and let them know that it is not our people that may do them any harm for the future, as we wish to be at peace with them.

The friends of the White Man-killer, of this town, think very hard of his losing his horses at your place, and the other fellow that was with him; if his creature was proven away, he did not steal it, but bought it of the Creeks; therefore, I think the owner ought to pay one half the value; if they are found, pray have them sent to the Hanging Maw's. This is all at present,

From your friend and brother,

THE BLOODY FELLOW.

## No. 2.

*A talk from the Glass to his Excellency Governor Blount, dated at the Look-out Mountain, September 10th, 1792.*

## FRIEND AND BROTHER:

It is but a few days since I sent a talk to Captain John Chisolm. I suppose you have seen it; remember it well, as I never tell you any thing but the truth. At that time, I let you know the minds of the people, and now I am about to let you know what had like to have happened since I wrote to Captain Chisolm.

Codeatoy returned here from the treaty at Nashville, and tells us that Colonel Robertson said that there had been a great deal of blood spilt in his settlement, and that he would come and sweep it clean with our blood. This caused our young warriors to assemble together, in order to meet him, as he told Codeatoy that the first mischief that should be done, that he would come, and we knew, of course, it would not be long before something might happen, as there is Creeks daily going to that settlement; and as they expected to suffer for the doings of others, they resolved they would meet him, or go to the settlements and do mischief, as they were to be sufferers, do it who would; but, with the assistance of the Bloody Fellow, John Watts, and some other head-men, we have sent them to their different homes, to mind their hunting, in hopes you will not suffer any of your people to send in any more threatening talks. We took pity upon the innocent that might suffer on both sides, which undoubtedly would have been the case. As I have always listened to your talks, I hope you will listen to mine, and have peace.

I mentioned to you several times concerning your people coming in here; pray do not let them come unless it be upon public business, then let them come to Estanaula.

If our people has any beaver, or any other thing that suits to trade, in your settlement, let them come in with it.

There was a friend of mine, the White Man-killer, that was in your settlement some time since; he lives in the Turkey's town; your people threatened to shoot him, and beat him in a dreadful manner. This I never suffered to be done to any of your people.

I hope we will hear no more bad talks from each other, but that peace and brotherly love may continue.

These from your friend and brother,

THE GLASS.

## No. 3.

*Governor Blount to the Little Turkey, Chief of the Cherokees.—September 13th, 1792.*

## MY GOOD FRIEND AND BROTHER:

Your letter of the 2d September, was handed to me on the 11th instant, and affords a strong and pleasing proof of the sincerity of your friendship for the United States, and of your desire for peace with them, which, I assure you, they most earnestly wish.

You ask me to let you hear good, "whether you that are for peace, may stay at home?" by which, I understand you mean to ask, if *none* of the Indians of the other towns of the Cherokees join the five Lower towns in war against the United States, will they, the other towns, be permitted to stay at home in peace? To which I answer *yes*. The United States do not wish to punish the innocent for the guilty.

I should have supposed, the five Lower towns, before they had went out for war, would have made the causes for so doing known to me; such is the custom among nations; perhaps they thought to steal a march upon me, but in that they will be mistaken; I shall be ready for them.

For this proof of your friendship, be pleas'd to accept my hearty and sincere thanks, and to present them to my friends Chuleoah, Kitagiska, Cabin, and Skiuka, for the information they gave. Tell Chuleoah I cannot now get a gun to send him; the white people, since the Lower towns have declared war, cannot part with one; assure him it is not that I am afraid he would use it against the United States; I have the utmost reliance in his friendship, and a great esteem for him.

I am, your friend and brother,

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

## No. 4.

*September 14th, 1792.*

Since writing the above, I have received letters from the Glass and the Bloody Fellow, informing me that they and John Watts, with the assistance of some other head men, had stopped the party from going out, and that now, all the five Lower towns are for peace; I wish they may continue so; the United States prefer peace to war. I beg you, my good brother, to inform your people, that I have, and shall erect, a number of block houses on the frontiers, both of this district, and of Cumberland, and put at them a number of men, both foot and horse, for the protection of the frontiers.

These houses will be built on the lands of the United States, and not on those of the Cherokees. I beg you to order your good people not to come near them, for they, by mistake, may be taken for bad ones, and I should be very sorry for it. Should you, or any of your chiefs, wish to come to this place, I would advise the coming by Major Craig's, along the public road.

Whenever you have occasion for sending an express to me, send an Indian, I will pay him; and I beg you to continue to give me the earliest intelligence of what is doing, or intended to be done, against the United States.

I am, your friend and brother,

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

The LITTLE TURKEY, *Chief of the Cherokees.*

No. 5.

*Governor Blount to the Glass, a chief of the Cherokees—September 13th, 1792.*

*Friend and Brother:*

Your letter of the 10th instant is just handed to me. I had, several days before, heard that a party of the young warriors were collecting in the five Lower towns, for war against the United States, and I was getting mine together to meet them; but I am glad to hear that you, the Bloody Fellow, John Watts, and other head-men, have sent them home. I will send mine home, except a few who I shall station on the frontiers in blockhouses, to protect the frontier people from the Creeks, who, you and your people tell me, are daily passing through your nation, with a determination to do mischief to the citizens of the United States. I shall not build these blockhouses on the lands of the Cherokees, but on the lands of the United States.

I advise you to tell your good people not to come upon the lands of the United States, because they may be taken for bad ones, and I shall be very sorry for it; but if any of your people want to come here, let them come openly and fearless along the path, by Major Craig's, then nobody will hurt them, and I will be glad to see them.

I did not hear the talk General Robertson gave to Codeatoy, but General Pickens did, and, I believe, he spoke to Codeatoy, as well as General Robertson; and, I think, as they are both good men, and known to be friends to red people, as well as white, that neither of them would send a talk that could justly have given your young people such offence. Codeatoy must not have understood what was said, or must have forgotten it before he reached your towns. I do not believe he would tell a lie; I am sure he is an honest man. But, suppose General Robertson had sent you a bad talk, he is only a warrior under me, and your people ought not to be so offended at it, as to make war against the United States. It is my talks you ought to attend to, and not to those of any body else, except to those of the President, or the Secretary of War; it is us, and nobody else, the United States have authorized to talk to you, and transact business with you, on their part.

The making war, be the offence what it will, is a very serious thing with all nations, and never should be entered into without being first well considered; the consequences are always dreadful, not only to the warriors, but to the innocent and helpless women and children, and old men.

I did, as you supposed, see your letter to Captain Chisolm, and was well pleased with it, and I saw Jack Sevills, who brought it. He gave a very good report of you; and I read Captain Chisolm's answer, of which I approved.

I have inquired into the beating which you complain your friend, the White Man-killer, received at this place. It happened, as you know, while I was at Cumberland. It appears the White Man-killer was drinking with some white people, in a tavern at this place, among whom was a Mr. White; that the White Man-killer, having drank too much, insulted Mr. Jehu White, who had also drank to great excess, which provoked Mr. White to strike him, but not with an intention to kill. It was a drinking affair only, and I understood was so settled when the parties got sober.

I shall be glad to see you, and take you by the hand to my house, whenever you will please to come.

I am, your friend and brother,

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

No. 6

*Governor Blount to the Bloody Fellow, a chief of the Cherokees—September 13, 1792.*

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

Before your letter came, I had heard every thing that was doing in the five Lower towns, and I am glad to hear that you, and the other head-men, have stopped the party; if you had not, the consequences would have been dreadful.

The President has not been unmindful of the promises he made you, that settlers should not encroach on your lands, and I am surprised you should write me, "That the citizens of the United States are daily encroaching and building on your lands." I deny, positively, that a single house, or settlement, of any kind, has been made, since the treaty by me entered into on the part of the United States, with your nation, on the lands of the Cherokees.

I have, my good brother, considered well, and cannot agree with you that the white people are as much to blame as the Cherokees. The white people have not killed any Cherokees, except in defence of their persons and horses; and I well know how many white people the Cherokees of the Lower towns have killed, and made prisoners; many of them helpless women and children, and that they have stolen a great many horses.

I have a long written account of these things, and I know well who have been killed and captured by the Cherokees, and who by the Creeks; and I shall send this account to your father, the President, and he will judge who of us is the most to blame. Keep your people from going to Cumberland, and I will answer that you will receive no disturbance from that quarter, neither in words nor in acts; those people have been always observers of treaties, and never intruders on your lands; and I shall inform them, that your young people have desisted from their determination of invading them for the present, but I shall direct them to keep strong guards in the blockhouses, which I have ordered to be erected on their frontiers, not to offend any good people, but to protect the citizens of the United States against bad ones, Creeks, and others.

The people of Cumberland are citizens of the United States, and as much the care of the President as the people of Philadelphia are; and he is equally desirous that your people should treat them well, and will not suffer them to be treated ill by any body.

The friends of the White Man-killer have no cause of complaint about his losing his horses at my house. It does not appear that they were stolen by white people; all that is known of them, is, that he turned them in the woods, and, after a week's search, and inquiry, by my servants, and others, they could not be recovered, nor heard of. I then informed him that he should be paid for his horses, and before he went away paid him a part, and would have paid him the whole, if he had not declined receiving it. He hoped, and so did I, that when he went away his horses would be recovered, but they are not yet heard of.

The other man who was with him also turned his horses out, and they for several days came up; but, for his want of care, at length went down the river to the house of a man from whom one of them had been stolen; he took possession of her, brought her up to me, and proved her before a justice of the peace, by the oath of several disinterested evidences, to be his property; and, by the law of the white people, he is entitled to keep her, without paying any thing. The man, when he bought her from a Creek, must have known she had been raised by the white people, and was stolen. Does not all your nation agree in informing me that the Creeks are daily stealing horses from the white people? Then why do they purchase horses from them?

I have not told any body that I was displeas'd that your people had talks with the Spaniards; but I have expected that you, from your friendship for the United States, would have made me acquainted with what was there done. At the treaty of Nashville I invited you and Watts to be present, and see and know what I did with the Chickasaws and Choctaws; and as Watts chose to go to the Spaniards in preference, to be sure I expected he also would have inform'd me what was there done.

Now, my good friend and brother, I have answer'd your letter, let me tell you I have a great love for you, and will be ever happy to see you and take you by the hand, and I shall be ever happy in seeing John Watts.

I am, your friend and brother,

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

No. 7.

*Information given by Red Bird, a Cherokee, respecting his nation.—September 15th, 1792.*

Information from the Red Bird, a Cherokee, who came to Nine-miles, on the 4th September, to the house of Major Craig, and told him that six or seven Indians were out, in order to do mischief on the frontiers, and, he believed, in the south of Holston; that part of the men were Shawanese, and part Cherokees, from Running Water, or Nickajack. A few days afterwards, to wit: a day or two after Cockran was shot at, he came back and told Major Craig, that the Indians had heard that he had given the information, and were much dissatisfied with him, and that he was threaten'd with the law, referring to one that had been made some time before: "That any Indian, a native of the Cherokees, who should give intelligence to the whites of any orders which the nation took in council, or otherwise, he should forfeit his property, and be banish'd the country." He then told him that John Watts had been to Pensacola; that he brought home seven horse loads of ammunition, and as many accoutrements as were sufficient to equip two hundred horsemen, to wit, swords, &c. and that Watts was appointed to command the Creeks and the Cherokees who should be call'd into the field, and be for war, and that the Creek nation had met in council, and agreed to the appointment.

That the determination of the War Department was, provided the Upper towns of the Cherokees would not come into the measures of war, that they would send out a party, and fall on the frontiers next the Upper towns, and so harass them, that the whites would be irritat'd to kill some of the Indians of those towns, which would induce them to consider the war general. He yesterday told Major Craig, that he might rely thirty Creeks had cross'd the Tennessee, near Nive, about eight miles above the junction with the Holston, and suppos'd them out for the purpose he before told him, and that the whites ought to be on their guard. That the party from the five towns, who were gather'd together to declare war against the United States, and to commit depredations on the frontiers, were not so much stopp'd by the Glass, the Bloody Fellow, and Watts, as by Unanecata, who return'd from Knoxville just as they had assembled.

That the head-men of the other towns sent talks to the five Lower towns, not to go so soon to war; their corn was not yet ripe; that the white people would come and destroy it and their towns, and they would not be able to stand hunger and cold both at the same time.

The Red Bird adds, he does not know whether it was policy of the head-men to stop the party from going to war, or whether they meant that they were willing for war after the corn was hard and gather'd, but he should soon know, and inform Major Craig.

NOTE. This information was deliver'd to Governor Blount by Major Craig, on the 13th September, 1792.

The Red Bird is a fellow of understanding, and has heretofore been consider'd a great enemy to the white people, and is as likely to be in the councils of those who machinate mischief, as any other man.

No. 8.

The deposition of William Cockran, son of John Cockran. Being duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that his father, with whom he usually dwells, lives on the waters of Holston, about one mile north of the ridge which divides the waters of little river from the waters of the Tennessee, and hath there resid'd for two years past; that yesterday, as the deponent was travelling along a path about one quarter of a mile from his father's, he heard a person halloo, on which he halted, look'd about, and saw nobody; in a few seconds after, the halloo was repeated; he again stopp'd, and then saw a man approaching on horseback in a gallop, about one hundred and fifty yards distance from him, who continu'd to approach until he came within ten paces; he appear'd to be a half breed Indian, dress'd in the Indian garb, except his hair, which was tied behind; he stopp'd, and ask'd the deponent where he was going; who answer'd, home; and then ask'd the Indian where he was going: to which he made no answer; but, after a pause, observ'd, by saying, "I'll be damn'd friend if there will not be some body kill'd in these settlements;" at that instant this deponent saw three persons, whom he believes to have been Indians from their garb and color, rise and fire at him about forty yards distance from him; they rose immediately in the rear of the man on horseback; one ball pass'd through the hat of this deponent, and another through his jacket; whereupon the deponent ran towards his father's house, about two hundred paces, when stopp'd and turning round, he perceiv'd that he was pursu'd by one Indian, and at the same time he saw the horseman galloping from him. The deponent then ran to his father's house, and saw no more of them.

Sworn before me, David Campbell, Esq. one of the judges of the territory South of the Ohio, at Knoxville, this seventh day of September, 1792.

Attest, DAVID CAMPBELL.

WILLIAM COCKRAN.

*Governor Blount to the Secretary of War.*

KNOXVILLE, September 20, 1792.

SIR:

Herewith I enclose you the minutes of the conference held at Nashville, with the Chickasaws and Choctaws; of the former, there was a very full representation, both of chiefs, and others; but, of the latter, there were only one hundred and ten chiefs, and others; what part of them were chiefs will appear by the minutes.

I do not know better how to explain to you the cause of there being only so few Choctaws, than by enclosing to you the report of Mr. Forster, one of the gentlemen who carried my letter of invitation to them to attend.

You will observe that he supposes one cause to have been the conduct of one of his colleagues, meaning Captain David Smith, who I engag'd to accompany him, and Mr. James Randolph Robertson, from a belief that he, David Smith, as he had frequently been in the nation and spok'd the tongue, was the most proper man in the territory in all respects to be engag'd in such business; in fact I add'd him to those gentlemen who I first employ'd, fearing, if I did not, and any failure should take place, that it might be imputable to me for not having sent him.

It seems, on the arrival of Mr. Forster and Captain Smith, they found this Mr. Brassheart, who Mr. Forster mentions in his report, there resid'g, a trader much attach'd to the Spanish interest; and that Captain Smith and he had been old acquaintances, and not friends; that on meeting, they presently fell into warm disputes concerning the American and Spanish Governments, and their respective consequence and influence in the Choctaw nation: at length each agreed that he would be determin'd by the number that should accompany Smith to the conference, or that Brassheart should prevent.

This Brassheart was the only man who had any taffia in the town where the council assembled, and it was no doubt he who made the party drunk, and induced them to break up the council and tear the belts, so that the insult which appeared to be offered to the United States, is justly to be attributed to him and his taffia, and not to the nation.

Captain Smith is a warm zealous man, who I have no doubt conceived he was acting for the interest of the business he was engaged in, but it gives me pain that the failure of a fuller representation should be imputable in any shape to his imprudence.

Another artifice made use of by Mr. Brassheart was to inform the chiefs that there was something in the letters which had not been explained in council, written in red ink, by which he foresaw the Choctaws, if they went, would be put to death, and as the letters were in his care, it is highly probable he might have inserted some words with red ink. Many are the artifices of this kind made use of by the white people living among the Indians, to the injury of the best concerted measures of Government, and cannot be counteracted until they have had the pernicious effects intended by their authors.

The Spanish interest must unquestionably have had its weight, and in that may justly be included the conduct of Mr. Brassheart.

With the Choctaws that did come to the conference came Mr. Pitchlyn, who was the interpreter of the treaty of Hopewell, a warm active man, and friend to the United States, who seemed to have great command over them, and could, as he believed, have led the greater part of them to the aid of the United States, northwest of the Ohio, or elsewhere; and it was his opinion, given in decided terms, that he could and would, upon having a supply of arms and ammunition, lead a great part of the nation to war against their old enemies the Creeks, but said they could do nothing without both, for *they* had neither, and were very poor: Pitchlyn added, the Choctaws, from their dependent situation, were obliged to keep up the appearance of friendship for the Spaniards, but that a very great part of the nation had a dislike to them, and would be very glad to have their trade and supplies from the United States.

A letter from Ben James, a man of the first property and probity in the nation, also speaks the same language; a copy of which is enclosed.

I questioned Pitchlyn touching the particulars of the treaty which the Spaniards held at the Natchez, by Governor Gayoso and the Choctaws, from which the chiefs had returned but a few days previous to the arrival of Mr. Forster and Smith in the nation: he said it had not been a full representation; that it consisted only of the Spanish party, and that the chiefs said they had given permission only to the Spaniards to continue their new fort at the Walnut Hills, near the mouth of the Yazoo, but had sold them no lands, and even this displeased the younger part of the nation so much that they frequently threatened to kill the chiefs who had been at the treaty. But from information I have since received, I believe there is no doubt but Governor Gayoso obtained a relinquishment of a large tract of country, beginning at the mouth of the Yazoo; thence ten miles up it; thence southeast to a river which empties into lake Pontchartrain, (I believe called Midway) and down that river.

Both nations arrived at the treaty many days before the goods got round, which run the expenses much higher than they otherwise would have been, and there were several contingent charges not foreseen nor enumerated in the estimate, particularly one for mending a great number of old guns, which appeared essential to the interest of the United States.

During the conference, by which I would be understood to mean not only the time of the public formal meetings at the Arbour, but also, the many private conferences which General Pickens and myself held, both nations gave the strongest assurances of friendship for the United States, and of their perfect satisfaction at the treatment they received, and appeared to be gratefully impressed with the value of the presents they had received.

That part of the Chickasaw nation called Piamingo's, which is much the stronger party, repeatedly assured us, in case of a war with the Creeks and Cherokees, that the Chickasaws would be a party, and they as repeatedly said they were sure these two nations shortly intended war with the United States, and that the Spaniards were urging them to it.

General Pickens and myself having already given the reasons, in former letters, why no attempts were made to induce a party to join the arms of the United States Northwest of the river Ohio, I conceive it unnecessary to repeat them here.

I have the honor to be, &c.

[ENCLOSURE.]

*Anthony Forster to Governor Blount.*

NASHVILLE, 29th July, 1792.

Sir:

In consequence of your commands, I feel a sensible pleasure in throwing together some observations which I made on the manners and conduct of the Chickasaw and Choctaw tribes of Indians, whilst in the execution of the commission which I had the honor to receive from your Excellency. I have taken the liberty to communicate the information of which I am possessed, in an epistolary manner, this being the only mode to which I have been accustomed, and in which I flatter myself I can express myself with a greater degree of precision. On the sixth of June last, I left Nashville, on my way to the Chickasaws, and arrived there on the eleventh. The village in which the Hair-lipped king lived, was the first that I came to. I had not then an opportunity of seeing the king, but passed on to the Mountain-Leader, who lives about three miles from the first village. We were cordially received by Piamingo, who appeared to listen with attention and complacency, to such explanatory remarks as we made, relative to the objects of our mission. A convention of the chiefs of the Chickasaw nation was called on the third day after our arrival, which was on the fourteenth of June, at which appeared all the chiefs of the nation, (together with a number of others) of whom I acquired my information, except the Wolf's Friend. In this convention, or council, the Mountain-Leader was exceedingly active; appeared to embrace the views of the United States, and exhibit unequivocal marks of his attachment and fidelity to its citizens. Upon this occasion, the dispositions of the whole assembly appeared to be friendly and candid, except the Hair-lipped king, whose conduct indicated an aversion to the views and measures of the council; upon which I was induced to inquire into the principles and reasons of his behavior, which was so eccentric, that he retired from the council apparently much disgusted and chagrined; the reason of which was, that the address of the letter manifested a pre-eminence of the Mountain-Leader, inasmuch as it did not expressly mention the king by name. In order to reconcile him, and remove, if possible, the cause of his disgust, I informed him that the reason of his not being addressed by name by the Secretary of War and your Excellency, was, that he had not been to see them, as the Mountain-Leader had; the great officers of the United States had not the same opportunity to know his power and authority in the nation, that they had with respect to the Mountain-Leader, nor had they a complete opportunity to be acquainted with the full extent of his authority till now; that, hereafter, if he would go and see the white people, that every respect and attention due to his dignity and character, would be paid him. In consequence of this talk, he appeared to be better satisfied; returned and took his seat, and wrote a letter to the Choctaws, in which he endeavored to enforce the propriety of the measures held out by the Federal Government, and recommended the care and protection of our persons. A similar letter was also written by the Mountain-Leader. In this convention, I discovered a general disposition for war, excited, as I supposed, by the letters from the Secretary of War and your Excellency; which I informed them would be pleasing to the United States—not that the great power and strength of the United States could avail itself of their services, but that it would afford an additional proof of their affection, make them better acquainted, and as one people. This ardor for military fame, so generally prevalent at that time, was much abated at the close of a council at Duck river, on their way to this country. Having your Excellency's commands always in view, I inquired into the reason why their martial spirit had so much subsided. I received but little information. A Captain George,

with whom I suppose your Excellency is acquainted, argued strenuously against the propriety of the measure, saying, as I was informed, that it was only the wish of the United States to get the Indians to war against themselves, and it was said, enforced his arguments with some examples.

Having afforded your Excellency such information as I am possessed of, I shall now resume my journey from the Chickasaw to the Choctaw nation. On the 15th same instant, we left the Chickasaw nation, and arrived at the Choctaw nation on the 19th, and proceeded to the Yazoo towns, in company with Mr. Pitchlyn, a linguist; on the 23d, a general assembly of the chiefs of the nation, held at the opening of the convention, a friendly disposition seemed to prevail, and a general desire to gratify the wishes of the United States; after the council had sat two or three hours at a time, when the clashing of opinions of the different chiefs were urging to one uniform point of decision, a mob of drunken Indians (three of whom appeared to be most active) broke up the assembly by threats of violence, and also tore the *peace belt* in pieces, and manifested marks of disapprobation. As your Excellency must necessarily conclude that there were some existing causes for this faction, I conceive it incumbent on me to give you all the information of which I am master; but as they are tedious and complicated, involve a number of conjectural opinions, as well as references to the conduct of one of my colleagues, whose conduct previous to that occasion, in the Choctaw nation, was not entirely consistent with my opinion of the measure to be pursued, relative to the attainment of the objects of our mission, I think your Excellency will excuse me from committing it to paper, and be of opinion, that a personal interview, if required, would be better. After the dissolution of the council, we talked with several of the chiefs, as we could find them, who appeared desirous to come on to this country; and I believe a number more would have come on, had it not been for a continuance of the same causes which operated at the time of the faction; one of which, I may venture to say, was the Spanish influence. We left the town in which the council was held, on the same evening, on our return to Pitchlyn's, where I continued several days, for the purpose of conducting such as should assemble to come to this country, and Captain Smith continued on his return to the Chickasaw nation. About four days after I arrived at Pitchlyn's, messengers arrived, who informed me that the greater part of the Choctaw nation had declined coming on, in consequence of a talk given them by one Brass-heart; however, I was determined to make a vigorous exertion, to assemble as many of the chiefs and warriors as I possibly could, and immediately despatched messengers to the most inconvenient towns, and went in person to others, by which means, I assembled the number your Excellency has seen. Your excellency expressed a desire to know something of the disposition of the Indians. It was impracticable to acquire any positive and authentic information, but it was the opinion of the white people in the nation, that they would go to war with cheerfulness, upon hostilities being commenced by the whites against either the Creeks or Spaniards, and then receiving a supply of ammunition, &c. I was further confirmed in this opinion, by some expressions of astonishment by them, relative to the conduct of the United States and the Creeks, as well as the habits of enmity against that nation. Agreeably to your Excellency's request, I inquired if the talk communicated to the President by the Bloody Fellow, was authorized by the chiefs of their nation; to which they answered, that the talk was not official, nor authorized by them, but that some of their people might have assumed such a power, and given a talk to the Bloody Fellow, for ought they knew to the contrary.

Having given your Excellency every material information relative to the trust reposed in me, I must beg your Excellency's indulgence, with respect to faults in diction, not having been accustomed to arrange my ideas on paper. I am, with the highest respect.

*Ben James to Governor Blount.*

CHOCTAW NATION, June 30, 1792.

SIR:

I take the liberty to inform you, that I had the opportunity of seeing your letter to this nation, and I think you must be sensible that every white man in this nation must be dependent to Spanish government. If you are not sensible of it, you must have heard that the Spaniards are a jealous people, and I have always been pointed out as an American. But I have always been true to that power who protected me; but the whole is, I am protected at my own expense. My reason of speaking to you in this manner is, that I have received several insults from the Creeks, and obliged to put up with it. For what reason? Because I am not able to help myself.

I would apply to the Spanish Government for protection, but I am so sensible that they must encourage the Creeks, that I cannot.

Now, sir, look at my situation; weigh the matter in your own breast; to be censured without meddling. I have passed through all the difficulties of the war, without the least blemish on my character, and have gathered a small property together, and now lies at stake, in case you do not support us, and that shortly.

My life I disregard, for I am partly past being of service to king or country; the Creeks have threatened me ever since peace took place between America and Great Britain, but I am alive yet, if you pay any regard to my lines.

I saw your letter; you want the Indians to pitch on a place for you to send your goods; no place suits as well as the Chickasaw Bluff, or say the mouth of Wolf river. If you will furnish for this nation 2,000 pounds of powder, and 4,000 pounds of lead, and deliver it there, and other things equivalent, such as flints, knives, and arms, at a certain time, and let me know it by a private letter, I will meet it there to receive it; if the matter is published, it will be apt to be intercepted.

These lines I send you by a young Choctaw that is worthy of notice; if you do not approve of these lines, after reading of them, please to commit them to the flames, and I will work my file as well as I can.

Mr. Alexander M'Gillivray is now at New Orleans, and it is not for the good of the States of America that he is there, nor yet for the nation.

Mr. John Pitchlyn is your interpreter, very capable, and a worthy young man, but has been unfortunate enough to have no learning, being raised partly in this nation. Nothing more, but I am, with regard, unknown,

BEN JAMES.

Mr. James must have been mistaken, in saying in the fifth section of his letter, that I wrote to the Chickasaws that I wanted them to pitch upon a place to which I would send them goods. I wrote them no letter but the one of which I sent a copy to the War Office, and it contained no such passage.

WM. BLOUNT.

CONFERENCE GROUND, NEAR NASHVILLE, Tuesday, August 7th, 1792.

Present, on the part of the United States, William Blount, Governor in and over the territory of the United States of America south of the river Ohio, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern district, and Brigadier-General Andrew Pickens. Chenambe, king of the Chickasaws, Lootematlah, Mookleshamingo, Mooleshawskek or Wolf's friend, Piamingo, Chooshemataha or Billy Colbert, Tootemastubbe or George Colbert, Piahatche, Mookleshappye, Hoolatoopech, Tatholah, Piamoko, Chickasaw Holatekapieh, Piamentlah, Piahatche, Ustabemingo, John Brown, Thomas Brown, Mocklashaunapah, on the part of the Chickasaws.\* Ileepenautlau, or Shot in the Mouth, Itlehoomastubbe or Redwood, Piamustubbe, great medal chiefs; Tunmathoemah, Chillahoomastubbe or Red Shoes, Hooletenah, Piahoomah, small medal chiefs; Nootolemastubbe, Taskaastubbe, Oaklateloemastoinmastubbe,

\* Only three chiefs of the Chickasaws were absent, namely Tuscoopoye, Hoolatohyee or Glover, and Piahatche.

Ohephamby, Emaalubby, Tootehoomah, Tassunacooboge, Ooakoah, Fannemecastubbe, Shephahoomak, Kooshehoomahleader, George James, Son of Ben, Oshapoiyah, Uskenasopoiyah, Oloquetlay, Uskonopoiyah, the old chief, gorget captains on the part of the Choctaws. John Thompson, Nontuaka, Skinka, agents from the Cherokees, and about twenty other Cherokees; and Malcolm M'Ghee and John Pitchlyn, interpreters.

*Governor Blount to the Head-men and Chiefs of the Chickasaws and Choctaws.*

**FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:**

The first thing necessary is, that I inform you who I am, and who General Pickens is. I am Governor of the territory of the United States south of the river Ohio, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for the Southern district; General Pickens was a great warrior against the British and against the red people, in the late war; he is a beloved man of the President, and attends here at his request; whatever is said to you by either, you are to consider as said by both. Governor Blount then proceeded to address them:

**FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:**

It is now seven years since General Pickens and myself had the pleasure of seeing your nations in council at Hopewell, in South Carolina, when you formed treaties with the United States. Here is a copy, (holding it up.)

The object of the present meeting is not to alter these treaties, but to strengthen and keep alive that friendship of which those treaties are the basis, and to beg your acceptance of a quantity of valuable goods, as a proof of the sincere friendship of the United States.

Another object is, publicly to present Piamingo, the Colberts, and their followers, who joined the arms of the United States last year, and fought against their enemies, hearty and sincere thanks for their services, and to present them each with a rifle.

You have been told that we want, and will ask you for land; we shall not; we wish you to enjoy your lands and be as happy as we ourselves are; nor do we want the land of any red people; the United States have land enough.

At the treaty of Hopewell, you requested that a trading post should be established at the mouth of Bear creek. The reason it was not immediately done after that treaty was, that the United States were not in a situation to do it; but they are now grown strong and rich, and have for their President the illustrious General Washington, the greatest of all men; and we inform you that he will shortly afford you a trade from that place, as agreed by that treaty.

**FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:** We have reason to believe that a chief called Double-head, of the Cherokees, a signer to the treaty at Holston, with some other Cherokees, and some Northwards and Creeks, in all about forty, have settled on the south side of the Tennessee, near the mouth, on your lands, as we suppose; this Double-head, otherwise Tuscalateague, and his party, have killed a number of the citizens of the United States; and as your nations and the United States are friends, and we hope ever will be, it will be well for you to drive these people off your lands, or give us leave to destroy them if we please; and to the end that it may in future be known on whose land the people reside, who commit depredations on the citizens of the United States, it is essential that the bounds which divide your lands from those of other red people, should be marked out and made known to us.

We will say no more to day, but we request, when you come to reply, that you will speak freely, and tell us every thing that is in your minds; friends ought to keep nothing from each other; to speak freely is a proof of friendship.

WEDNESDAY, 8th August, 1792.

**WOLF'S FRIEND, in reply.**—I call you friends and brothers: we have met about half way between our nations, where we each of us have our warriors. I have not been here before to talk myself; the Mountain Leader is here, who is a great warrior under me; whatever he has done on the part of the nation, is binding on the whole. I am glad to hear your talks, and that your talks are so good; they please me very well.

It is a custom among us, when we speak, to give a token of friendship; I will give you this; there is not a speck in my heart but what is good, (giving to Governor Blount a string of white beads, and desiring that it might be kept clean and unstained that the day never should come that he would let it slip.)

I must explain the truth; I was somewhat suspicious you wanted land; I am glad you did not; and if ever the President calls us together again, I request that land may never more be mentioned to us.

I always look on the whites and ourselves as one people; I love to use them well, and as brothers. We are naked, and have no doubt that the United States have great feeling for us: but I think it is not so far from the nation, but that trade can be carried on from this place, and we hope it will not be brought nearer to us than the line agreed upon at Hopewell.

[Wolf's Friend meant thus to give his dissent to the establishing of a post at the mouth of Bear creek, as agreed by the treaty of Hopewell. Since his arrival on the conference ground, he had repeatedly told his people and the Choctaws, that the Americans had hard shoes, and if they permitted them to establish that post, they would tread upon their toes. Knowing that he had made use of these arguments, was the inducement for speaking in such positive terms, that trade would shortly be afforded from that place, hoping that would be an inducement sufficient for him to agree to it. Wolf's Friend is a great man; in council ranks among the first of his nation; has a considerable property, is a large man, of a dignified appearance; he appeared at the conference in scarlet and silver lace, and in the heat of the day with a large crimson silk umbrella over him.]

I think short talks are the best; I like yours the better for being so; when a man talks long, it is a proof his heart is not straight.

**LEFOGENAATLA, alias Shot in the Mouth.**—I came from the Choctaw nation, a stranger, but hope the longer we are acquainted, the better we shall both like each other, and have our talks renewed by treaties hereafter. I am here, have smoked the pipe of friendship, and do give my talk and nation into your care.

I wish to explain my friendship in a short way; we have met in the middle ground, where we hope to meet often. I am sorry I have no token of friendship to give, but I hope my talk will be received as well as though I had.

**Governor BLOUNT.**—It will.

**TUNNAHTHOOMAH, or Red Enemy.**—I am from the Choctaws, to this mid-land. I believe the whites have great troubles and fatigues in getting here, but we have got here to my great joy, and speak in friendship; in my own country, I never dreamed of finding such a people as I here find, for which I may thank my elder brothers the Chickasaws.

Whenever the red people have long talks, it may be they say more than they remember; mine are short, and I will always hold you by the hand. My brothers are here in hearing; I want not to say any thing disagreeable to them, but I speak in public, and wish to be understood and remembered.

The whites, I am told, are very powerful; hereafter, I want to have peace and good talks at this middle ground. I am told you have a different way of fighting—can make ditches for your defence, and it may be, you can make it reach my country.

It is good for a younger brother to be advised by an older; what our elder brothers the Chickasaws do, I will abide by, and am happy we have so good talks.

**RED Wood the 2d, Man holding several Strings of Beads.**—I pull these out in public, though I do not own them; a great man of my nation received them from the United States; when he died, I kept them as a token of friendship; this is the way I got them. This great man and the United States used to have good talks together; these talks I am come to renew; when that man was alive, I never thought it would come to me to talk in his place with my brothers and friends as I now do. It is not every brother who thinks one way, but I am of the same way of thinking with the man of whom I got them, and hope our young people on both sides will grow up in happiness and peace. My talk is short. You see I take the beads, and will keep them, leaving to my superiors to make longer ones.



RED BREATH.—I was at the treaty of Hopewell; to convince you I have held it fast, I have come to see you again; that has been several years past, but I find you remember it as well as I do, which makes me happy. We are here, know one another's talks, and take each other by the hand; our elder brothers see and hear us likewise. The talks we have had are very pleasing, and hope they will always continue. Short talks between friends may be always better remembered; we have met in the centre between our nations, and hope we shall, each of us, return safe to our proper homes.

PIAMINGO *rising*.—I have nothing to talk, only I wish to have boundaries settled; [then addressed the Chickasaws in a speech of some minutes, when, turning to Governor Blount and General Pickens, and taking them by the hand, said,] It is no new thing for me to take the whites by the hand, but I am glad to do it, if I am absent only one night.

I have no long talks to give; it is all peace, and every thing is good, and firm; [then handed a letter from the President; which he had received by Major Doughty, and a map of the country, made at Hopewell, showing the line established by that treaty.]

The map being opened on the table, and explained,

WOLF'S FRIEND said the line between the Chickasaws and the United States was right; and the Governor replied, the United States would never want to pass it.

PIAMINGO.—This map is old, I want to have a new one.

General PICKENS.—We will try to have a new one made like it.

PIAMINGO.—I will describe the boundaries of our lands; It begins on the Ohio, at the ridge which divides the waters of Tennessee and Cumberland, and extends with that ridge, eastwardly, as far as the most eastern waters of Elk river; thence to the Tennessee, at an old field, where a part of the Chickasaws formerly lived, this line to be so run as to include all the waters of Elk river, thence, across the Tennessee, and a neck of land, to Tenchacunda creek, a southern branch of the Tennessee, and up the same to its source; then to the waters of Tombigby, that is, to the west fork of long leaf Pine creek, and down it to the line of the Chickasaws and Choctaws, a little below the trading road.

At the treaty of Holston, I am told, the Cherokees claimed all Duck river. I want to know if it is so.

NONTUAKA.—It is true. I told the President so, and coming from him I told my nation so. I never knew, before the present, that our people divided land and made lines like white people.

PIAMINGO.—I am the man who laid off the boundary on that map; and to save my own land, I made it plain: I knew the fondness of the Cherokees to sell land.

NONTUAKA.—As to the boundary, I do not look to it. The President advised us to let one line serve for the Four Nations; he would never ask for any land south of it, nor suffer others; all the hunting ground within said boundary should be for the Four Nations.

PIAMINGO.—By marking my boundary I did not mean to exclude other nations from the benefit of hunting on my lands. I knew the Cherokees had often pretended to take the whites by the hand, but instead of doing it in good faith, they are always sharpening their knives against them. I feared the whites, in retaliation, would fall on the Cherokees, and that they might take my land, supposing it belonged to the Cherokees: for this reason I have marked it.

NONTUAKA.—This is not right; I want but one line between the Four Nations and the whites: it is true the Cherokees have disposed of their best hunting grounds.

PIAMINGO.—I never understood this matter in this light, nor did I, as before said, intend to bar the Cherokees from hunting on our lands; I only meant to preserve them.

Governor BLOUNT to NONTUAKA.—I was not at Philadelphia to hear what you said respecting your claim to land; but when you returned, you brought me a great book, said to contain all the talks held there. In that book, it was written that it would be proper for the Four Nations to explain their boundaries between themselves; this is one of the reasons I asked the Chickasaws how far the bounds of their claim extended. It is not meant that one nation should restrain another from hunting on their lands, but allow it, like good neighbors. There is another reason: if any red people should come and settle in any of your countries, and do mischief to the whites, when their different boundaries are known, it would be easy to know to whom to apply to have the injuries redressed.

NONTUAKA.—I know very well that Governor Blount was not there to hear what the President said. I was, and heard the words drop out of his mouth; the words were, there ought to be one line between the Four Nations and the whites, but not lines between the Four Nations; that they must not sell it; but, if they would sell it, it was he only who should buy.

PIAMINGO.—I want no long talk on the subject: the Cherokees are blood thirsty; they never go out but they bloody their weapons in the white people, and I knew the whites, in retaliation, would take their land; this I have before said, and for fear they should take mine, supposing it to be the Cherokees', is my reason for explaining the boundary.

WOLF'S FRIEND.—What I say is, that we are friends, and that the meaning of this line is not to hinder the Cherokees from hunting on our lands, but we wish to keep bad people from settling on it.

NONTUAKA.—Here is the map belonging to the Chickasaws; my own people are jealous; let me carry this map and show it to the head-men; the whites can make another like it for Piamingo.

PIAMINGO.—I am satisfied with the Cherokees having a copy. When my uncle, the Little Turkey, sees it, and is informed that it is not intended to prevent the Cherokees from hunting on our land, he will be pleased.

JOHN THOMPSON.—We do not find fault with the line between the white people and the Chickasaws, nor with the place where the Chickasaws' line crosses the Tennessee; but I have not before been so fully informed of the claim of the Chickasaws.

PIAMINGO.—I have made endeavors to preserve the land, and have ever refused to part with it.

WOLF'S FRIEND.—The map is plain; I know not what objection they can make to it, since we have explained our motive. It is right to mark our boundaries on the map; some red people are good, others have sharp hearts. I came here to hear good talks, and have heard them. Be not uneasy that every one does not speak: the King, myself, and Piamingo, were appointed to do the business; what we say is binding on the nation. I speak for the king and myself.

General PICKENS.—It gives me much pleasure to accompany Governor BLOUNT to this place, to meet the Chickasaws and Choctaws, and delivering the good talks from our Great Father, who has appointed Governor Blount to receive your good talks, and to deliver his; you may be assured his talk is the same as though you heard it from the mouth of our Great Father, General Washington; his heart glows with love both to the Chickasaws and Choctaws.

Since the time you took us by the hand at Seneca, it has never been known that a Chickasaw or Choctaw has spilled the blood of an American; we have now come here, if possible, to strengthen that friendship, and make it last between us, while the sun shines. It is the wish of our Great Father General Washington, as well as all your brothers here, to make you a great and happy people.

We will always look upon it that your enemies are our enemies, and ours, yours.

We know you have been told that, when you were invited here, you would be asked for land; you are now convinced to the contrary, and you will now be able to give the lie to such reports.

What makes the President and ourselves unhappy is, that it is with difficulty trade can be extended by the United States to your country.



These presents, sent you by your Great Father the President, were brought here with great danger and difficulty. Wolf's Friend has expressed his objections to having it brought nearer to you than this place, but he is wrong, because the path to and from this place, and which your people and the traders would have to pass, is often bloodied by the enemy; to remove that difficulty, we wish, for the good of both parties, to have trade established at the mouth of Bear Creek, the place agreed upon by the treaty of Hopewell.

I am apprehensive bad people will say, we mean not only to establish a post, but form settlements; but that is not true. Trade at that place will be most advantageous to you, where, beside clothing and other necessaries, arms and ammunition shall be kept in plenty. The people living south of you supply you very sparingly; the President wishes you to have all things in plenty, and be happy, and that you should be in a situation to defend yourselves against your enemies.

PIAMINGO.—You have spoke a second time, therefore I conceive I have a right so to do.

Governor BLOUNT.—It is our wish that you should; we will hear you with pleasure, and wish you to speak freely.

PIAMINGO.—There is the man (pointing to Mingatuska) who was the first occasion of this mark, (pointing to the post as marked down at the mouth of Bear Creek and as agreed on by the treaty of Hopewell) but I do not now want a post established there, because it would occasion blood to be spilled. We are, as you say, both one people; if a post is settled there, it will bring on an open war. I know how it would be, and so may you, by seeing how your people are killed or wounded even at this place.

Governor BLOUNT.—We have heard that you complained that that article of the treaty, which respected the post at Bear Creek, was not complied with; and the President would not wish you to have complaints against the United States.

PIAMINGO.—All people are not alike; to prevent shedding of blood we object, that good men may not be lost. If all things were on a right footing, I should have no objection; but it seems as though I had reached over the heads of enemies, to take hold of you. Could I once see the day that whites and reds were all friends, it would be like getting new eye-sight.

Governor BLOUNT.—To-morrow I will meet you again; I have a little more to say to you, and close our business.

THURSDAY, August 9th, 1792.

Governor BLOUNT.—I make no doubt but the Indians northwest of the Ohio, with whom the United States are at war, have informed you that the cause of the war is, that the United States want to take their lands from them.

PIAMINGO.—They have.

Governor BLOUNT.—It is not true; the United States have taken no lands from them; all they have sold or settled, they have bought from the red people who claimed them; but, if these people, when at war with the United States, could show that they have even a color of right, such is the justice of the United States, they would purchase it.

The United States do not want to take land from any red people; they have land enough.

The true cause of the war with these people Northwest of the Ohio is, that they have killed more than one thousand citizens of the United States; took many boats on the Ohio, loaded with valuable goods, and stole a very great number of our horses; and even yet, if these people would give proof of their wishes for peace, and assurances of future good conduct, the United States would forget and forgive what is past; but if they do not, a large army is raising, and the war will fall on them heavier than ever.

I have mentioned these things to you, to show you at once the justice and moderation of the United States, and the causes of the war. Respecting the post at Bear Creek, at the treaty of Hopewell you requested trade to be carried to that place; you have complained that it was not heretofore done; now you have been informed it was shortly to be done, you object, and say it will be attended with bad consequences. I shall conclude for the present on that subject by informing you, the President will put it off for a time.

These Cumberland people, as well those who surround us as all the other inhabitants, have ever been good people, and strict observers of treaties; and I hope you will continue that love and friendship to them which you have heretofore shown them, in particular as they are your nearest neighbors. I beg you to give them the earliest information of any hostile designs you may know to be formed against them.

The map you yesterday requested to be drawn anew, is done, and here it is, and with it a copy of the treaty of Hopewell, (presenting them to Piamingo.) This treaty is not altered.

WOLF'S FRIEND.—I give this to you, (presenting one end of a string of white beads to the Governor;) hold it fast; I will, as a token of peace and friendship.

I hope peace and friendship will be perpetual; that our children may be raised up in all possible happiness. Piamingo and myself are one; he is my father. I have no great deal to say: those who mean truth, can express it in a few words: I speak nothing else. Piamingo caused me to come here. Hold this talk fast, (delivering the other end of the white beads to the Governor.)

Governor BLOUNT.—I receive it with great pleasure, and will preserve it as an evidence of the friendship you profess.

We are truly sensible of the great service Piamingo has done his nation and the United States, and there is no doubt that he will lead his nation to happiness and glory, if they continue to follow him.

I am equally anxious with you, that our children should grow up in all possible happiness, and that peace and friendship should be perpetual, and, I assure you, on the part of the United States, that they will do every thing to contribute to these blessings.

PIAMINGO.—I have something more to say; it is concerning useful implements of husbandry, such as I hear our Great Father gives the Creeks and the Cherokees. We want a great many axes and hoes, but not so many ploughs, and we hope he will give them to us also.

Governor BLOUNT.—Do you think your people will use them?

PIAMINGO.—They know how to use the axes and hoes, and some to plough.

Governor.—I cannot promise them to you, but I will make your request known to your father, the President, who would be happy in seeing you live like white men, by cultivating the earth, in preference to hunting.

I have to ask you, the Chickasaws, to whom I am to address my public letters? Answer. To Chenumbe, the king. Who shall be your interpreter in the nation? Answer. Malcolm McGee. Who do the Choctaws want for their interpreter? Answer. John Pitchlynn.

By the letters you received from the Secretary of War, it appeared, the President wished to see some of your chiefs at Philadelphia: the letters mention the number. It is not for me to say when you shall go, or whether you shall go at all; but, if you do go, the President would not wish to see more than he has invited, and General Robertson, the deputy superintendent, will be glad to see them on their way at his house, and so will I at mine; and will give them the necessary assistance: let me know, in the course of this day, whether you go or not, and if you do go, when.

To-morrow morning the goods will be given out: apply, one town at a time, and determine the order in which they shall apply.

The guns, for those who went with Piamingo and the Colberts, will be delivered to-day; they are requested to collect together, and march to the store to receive them.

The chiefs will to-day also receive their clothing.

FRIDAY, 10th August, 1792.

The goods having been previously divided into as many shares as there were Indians, were delivered, to each his share. The inhabitants of Long Town first marched up, with Piamingo at their head; and after, the other towns, according to their order, headed by their chiefs; and after the Chickasaws, the Choctaws according to their order.

SATURDAY, 11th August, 1792.

Tom Brown, addressing himself to Governor Blount and General Pickens, presenting a string of white beads: Piamingo requests this string of beads to be forwarded to the President, as a token that he is coming to visit him. He will commence his journey early next spring for Philadelphia.

*Governor Blount to the Secretary of War.*

KNOXVILLE, September 26th, 1792.

SIR:

Herewith I enclose the information of Joseph Deraque, given on oath before Robert Hays, a justice of the peace of Davidson county, Miro district; and of Richard Finnelson, penned by myself at this place, together with their passport from the Baron de Carondelet, Governor of Louisiana, to which I pay full faith and credit; and I send forward Richard Finnelson himself, with the bearer, that he may be examined by you, believing that you will be better satisfied and informed by so doing, than you can any otherwise.

I do not found my faith on the credit due to Finnelson, so much as on the consistency and corroborating circumstances contained in his narrative, and on the clear manner in which he has delivered it to me; and I make no doubt will to you, which must afford additional proof, enforcing conviction, which cannot be so fully expressed on paper.

I also enclose you information respecting the conduct of the chiefs whose names are mentioned in Finnelson's narrative, the better to shew to what cause this sudden change of conduct, and general disposition for war, is to be attributed.

If a war with the Southern Indians is by you viewed as inevitable, as it is by me, it will no doubt become a question, where are men to be immediately raised? It is my opinion, that many valuable men can readily be raised for that service in the district of Washington, in Virginia, in those of Salisbury and Morgan, in North Carolina, and that of Ninety-Six, in South Carolina; I mean, to serve as militia: and, if, as a commander, my commendation was necessary, or would have any weight, I would most heartily give it in favor of General Pickens, to head those of the Carolinas; he unquestionably is a brave, prudent, experienced officer in Indian warfare.

*Translation of the passport of the Baron de Carondelet.*

The Baron de Carondelet, Knight of the order of St. John, Colonel of the Royal Troops, Governor, Intendant General of the Provinces of Louisiana and West Florida, and Inspector of the Troops:

I grant free and safe passport to the Cherokee Indian, called Richard, to go to his nation, with a person of the name of Deraque; from whence they may return by such ways as they may find most convenient.

I order the commandants of posts, by which they may pass, not to molest them, but, on the contrary, to give them what assistance they may stand in need of.

[L. s.] Signed with my hand, and sealed with my seal, and countersigned by the underwritten Secretary for his Majesty, in this Government and Intendancy. In New Orleans, 28th July, 1792.

BARON DE CARONDELET.

ANDRES LOPEZ ARMESTO.

*Information by Richard Finnelson.*

That he was at L'Ance la Grace in May last, came from thence with letters from the Governor of that post, to Gen. Robertson; that he arrived at Clarksville early in June, at the mouth of Red river, and from thence, on the 16th June, took a passage in a boat belonging to a Mr. Fagot, who was himself on board, and returned to L'Ance la Grace in fifteen days; Mr. Fagot stayed five days at L'Ance la Grace; on the day after his arrival, the Governor of that post met Finnelson at the gate of the fort, and asked him if he had been at Cumberland; he answered he had been as high as the mouth of Red river; the Governor then asked him if he had any news; he answered, the Cumberland people were for peace with the Indians, knowing that was the subject of the letter he had carried for General Robertson: the Governor added, Mr. Fagot had informed him that the people of Cumberland and Kentucky intended to come and take L'Ance la Grace, and all the Spanish posts above, on the river. On the fourth day of the stay of Mr. Fagot at L'Ance la Grace, the Governor delivered him a large packet of letters for the Governor at New Orleans. On the fifth day he proceeded, with Mr. Fagot, down the Mississippi to the Natchez, where they arrived and stayed three days; during which time, Governor Gayoso asked Finnelson how were the Indians with the people of Cumberland; he answered, they were very troublesome, and had killed many of the Cumberland people. The Governor replied, that is a thing well enough, for the lands belong to them. There was a young man on board Mr. Fagot's boat, of the name of Sam Osborne, who had sundry letters from the people of Cumberland to others residing at the Natchez settlements, which Mr. Fagot took from him, by order, as he said, of Governor Gayoso, that no private letters were to be delivered before read by the Governor. On the third day Mr. Fagot pushed off down the river for Orleans, and arrived in four days. Mr. Fagot immediately went up to wait on the Governor; and returning to the boat, said to Finnelson, that he must go up to the Governor the next day, at 8 o'clock. The next day, (for distinction say the first day of Finnelson's conference with the Governor) Mr. Fagot and Finnelson waited on the Governor, who told the latter that he wanted him to do some business for him, for which he would give him four hundred dollars. Finnelson answered, he would do it if he could, he was willing to serve the Governor. He then desired F. to come the next day at 8 o'clock, and he should be informed what it was. On the second day, Finnelson went at 8 o'clock, and found the Governor and his Secretary in his study, with many papers before them. He informed F. that he had engaged Joseph Deraque to go with him to the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Cherokees, with letters; that he was to tell the heads of these nations to come to him to receive arms, ammunition, hatchets, knives, clothes, and paint, of which he had a plenty for them all, directed him to go to the store, and be an eye-witness that he had these articles in plenty, and to witness it to the nations to which he was sending him. Finnelson was accordingly conducted to a large store, by the Governor's Secretary, in which were all the articles the Governor had mentioned, in abundance, and sundry others, proper for Indians. On his return, the Governor asked him if he thought there were goods enough; he answered, yes. The Governor replied, you shall see as many more to-morrow. "These goods," adds the Governor, "are for your people, not to buy lands, but to give to them out of good friendship; and this is not all, they will, ever hereafter, have plenty at this place, Pensacola, and L'Ance la Grace; at the latter, a store shall be settled, in which there will be a very large quantity of guns, ammunition, hatchets, and other goods for Indians." The Governor asked F. if he knew McGillivray; he answered, very well; he replied, if you had been here a few days ago you would have seen him, he has turned to be a new man; has resigned up the commission he received from Congress, and that for so doing, he, the Governor, allowed him 1,500 dollars a year. The Governor expressed his sorrow that any of the Indians made treaties with the United States; they only deceive the

Indians with the appearance of friendship, until they can conquer the Shawanese, and then fall on the Southern Indians. You are always quarrelling about your lands; the lands belong to the Indians, and they must have them; the King has so ordered; showing a large written paper, saying, it contained his instructions to that effect; that he, the Governor, had plenty of arms and ammunition, the Indians should never want them; and that if they could not themselves regain their lands, he would assist them with men, as well as arms and ammunition; that they must go to war and regain their lands, and that directly; that one of the letters he should give F. was for Mr. McGillivray; and Governor O'Neal, on F.'s arrival at Pensacola, would give him a letter for John Watts; that O'Neal had already given Watts his orders, but he would write him again by F., lest Watts should forget the instructions he had received. On the third day F. went to the Governor's, as requested, and found him and his Secretary in his study, as the day before; he expressed his wish to have the business F. was going on, with the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Cherokees, quickly completed, and that F. should bring down to him, at New Orleans, three or four of the heads of the Cherokees; that he wanted to see them; this, he says, must be done immediately, or as quick as possible. At this time, Mr. Fanton passing by, saw Mr. F. in the study, and said, how do you do, Mr. Finnelson? I little thought to have seen you here. F. stepped towards him, and the Governor followed, and asked Panton to walk into the parlor, and the Secretary conducted F. to the office, where they drank wine for an hour, conversing on slight uninteresting subjects. The Governor then sent for them to the study, where he and Panton were sitting. Panton then informed F. he had lately been in the Cherokee country, and that he expected John Watts, the Young Dragging Canoe, and the Little Turkey were then at his house, in Pensacola, and that they would wait his return home. Dinner coming on, and while at it, Mr. Panton asked F. if he intended going to the Chickasaws and Choctaws from this place? He answered, he should, the Governor wanted him so to do. Panton then informed the Governor that he himself would go to the Chickasaws and Choctaws, and that it would be best for F. to go with him to Pensacola, and directly on to the Creeks and Cherokees; to which the Governor agreed, and said, Governor O'Neal would supply F. with a gun, ammunition and provision, horses, saddles and bridles. The Governor then sent an officer with F., to show him another store with Indian goods, in which he saw a very great abundance of such articles as seen and described in the store he had visited the day before. On the fourth day after arriving at Orleans, F. went, at 11 o'clock, to the Governor. He expressed his gladness to see him; informed him Panton's vessel would be in the river the succeeding evening; that he must hold himself in readiness, with Jo. Deraque, to go on board when Panton should send for them. After dining with the Governor, as on the second and third days, and being requested to call in the evening for the letters, he took his leave. In the evening he called on the Governor, who told him that the wind blew too hard for the vessel to sail, that he must call in the morning of the next day.

On the sixth day, Finnelson and Jo. Deraque, called early in the morning, and received a letter for McGillivray and a passport. The Governor asked F. how long he would be gone; he answered from two to two months and a half, drank and took leave, and embarked on board Panton's vessel for Pensacola. On the second day after leaving the Bis, was met by a schooner from Pensacola, by which Panton received a letter, and after reading it, turned to F. and said, John Watts, and two other young warriors, had been at Pensacola, but were returned home; expressed his sorrow at not being at home to see them, and said, had he been there, he would have made half the horses that carried goods, carry ammunition in preference, and said no more, but seemed much concerned. The fourth day after leaving Orleans, arrived at Mobile, when F. waited on the Governor by Panton's advice. The Governor told him he was glad to see him, Mr. Panton had been there already; then asked for the passport, read and returned it, and desired him to proceed without delay to Governor O'Neal, at Pensacola, and to make no delay, except that of waiting for Governor O'Neal's despatches. On the third day after the arrival at Mobile, sailed for Pensacola, and being over the bar, Mr. Panton told F. that the Governor at Orleans was a good man, to attend to what he had said, to delay no time in executing what he had directed, and that it would be better for him and his country; that he (Panton) had been in the Cherokees, and could have told them a great deal, but did not want his name brought in question. On the third day after leaving Mobile, arrived at Pensacola. Finnelson, with Jo. Deraque, waited on Governor O'Neal, and shewed him their passport; the Governor said it was very well, he would see Mr. Panton, and told F. to call on him next day. F. then returned to Mr. Panton, and informed him what the Governor had said, upon which Panton immediately took his umbrella and walked to the Governor's, where he stayed about three hours. Finnelson next day called on Governor O'Neal again, who assured him, that on the succeeding day, he and J. Deraque should have horses, saddles, bridles, a gun, ammunition, and provisions; but said, if he would wait a day or two, the Creeks would be down for their arms and ammunition, and he would have their company on his journey. The Governor informed F. that he had told John Watts to go to war, together with the Creeks and Choctaws, against Cumberland; that he had also already talked to the Creeks, concerning their land on the Oconee; that he had ordered them to go and demand it, and if the whites would not go off civilly, to fall on them and cut them off; and desired F. to tell all the Creeks he saw, to join the Choctaws and Cherokees in war, and to go quickly, for now was their time to strike, or never, as the United States were engaged in a war with the Shawanese. The Governor said he had already told John Watts these things, but he, F. must repeat them to him.

On the third day after arriving at Pensacola, Governor O'Neal delivered F. and J. Deraque the horses in his yard, and a gun and ammunition from the King's store, and a letter from John Watts, and gave an order on Panton for the saddles and bridles, which were delivered. Upon Finnelson returning to Panton's house with the letter, Panton said, if there was any thing the Governor had been deficient in, to inform him (Panton) and it should be supplied. Upon F. being about to leave Pensacola, Panton said he should shortly set out for the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and expected to be with them as soon as F. could be in the Cherokees. Governor O'Neal, in his conversation with F. this day, said, Governor Blount, who was a cunning artful man, was sent to hold treaties with the Southern Indians, and to keep them in peace until the United States had conquered the Shawanese, and then they would have nothing to do but to fall on them and cut them off, and that now, or never, was the time to strike. Governor O'Neal also told F. to tell John Watts, to make no delay, but send down immediately for his arms and ammunition; to call on the Spanish commissary, who lives at McGillivray's town, at the Hickory Ground, and get tickets as to the number of the warriors in the respective towns. On the fourth day after arriving at Pensacola, Finnelson and J. Deraque sat out for the Creeks and Cherokees; they met on the path, going to Pensacola, in different parties, about three hundred Creeks, who said they were going for their ammunition and guns, and that on their return, they would go to war against Cumberland. On the third day, in the evening, after leaving Pensacola, Finnelson and Deraque, arrived at the Savannah town (of the Creeks) and hearing McGillivray was not at home, but sick at his sisters, F. left the letter he received from the Governor at Orleans, with one of McGillivray's traders. They stayed at the Savannah town one night, there they saw the Black Dog, the chief of the town; he said, as soon as his people returned from Pensacola, we shall turn out to war against Cumberland, in conjunction with the Cherokees; this he said F. might depend upon, as the two nations were friends, and the Cherokees may expect to see us at the beginning of the next new moon, and requested F. to tell his friends, the Cherokees, to remember his talk—that he would be with them with his warriors. The Black Dog named the Creek towns that were for war, namely: the Savannah, the Eufaulies, Tuckaubatchees, Wackakoy, the Cow Towns, the Little Eufauly, the White Ground, the Hickory Ground, the Oakbusky, Tuskegee. The Black Dog and the Standing Turkey informed F. that McGillivray had resigned his commission from Congress, and taken the Spaniards by the hand, and expressed their gladness on the occasion. Stayed one night at the Savannah town, and started forward for the Cherokees, and arrived at Red-headed Will's town, commonly called Will's town, the residence of John Watts, about ten o'clock the fourth day, who had then returned from Pensacola, three days before, together with Talonteskee (commonly called Watts' uncle) and the Young Dragging Canoe, where were assembled a great number of Cherokees in council, at the square. Finnelson and J. Deraque halted, and listened fifteen minutes—John Watts was speaking; he said the young fellows were always wanting war; now the time was come, when they might try themselves; there are enough of us, and if there are not, we have friends enough to back us of Creeks and Choctaws, likewise our old brothers the Spaniards. This is what I have been told by Governor O'Neal. This is the truth, and you may depend upon it. I have seen him and talked to him myself; you now must show yourselves. All you young men who like war, go with me to-morrow; we will have a great many more men, and we

will settle matters better when we all get together. Watts sat down, and F. turned off and went to Red-headed Will's, and turned out his horses, as did also J. Deraque, and stayed there until the afternoon, and returned to the square, where the Bloody Fellow was up speaking in the centre of the council. He told them not to go to war; it was a bad step they were taking; that he had been to hunt for the brothers they thought were dead, and that he found them; they were good people, the same as ever; they did not wish to hurt them (the Cherokees) nor their children. Look here at the things I fetched for myself, likewise for you warriors! When was the day that ever you went to your father and fetched as much as I have? I did not go by myself, others went with me. If I had gone by myself, perhaps you might have thought that I had made it myself. You had better take my talk and stay at home, and mind your women and children. The Bloody Fellow still standing, Talohitsky rose and said, "I too have been to Pensacola, and seen the Governor as well as Watts, and heard his talk. I think a great deal of his talk, for it is good. I shall try to do as he directed me;" and sat down. The Bloody Fellow proceeded: "Look," says he, "at that flag; don't you see the stars in it? They are not towns, they are nations; there are thirteen of them. These are people who are very strong, and are the same as one man; and if you know when you are well, you had better stay at home and mind your women and children." The Bloody Fellow still standing, John Watts again got up and came forward, said, "the day is come when I must bloody my hands again. To-morrow I shall send off a runner to the Creek nation to fetch my friends in. Then I shall have people enough to go with me to Cumberland or any place that I want to go to." All then dispersed for about half an hour, then returned stripped all to their flaps, painted black, dancing the war dance in the square around the flag of the United States, and continuing to dance until the evening. At night they went to the town house, and continued the war dance all night. On the second day after arriving at Will's town, Finnelson returned from Red-headed Will's again to the square, met the Bloody Fellow, who took him by the hand, and asked him where he had been so long? F. answered, travelling through the Spanish country. John Watts sitting near, and hearing the conversation, called F. to sit down by him, and asked the news from the Governor at Orleans. F. answered, not much, but he wanted to see some of the Cherokees, for to deliver to them their guns and ammunition. Watts asked F. if there was no other news. He answered no, not choosing to give him any other answer. Watts said, you have a letter; Little John saw it falling out of your clothes at Red-headed Will's. F. answered he had a paper, but it was not for him. Watts desired him to go and bring that paper. F. went and took the letter Governor O'Neal had given him, for Watts, tore it and flung it into a creek, and brought the passport from the Governor at Orleans, which having the Spanish arms on it, satisfied Watts, Little John declaring those were the arms he saw on the paper that dropped. The Bloody Fellow standing by and hearing this, spoke and said: "I have been and found my lost brothers; see how well they have used me! I mean no war with them," taking hold of his medal; "this is silver, and surely must have cost a good deal of money," and his coat with silver epaulettes, and his scarlet match coat, with broad silver lace, "when was the day that ever you went to see your old brother (meaning Stuart, the British superintendent) and that you brought home the like of this? I have brought a good deal of good rich clothes to many of you as well as myself. I would wish none of you to go to war, but lay at peace, as I intend to do myself. I can go over the mountains and live in peace." John Watts, upon the Bloody Fellow mentioning the medal, pulled his off and laid it on the ground. The Bloody Fellow still standing on the block, the son of the White Owl rose and said: "My father was a man, and I am as good as he was. To war I will go, and spill blood in spite of what you can say. From this day out I will do as I please." John Watts then got up and took him by the hand, and leading him forward, said to him, "You are a man, and I like your talk; to war we will go together." The Bloody Fellow proceeded, "You had better not go, for you know nothing about what you are going to do." The Bloody Fellow continuing to stand, the Shawanee warrior (who has for years past lived in the Running Water with about thirty other Shawanees) rose, and advancing said, stretching out his hands, "With these hands I have taken the life of three hundred men, and now the time is come when they shall take the life of three hundred more; then I will be satisfied, and sit down in peace. I will now drink my fill of blood." The Bloody Fellow having sat down, rose and spoke, "If you will go to war you must go; I shall not," and sat down, appearing much dejected and dissatisfied. John Watts. To-morrow you must repair to the Look-out Mountain town, where we will assemble together and lay off how we will attack the frontiers of Holston; upon which the council generally rose, declaring they would join with Watts in war, and dispersed for about an hour and a half, then from four to five hundred returned to the squares, stripped to their flaps, painted black, with their guns and hatchets, and commenced the war dance round the flag of the United States, which they continued till night. During their dancing, many of them fired balls through the flag, upon which the Bloody Fellow ordered them to desist, or he should do as he had before done, (meaning kill some of them.) The firing at it ceased. At night the war dance was removed to the town house, and kept up till next morning. On the third day after arriving at Will's town, the whole party assembled at the Look-out Mountain town, to the number of 600, and 200 were picked out for horsemen, and John Taylor appointed to command them. There were at least two hundred good horses on the ground, which had certainly been stolen from the citizens of the United States. In the afternoon the place of attack was taken up, and it was determined to attack the Holston settlements in four divisions of two hundred in each division, and to sweep the settlements as far as the Long Island of Holston, then to divide into smaller parties up French Broad, and sweep it to the head. The council then adjourned, and went to the war dance, which they continued until next morning, painted black as before. On the fourth day after arriving at Will's town, the party met again at the Look-out Mountain town, and determined to attack Cumberland in four divisions, and clear that county of all living people. Orders were given by Watts, Taylor, The Glass, Talohitske, Fool Charles, (by some called Captain Charley) and The Breath, to provide provision on the next day, and be ready to start for war on the succeeding day. About an hour and a half after issuing these orders, information was received that the White Man-killer had arrived in a canoe from Knoxville, with a quantity of whiskey, at the mouth of the Look-out Mountain creek, distant from the Look-out Mountain town about fifteen miles. Men were immediately despatched to bring it up to the town, and, on its arrival, all hands turned in to drinking, neglecting the order for providing for war.

On the fifth day after arriving at Will's town, the party generally lay drunk and stupefied, and no public talk was held. Jo. Deraque spoke English as well as Finnelson. He had been at Cumberland several months previous to his going down the river with Mr. Fagot, and felt for the people there. He observed to Finnelson it was a pity they should be murdered there, without having notice to defend themselves, and proposed to F. that they should contrive some mode to do it. F. told him it would be a hard matter to get there, but if he would leave it to him, he would manage it: for he also having been there, and well treated, felt for the people of that country, and in order to get themselves in a situation to get off on the fourth day after arriving at Will's town, they went to Nickajack, twelve miles from the Look-out Mountain town, and they concluded they would tell the Indians who were for war, that the Governor at Orleans had a friend, a spy, living at Cumberland; that they were sent to this spy friend, (Mr. D. Mombreun) to collect intelligence as to the number of men, and in what manner the place could be best attacked, to ensure success with the least loss. On the sixth day, in the morning, that is, after arriving at Will's town, J. Deraque was sent for from Nickajack to the Look-out Mountain town, to be examined touching his instructions from the Governor at Orleans, to his friend M. D. Mombreun, at Cumberland, who so satisfied the council and warriors of the truth of what he said, that they agreed that he, with Finnelson, should go on to Cumberland, to Mr. D. Mombreun, and gave him ten days precisely to return; and that they would desist from war until that time; and that, if he did not arrive in that time, they were to be sure he was dead. Immediately after the return of J. Deraque to Finnelson, at Nickajack, they started for Cumberland, that is, on the sixth day, two hours before sunset, fearing, if they stayed till morning, that they would not be permitted to go on. Whilst J. Deraque was gone to the council at the Look-out Mountain town, a woman informed F. that Shaw and Carey had informed Governor Blount of what the Lower towns were about, and that the warriors were determined to kill them and the Indian who should have been the carrier of the letters, and persuaded F. to go and give them notice, that they might escape. The Breath arrived at Nickajack a little before J. Deraque returned to F., and informed him that the council had agreed to their going to Cumberland, and added that the council had also determined to write to Governor Blount, and inform him that the rumor of war in the lower towns arose from a few drunken young fellows, and that the heads, who were for peace, had stopped them. This, he said, would prevent any bad consequences from the information given by

Shaw and Carey, and put the Governor off his guard. On the fifth day after leaving Nickajack, they arrived at Cumberland, about eleven o'clock, and made the whole matter known. On their way, they pushed so hard, lest they should be pursued by the Cherokees, that Joseph Deraque killed his horse, and then pushed forward on foot.

Finnelson adds, that Governor O'Neal told him he had silver hilted swords making for the Cherokee chiefs, to distinguish them in battle.

RICHARD FINNELSON, his + mark.  
(The Bird Tribe.)

UNITED STATES,  
DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, } to wit:

On the first day of November, in the year of our Lord 1792, before me, Richard Peters, Judge of the district court of the United States in and for the Pennsylvania district, came Richard Finnelson, a Cherokee Indian of the half blood, and being sworn on the holy evangel of Almighty God, (after having the nature of an oath explained, and declaring that he believed in the doctrines contained in the New Testament, and its divine authority) doth depose and say, that he is perfectly well acquainted with the contents of the foregoing papers, which were written from information given by him, and that the said papers contain a just and true account of the several matters and things therein set forth. The deponent speaks the English language well, and says that he could read and write in that language, but has not now the same facility, either in reading or writing, he formerly had.

Given under my hand and seal, at Philadelphia, the day and year aforesaid.

RICHARD PETERS.

*Information by Governor Blount, respecting the Cherokee Chiefs whose names are mentioned in the narrative given by Richard Finnelson.*

KNOXVILLE, September 26, 1792.

John Watts was a signer to the treaty of Holston; was in February with Governor Blount several days at Knoxville, received several valuable presents from him, and expressed the strongest friendship for the United States, and his great personal attachment for the Governor. He again met the Governor at the conference at Coyatee, was the immediate author of the honor there paid the United States and the Governor, and during the stay of the Governor at Coyatee several days, he appeared the warm and open friend of the Government and the Governor. When the Governor was about to leave Coyatee, and return home, Watts assured him he would be with him in ten nights at Knoxville, spend some days with him, and that he would then determine where he would meet the Governor, to accompany him through the wilderness to Nashville, where the Governor had invited him to attend, and be present at the conference with the Chickasaws and Choctaws. Thus, at parting with Watts at Coyatee, the Governor considered him as the great friend of the United States and himself, nor does the Governor yet doubt that was surely the fact. But there is great reason to believe that Watts received a runner at Coyatee, a few hours after the Governor left it, from Panton. It is beyond all doubt Panton induced him to go to Pensacola. The information given by Deraque and Finnelson, may account for his conduct since his return.

Tolottiske is also a signer to the treaty of Holston; is the nephew of the old Tassel, has ever breathed resentment for his death; that he probably was readily induced to adopt the measures recommended by Governor O'Neal. Watts is also the nephew of the Tassel; but after the treaty, he declared he would no more think of revenge; that he had already sought and obtained it.

Panton is well acquainted with the Cherokees, as well as the other three nations: must have known these things, and selected them as proper instruments for that reason.

John Taylor, to whom the command of the cavalry was given, was the first Indian who appeared on the ground at the treaty of Holston; was very instrumental, on his return to Chota, in getting the chiefs of the nation forward to treat; returned to the ground with them, lived with Governor Blount as one of his family during the continuance of the treaty, ate and drank at his table as one of his family, and slept by his side, and received particular marks of his favor. He did not sign the treaty, because he was not, by the nation, considered a chief.

He again visited the Governor in February, at Knoxville, with Watts, stayed with him as long, was treated as he had been at the treaty of the Governor, and again received particular marks of his favor. During his stay with the Governor, he assured him that he had a wish to raise a company of Cherokees, in which he wanted a lieutenant's command, to fight against the Shawanese, and proposed that John McKee should be the captain. So well did he express his friendship that the Governor believed, and often said, that, in case even of a general war with the Cherokees, he was sure of a friend in John Taylor, under every contingency.

The Breath of Nickajack was at the conference at Coyatee. Besides his public talks, he made repeated professions of his attachment to the United States, and his determinations to adhere to the treaty of Holston. He met the boats with the goods for the Chickasaw and Choctaw conference, at Tuskegee; went on board one of them with Mr. Allison, and proceeded down to Nickajack; giving undoubted and strong proofs of his friendship for the United States, declared, if the boats should be attacked as they passed the Running Water, which there was great reason to expect, by the Shawanese warrior and his party, that he would assist in the defence of them, and Mr. Allison believes he would.

Fool Charles, or Captain Charley, a chief of the Running Water, was at the conference at Coyatee; there gave assurances of his determination to adhere to the treaty of Holston, and proof of his attachment to the person of the Governor. On his return from the conference to the Running Water, he gave such proofs of his attachment to the United States, that the Shawanese living in that town took offence, fell on him, and much injured him; he met the boats at Tuskegee with the goods for the Chickasaw and Choctaw conference, went on board as an escort, until he arrived near the Running Water, then advised the sending forward a quantity of whiskey to the Shawanese warrior and his party, at the Running Water, in order to draw their attention from the boats, which it was feared they would attack; took a canoe and went with it himself, in order to assist in carrying his plan into execution. Mr. Allison then considered him as one of the firmest friends the United States had.

The Glass, of the Look-out Mountain town, Governor Blount has never seen, but has received repeated written and verbal assurances of peace and friendship, since March last, in which the Governor had full faith.

Such was the conduct of these chiefs but a short time previous to the return of John Watts from Pensacola, and such was his own previous to his going to Pensacola. To the Spanish Government is this change of conduct justly to be charged.

WM. BLOUNT.

*The information of Joseph Deraque.*

I am a native of Canada, and came first to Cumberland in the employ of a Mr. Fagot. On the 16th June Mr. Fagot left Red river and proceeded down the Cumberland. In his boat I embarked for New Orleans, as a laborer to row. On coming near L'Ance la Grace, Mr. Fagot told me and all his men to tell the same story to the commandant which he should, which was, that the people of the United States from Cumberland and Kentucky were preparing to attack the Spanish settlements. The commandant at L'Ance la Grace gave Mr. Fagot a large packet to Governor Carondelet, at New Orleans, which, when Mr. Fagot delivered, he told the same tale, as to the hostile intentions of the United States, that he had to the commandant of L'Ance la Grace, as I have every reason to believe: for the officers and others at Orleans told me so, and asked me if it was true. To this I answered, I had no reason

to question the veracity of Mr. Fagot, but I was not informed of the intentions of the Americans. Governor Carondelet then told me he had sent by McGillivray to inform the Creeks, Cherokees, and Choctaws, they must come to him to get arms and ammunition, but he wanted me to go again on the same errand, which I agreed to. One Richard Fannelson, a Cherokee half breed, who came down in the boat from Cumberland, he sent with me, and gave us a passport. He told us to invite the Creeks, Cherokees, and Choctaws, but more particularly the two first, to come to him and get guns and ammunition, and go to war against the people of Cumberland and Holston; that the lands were theirs, and the property of no other people, and he would furnish them with means to defend it; and to be active and unanimous in going to war quickly. We came by water to Mobile, and, from thence, to Pensacola, then to the Creeks, by land. Between these two last places we met, in several different parties, about three hundred Creek Indians, going to Pensacola for arms and ammunition, as they said, to go to war against the United States, and that by the directions of the Spanish officers. Indeed Governor O'Neal, commandant at Pensacola, told me himself he had orders to excite the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, to war against the United States, though he doubted whether the last would join.

On arriving among the Creeks, we found them generally preparing for war against the United States, and they said they would set out as soon as their ammunition should arrive.

Willstown was the first Cherokee settlement I came to, which was about the 2d instant. There I found them assembled, to the number of at least six hundred, debating whether they should come to war against the people of Cumberland or not. The White Owl's son said, among the first, that he would not be restrained from going to war; Tahlontiske was the next; they were followed by Watts, John Taylor, Young Draggng-canoe, the Glass, and others. They seemed very unanimous to go to war immediately against the people of Cumberland and Holston. This was vehemently opposed by the Bloody Fellow, who spoke two days against it, to no purpose. Finding they were determined to set off for war, and I being very desirous they should not, in order to circumvent them, I told them I was sent from Governor Carondelet to one de Mombre, at Cumberland, who would inform him of the situation of that country, and point out the most proper places to be attacked. By showing them the Governor's passport, they were deceived, and suffered us to go on. They agreed they would wait ten days for our return, and no more. The letters which de Mombre should write to Governor Carondelet I was to show them.

On the way from the Cherokees to Cumberland, I came by a camp of four Creeks, who were hunting for moccon skins and provision, to enable them to come to war against Cumberland. These Indians told me, as many of the Creeks when in their nation had done, that, as soon as their ammunition should arrive from Pensacola, upwards of a thousand of them would turn out to war against Cumberland and Holston, and that they certainly would be at Cumberland this moon.

When I was among the Cherokees, they told me a Mr. Shaw had given to Governor Blount information, by letter, of their intentions to go to war; but that Watts, the Glass, and some others of the hostile chiefs, would write another letter to Governor Blount, feigning their friendship, to take off the bad effect of Mr. Shaw's, and deceive Governor Blount.

When I came away from Orleans, Mr. Fagot could not pay me my wages, because he had not sold his cargo. The Governor promised me five hundred dollars to do his business, and deliver the forementioned message to the four nations, and to Richard Fannelson he promised four hundred.

NASHVILLE, September 15, 1792.

This day Joseph Deraque, who has signed the within, personally came before me, a justice of the peace for the county of Davidson, and made oath, on the holy Evangelists, that the facts related in the within narrative, where mentioned to be of his own knowledge, are true, and where not to his own knowledge, he believes them to be true; in short, that it is a true narrative,

JOSEPH DERATTE, his + mark.  
ROBERT HAYS, Justice of the Peace.

NASHVILLE, September 15, 1792.

I was the whole of Joseph Deraque's journey from Nashville to Orleans, and back by land to this place in his company, and do aver that the within is a true narrative.

RICHARD FINNELSON, his + mark.

KNOXVILLE, September 25, 1792.

Upon inquiry, I find that Joseph Deratte, otherwise Deraque, had lived at Nashville about six months previous to his going down the river with Mr. Fagot, and that he was and is there considered a man of veracity. He was well known to M. De Mombay, of Nashville, as was also Mr. Fagot; M. De Mombay is a man of undoubted veracity and character, and he fully believes the foregoing information is true. It is supposed that Mr. Fagot's motives for giving the information he did, was to obtain favor with the Spanish Government, to the end that he might get his tobacco into the King's stores, and obtain the price there given, and the influence of Government to save him from the arrest of his Spanish creditors, who were numerous.

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

Governor Blount to the Secretary of War.

KNOXVILLE, September 27, 1792.

I have determined to call into the field, for the protection and defence of the territory, as quick as possible, in addition to the troops enumerated in my letter of yesterday's date, seven companies, from the different counties; one for three months and the other for six weeks; and the Greene county troop of cavalry, making in the whole (all of the district of Washington, besides Sharp's battalion, whose times, as I have before informed you, will expire on the 11th of October) fourteen companies of Infantry, and the Greene troop of cavalry, with the necessary field officers, and to be commanded by Brigadier General Sevier, whose high character in Indian warfare, and the necessity for his service, will, I hope, justify his being called to the command of so few troops.

I have the honor to be, &c.

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

Governor Blount to the Secretary of War.

KNOXVILLE, Sunday, October 7, 1792.

SIR:

The enclosed papers contain all the information I have received, worth communicating, from the Cherokees, since writing you by Mr. Allison on the 26th September. For many days past I have hourly been in expectation of an express from Cumberland; nor have I heard of the Creeks and Cherokees, since they passed the Tennessee, as mentioned in the letter of the Breath and Charley, and by John Boggs on the 17th of September.

The militia are turning out with unusual alacrity; some of them have made their appearance from the upper counties, and the whole number called for, will be here by Saturday night.

I hope for the honor of your orders as speedily as possible, and have that of being, with very great respect, yours, &c.



[ENCLOSURES.]

LOOK-OUT MOUNTAIN, September 15, 1792.

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

We have heard your letter you sent to the Glass and the Bloody Fellow; the Bloody Fellow is at home, and the Glass is gone to the Little Turkey; we are very glad to see it; we are likewise glad to see it is in our power to stop the young fellows from going to war with the whites, our elder brothers, as our people and your people are living as it were together, you and them is so near each other; you mention that we ought to consider matters well, before beginning a war; it is very true; war is very bad, and I hope you nor us shall see no more of it, but live in peace.

But we are sorry to inform you—you may think it a lie, but we assure you it is the truth—that we are very sorry that, four days after our people had dispersed to their different homes, there was a great number of Creeks passed by here for several days; it was out of our power to stop them; they said there was several hundreds crossed the river low down, and had with them 500 lbs. of powder and lead accordingly; they said they were going to Cumberland; it is not the principal head-men of the Creek nation, but young fellows, and indeed a great number of them boys.

They said, that Colonel Robertson and General Pickens had told Codeatoy what we before told you, that they would go and see Colonel Robertson at his home.

We are much obliged to you for your advice in telling us take care, as the innocent would undoubtedly suffer.

We have told you of the Creeks always going, and we hope you will not let any of our people suffer for the bad doings of the Creeks, for we tell you they are gone; the exact number we do not know.

We heard that John Sevier says it will not be long before he sets out for war; that he is to come to this place, and all about here, and that there is another warrior to come, with an army from Tugulo, in order to destroy the nation; such talks makes our young people very uneasy; we could wish that your warriors would not send such talks, unless you intend to do so. These from

Your friends and brothers,

THE BREATH and CHARLES.

His Excellency WILLIAM BLOUNT.

NOTE.—There must be a mistake in the date of this letter; from the information collected from Boggs, it must have been written on the 23d September, 1792.

On Friday the 28th September, 1792, John Boggs returned to Knoxville, from the five Lower towns, where he had been to carry the letters of the 14th instant, from Governor Blount to the Glass and the Bloody Fellow, in answer to theirs of the 10th September, and delivered to Governor Blount the letter of The Breath of Nickajack, and Charley of the Running Water, dated September 15th, 1792. [There must have been a mistake in the date of this letter, it was probably written on the 23d September.] Boggs continued with Governor Blount, from Friday the 28th, to Sunday the 30th, and with him the Hanging Maw, Unacata, the brother of John Watts, and three other Indians. During this time, Governor Blount extracted all the information he possibly could, respecting the Indians, and both Boggs and the Maw appeared to be quite candid and communicative. The amount of the information given by John Boggs, was, that from the 15th to the 17th instant, the Creeks were passing the Tennessee at the Running Water, Nickajack, and at a place called the Creek-crossing-place, about thirty miles below Nickajack, on their way to invade the district of Miro. (Cumberland settlement) and that they were joined by from 100 to 200 Cherokees, among whom was John Watts, and that the Creeks had with them a great quantity of powder and lead, which they had received from the Spaniards; that the whole were to rendezvous at the place where the different paths came together on their way towards Nashville, and concert their measures of attack upon the Cumberland settlements. That while he was at the Look-out Mountain, he was informed that Richard Finnelson and a Frenchman had passed on from Pensacola to Cumberland, to obtain information of the true situation of that country, and were to return in ten nights, and report such as they could collect. That he found it generally understood in the Lower towns, as well as the other parts of the nation through which he passed, that such of the inhabitants of the five Lower towns as did not want war, had best leave them; and that such of the other towns as did want war had best move to them, and that some of both parties were moving, so as to take the situation which best suited their wishes and disposition for war or peace. Boggs is a half breed, well known to many white people, and by all parties viewed as a man of veracity.

The Hanging Maw said he and the Little Turkey, and all the chiefs of the Cherokees, except of the five Lower towns, were for peace; and that the five Lower towns were for war; that they expected to be attacked and destroyed, and were providing against that event: some intended moving nearer the Creeks; others to go west of the Mississippi, near L'Ance la Grace, and others, among whom was the Shawanese warrior, and his party of the Running Water; to form a settlement at the Creek crossing place of the Tennessee, a small distance above the Shoals, at the mouth of a creek on the south side, there to be joined and supported in a perpetual war against the United States, by a party of Shawanese, who are expected shortly to arrive at that place by water, by way of the Ohio and Tennessee.

Unacata the brother of John Watts, a good natured pleasant fellow, on Saturday, having drank freely of whiskey, and conversing with the Maw, Boggs, and the other Indians, told several stories, with much humor, of the attention that Governor Blount and the white people had always paid to Watts, whenever he came among them: now he said Watts was for war with the whites, and had sent for him to join him; and he had given Watts for answer that the whites had given him (Watts) a great many fine clothes; and that he had grown saucy: all the clothes he (Unacata) had, he had earned and paid for; and that if he (Watts) went to war and fell, he might lie there, he (Unacata) would not pick him up; meaning he would not revenge his death, according to their law. This conversation was overheard by Captain Chisolm and Mr. McKee, who understood what he said. Governor Blount asking the Hanging Maw about another Unacata, who, with his wife, had been with the Governor in the latter part of August, ten or twelve days, been well treated, and made great professions of friendship, was answered, that he, too, had thought him a good man; but Watts had carried him to war, and he supposed he must be killed.

KNOXVILLE, September 30th, 1792.

A message from Kenoteta, or rising Fawn, of Hiwassee, to Governor Blount, received at Hiwassee on the 1st, and delivered at Knoxville on the 5th of October, 1792, by John Christian. [Kenoteta is an old head-man, and was a signer to the treaty of Hopewell.]

“The mountains near you have many Indians in them for war; take care of your people; don't let them go out by twos or threes even to their fields. The Lower towns are all together, and so are the Creeks; make haste and come and destroy them. Come by Hiwassee, and I will find you provisions as you pass. Talahuske was here the other day from the Lower towns, saying that he had thrown away his war talks, and was now for peace: don't you believe him, he is still for war, and means to raise a party and join his brother. The Bench and another brother of his, the Tail, passed here yesterday with three other Cherokees of Will's town, and five Creeks, declaring they were going to kill Jo. Sevier. Take care of them, they will do some mischief before they return.

“A number of Shawanese have already settled down on the Big river,\* at the mouth of a creek; and many more are coming: those who have arrived, have with them many goods—blankets, and strouds, and other goods; where they got them I do not know; but they must have destroyed a good many people, to get them either by water or land.”

\* The Cherokees call the Tennessee the Big river.



*Information by John Christian, who lives at Estanaula, with James Carey, and who brought up Gallaspie's son from thence to his father, and arrived at Knoxville the 5th October, 1792.*

That as he came through the Cherokee nation with Gallaspie's son, Moyatoy, a Cherokee at Springston's place,\* came up to them, and said to him, you are an old man, go along, but this boy and his horse I will have. Christian replied to him he was joking: no, he said, he was not, he would have boy and horse. Upon which the warrior's son of Estanaula, who had been selected by the head-men of that place to accompany Christian, and ensure safety to young Gallaspie, stepped up, and said he would protect him at the risk of his life. Moyatoy desisted, and Christian proceeded in safety with the warrior's son to Hiwassee, and there Culsetahe, the son-in-law of the Rising Fawn, joined the party, the better to ensure safety to young Gallaspie, and came with them to Craig's station on Nine-mile creek. Christian adds, that the chiefs, without exception, of all the Cherokee towns, except the five Lower, were for peace; but, that many of the young men of every part of the nation, discovered an inclination to join the war party of the Lower towns.

On the 2d of October, 1792, Black's blockhouse, on the head of Crooked creek, a branch of Little river, at which there was a sergeant's command from Captain Crawford's company, was attacked by surprise about an hour and a half in night, by a party of Indians, commanded by a Cherokee of Will's town, called the Tail, a brother of the Bench and Talotiske, consisting of three other Cherokees and five Creeks. James Paul was killed in the house, and George Moss and Robert Sharpe sitting out by a fire, and John Shankland wounded, and three horses were killed and seven carried off.

*Governor Blount to the Secretary of War.*

KNOXVILLE, October 10th, 1792.

SIR:

Yesterday I received an express from General Robertson, by which I have the enclosed account of the attack upon Buchanan's station on the 30th September: his letter was dated on the 3d instant, on the Indian Trail, four miles from Buchanan's station, where he was encamped with three hundred men, waiting the return of the reconnoitering party. The express informs me, after he left the General, he (the express) received information of twenty-four Indians being seen on that morning at Fletcher's Lick, eight miles southwest of Nashville, and seven on the north side of the river, about as many miles distant from the town: the first mentioned fired upon Mr. Joselin, and the latter upon Mr. McRory; but neither received any wound. This is all I have yet heard of the large body of the Creeks and Cherokees that passed the Tennessee, from the 15th to the 17th September, as mentioned by the Breath, Charley, and John Boggs. Fourteen days elapsed from the passing of the Tennessee to the attack upon Buchanan's station, when the distance between could have been marched in from four to six days. Difference in opinion, as to the mode and place of attack, at the rendezvous after they passed at the Tennessee, probably was the cause of the delay; I have no other way to account for it; and it is a rock on which large parties of Indians have generally split, especially when consisting of more than one nation.

It is to be hoped the repulsed party will return with their wounded, and it is to be feared, from the firing of the parties upon Joselin and McRory, that such small parties will continue on the frontiers, and commit depredations, but not such as were justly apprehended, when it was known so large a party had passed the Tennessee. General Robertson received my order of the 14th to discharge the militia in service, under my order of the 11th, on the 20th of September, but, hesitated to execute it, because he had been previously informed by Jo. Deraque and Richard Finnelson, that the chiefs of the Lower towns would write me as they did, (alluding to the letters of the Galls and the Bloody Fellow) with an intention to deceive me; the event has proved the truth of the information, and justified the General's conduct. The express further informs me that the Cumberland people are in good spirits; and employ every hour, when they are not embodied for the common defence, in erecting block-houses and stockades, the better to ensure safety to their families. I am without information worth communicating, both from the Upper and Lower Cherokees, since that received by John Bogs and the Hanging Maw. Since the 11th of September, the day on which I received the letter from the Turkey and the other chiefs of the Upper towns, giving me notice of the determination of the five Lower for war, and of theirs to continue in peace and friendship, I have omitted no occasion of impressing the people under my government with the necessity of considering the Upper towns as much friends as if the Lower had not declared for war; and I have the pleasure to assure you that their conduct, not only in observing the treaty, but in their treatment of the friendly Indians, deserves the highest commendation; and upon the complaint of the Hanging Maw, that some of the frontier people of North Carolina, at Swannano, had behaved "cross," as he expressed it, to some of the Cherokees of the Upper towns, I thought it proper to forward an address to them on the subject, a copy of which you have enclosed. Nevertheless, I have information on which I fully depend, that several young men of the Upper have joined the Lower towns; and there is no doubt but more will; and even suppose they ultimately all should, (which I do not suspect) I trust it will be thought good policy in me to keep the friendship of as many as I can, until I have the honor of your orders on that head.

Only part of two companies have arrived here since the return made to your office of Major Sawyer's battalion; but in the course of ten days I expect nearly the whole number called for by my order of the 27th September, of which I gave you information in my letter of that date by Mr. Allison.

The Captain de Mombray, of Nashville, whose name is mentioned in the information of Jo. Deraque and Richard Finnelson, is the bearer of this letter, an old resident of Kaskaskias, where he served as a Captain under General George Rogers Clark, last war, with reputation, and is now a valuable and respectable citizen.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*An account of the attack, by the Creeks and Cherokees, upon Buchanan's Station, on the 30th September, 1792.*

On the 30th September, about midnight, John Buchanan's Station, four miles south of Nashville, (at which sundry families had collected, and fifteen gun-men) was attacked by a party of Creeks and Lower Cherokees, supposed to consist of three or four hundred. Their approach was suspected by the running of cattle, that had taken fright at them, and, upon examination, they were found rapidly advancing within ten yards of the gate; from this place and distance they received the first fire from the man who discovered them, (John Mc. Rory.) They immediately returned the fire, and continued a very heavy and constant firing upon the station, (blockhouses, surrounded with a stockade) for an hour; and were repulsed with considerable loss, without injuring man, woman, or child, in the station.

During the whole time of attack, the Indians were not more distant than ten yards from the blockhouse, and often in large numbers round the lower walls, attempting to put fire to it. One ascended the roof with a torch, where he was shot, and, falling to the ground, renewed his attempts to fire the bottom logs, and was killed. The Indians fired 30 balls through a port-hole of the overjutting, which lodged in the roof in the circumference of a hat, and those sticking in the walls, on the outside, were very numerous.

Upon viewing the ground next morning, it appeared that the fellow who was shot from the roof, was a Cherokee half-breed of the Running Water, known by the name of Tom Tunbridge's step-son, the son of a French woman, by an Indian, and there was much blood, and signs that many dead had been dragged off, and litters having been made to carry their wounded to their horses, which they had left a mile from the station. Near the blockhouse were

\* Forty miles from Chota.

found several swords, hatchets, pipes, kettles, and budgets of different Indian articles; one of the swords was a fine Spanish blade, and richly mounted in the Spanish fashion. In the morning previous to the attack, Jonathan Gee, and Clayton were sent out as spies, and on the ground, among other articles left by the Indians, were found a handkerchief and a moccason, known one to belong to Gee, and the other to Clayton, hence it is supposed they are killed.

*Address of Governor Blount, of the 2d October, 1792, to the frontier inhabitants of the State of North Carolina.*

WILLIAM BLOUNT, Governor in and over the territory of the United States of America South of the river Ohio, to the frontier inhabitants of the State of North Carolina:

GENTLEMEN:

No doubt, you who are so immediately interested in the event of a Cherokee and Creek war, are anxious to be informed of the conduct and intentions of those two nations. On the 11th September the Little Turkey, and the other principal Chiefs of the Upper Cherokee towns, gave me information, in writing, that the five Lower towns of the Cherokees were for war against the United States, and that every other part of the nation was for peace; and three days past the Hanging Maw, and other Chiefs of the Upper towns, were with me at this place, and gave assurances to the same purport. Good policy, as well as my own feelings, have induced me to recommend to the frontier inhabitants of this territory, to treat that part of the Cherokee nation which have declared for peace, in the same friendly manner as if no part had declared for war; and permit me, gentlemen, to extend that recommendation to you also, and to request you to continue that friendly intercourse with that part of the nation, which is adjacent to you, in the manner you have heretofore done, so long as that part shall continue their friendship for the United States. I have now, gentlemen, to inform you, that, twelve days past, about 500 Creeks passed the Tennessee, at or near the five Lower towns, on their way to Cumberland; that from 100 to 200 warriors of those towns joined the party. Cumberland was forewarned of their intended invasion, and, it is hoped, will meet and repulse them before they reach the settlements. It is uncertain in what part they will next attack; if it is this, I am prepared for them; and if I should receive information that it is against your quarter, I shall give you notice.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

KNOXVILLE, October 2d, 1792.

#### APPENDIX TO NO. IV.

*James Seagrove, Esq. to the Secretary of War.*

ROCK LANDING, ON THE OCONEE, 21st April, 1792.

SIR:

My last letter to you was from Savannah, under date of the 12th instant. Agreeable to what I then wrote, I have returned to this place, where I found my interpreter just got back from General M<sup>r</sup>Gillivray, with a letter in reply to mine of the 25th ultimo. For your information, I now enclose you extracts from his two last letters to me; by them you will be informed of his intention of coming down to meet me; he seems in good humor with me, and I hope to keep him so.

My interpreter tells me that there remains much confusion in the nation. It seems some of Bowles' associates or partners have sent large packets of letters directed to General Bowles, which they say are from his friends on the other side of the great water, and that all that Bowles promised them was on the point of being realized; and that, though Bowles is now in the hands of the Spaniards, yet, in forty days, he will return to them again.

There is a villain of the name of Willbanks, who came with Bowles, who spread those stories, and, I believe, fabricates those letters. I hope General M<sup>r</sup>Gillivray will be able to lay hands on him and his letters, and will make an example of him to the Indians and all future adventurers.

It is reported, (and I believe with truth) that two men were lately killed by the Indians about fifty miles above this place. This is said to be done by a party of the Cowetas in revenge for two of their people who were murdered by the Georgians some months past. Frequent application having been made by the Indians to the Government of this State for redress, by punishing the perpetrators, but not being able to get satisfaction in that way, they gave notice that they should retaliate, which I believe they have done, as I have advice from the kings of the Cowetas and Cussetahs, that the relations of the deceased Indians were out to take revenge, which they could not longer prevent.

These are unpleasant matters, but we may look for such events taking place frequently, whilst there is not energy in the Government of this State to punish such wretches, as those who wantonly killed the Indians, and thereby occasioned the death of the two innocent persons alluded to above.

Martin Johnston, the principal in murdering a Coweta Indian, some time past, near this place, now lives near the shoals of Great Ogeechee, about thirty miles from hence, undisturbed.

Whilst the people of this country shelter such wretches as Johnston among them, they ought not to wonder at the Indians revenging themselves on the innocent, whilst they protect the guilty.

When General M<sup>r</sup>Gillivray and the chiefs come here, I shall do all in my power to please them, and get our business forwarded. I am sorry to find so great a number of the valuable officers about to leave this place at so critical a juncture, when great discretion and strict discipline may become more necessary.

[ENCLOSURE.]

*The following are extracts from General M<sup>r</sup>Gillivray to James Seagrove.*

LITTLE TALLASSEE, 25th March, 1792.

DEAR SIR:

Last evening I had the pleasure of your letter 7th ultimo, by Randall. By my letter to you, by Akins, you will find that I had just arrived from Tensa, Pensacola, and Mobile. The extreme bad weather I had on the road made me apprehensive of an attack of the rheumatism, and a few days after he left this, I was unfortunately laid up till now. My indisposition prevented me from going, in person, after that vagabond Bowles; however, I sent positive orders to the Cowetas and Cussetahs to go, and either to take him or put him to death. A considerable party accordingly set out for that purpose, but before they reached St. Marks, I am informed, that the Spanish commandant seized him a prisoner. That the principal obstacle to my leaving the nation at present being removed, I am determined to comply with your requisition to meet you at the Rock Landing as soon as convenient. The lower towns have agreed to time, and have sent me notice. Cornel has my orders to be up in the first week of next month when I shall have the chiefs of these two rivers assembled, to explain to them the contents of your letter, and we can be with you about the latter end of the month.

Expecting to have the pleasure of taking you by the hand at the time mentioned, I remain, &c.

LITTLE TALLASSEE, 8th April, 1792.

DEAR SIR:

The day before yesterday I had the pleasure of your despatch by Mr. Bryant. I am surprised to find that Jamy Randall has not proceeded with my letter to you. We have exceeding high waters here. Bryant will meet some trouble in returning from this.

I find myself mending fast; the mild weather has relieved me from the rheumatism, and how soon I can get ready, will set out for your place. Its impossible, as yet, to get a horse across our rivers. Bowles is, ere now, securely lodged in New Orleans; he was taken by statagem at last; repeated attempts to take him in that way by the Spaniards he had evaded, but, on the arrival of Pantons ship, (Captain Forrest) Bowles had a design to take her, and he forgot himself so far as to accept an invitation to dine on board with some others. A Spanish guard had been previously put on board the ship, and, after dinner, Bowles was at length obliged to give up his arms, and surrender a prisoner, and was put on board an armed vessel, and sent to New Orleans; and this moment I have a letter from the Governor Baron Carondelet, who informs me he has sent Bowles to the Havana. Many of the lower people are not certain as to my intentions of going to the Rock Landing. On Akins' return, I sent them a message that I would take no steps in affairs until they satisfied me in restoring matters to their original train.

Bowles' partisans are some violent fellows, who have lost friends in the British cause in the late war, and who eagerly listen to any vagabonds that will call themselves Englishmen, and will set them on to mischief against the Americans, or encourage them to commit outrages of any kind against any people.

I shall say nothing at present of the nature of the Secretary's despatch, and will answer them from the Rock Landing.

I do hereby certify that Mr. Langley Bryant delivered a packet of letters to me from the Hon. James Seagrove, enclosing one from the Hon. the Secretary of War, dated 20th February, 1792.

ALEX. M'GILLIVRAY.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. James Seagrove, addressed to Major General Henry Knox, Secretary of War.*

ROCK LANDING, ON THE OCONEE RIVER, 24th May, 1792.

SIR:

When I invited the Indians to meet me here, I was well aware of the expense and danger of broils between them, and the more savage inhabitants of this frontier; but at that juncture there did not appear an alternative. My instructions pointed, in the first instance, to the suppression of Bowles, and restoring order in the nation. Unfortunately, that villain had been allowed to make so many friends to his cause in the Creek nation, that his influence would counteract any thing attempted in the towns; and as General M'Gillivray was then absent, and to every appearance his influence much lessened, there was not any principal head to which I could resort, or make use of, without danger of creating jealousy, and perhaps meet with censure from Mr. M'Gillivray, for raising a competitor or competitors with him in the nation. All these matters I weighed, but plainly saw that unless some method could be fallen on to convene the principal characters of the nation to a place where they would not be under the influence of Bowles, and then convey to their understanding, coolly and deliberately, the humane and friendly intention of the Government of the United States toward them, and to point out the absurdity of their being led away by Bowles' delusive tales, I apprehended that a total subversion of Mr. M'Gillivray's influence would shortly take place; unless some stir was made in his favor, that Bowles would rule the nation, and, on that being the case, we should see an attempt made to realise his threat of deluging our country in blood.

How far I have been right in my opinion of the power of Bowles' party, the convulsed state of the nation, ever since his capture and removal, which is kept up by some of his white partners and Indian converts, will determine.

General M'Gillivray's conduct in this business with Bowles, resembles that of Britain with America, during the early part of the late war, by undervaluing the power of their adversaries.

Although Bowles is removed, such is the baneful effect of what he has done, that the strength of his party (even at this moment) in the Creek nation, is such, that we find General M'Gillivray compelled to submit to their will.

The enclosed testimony of John Ormsbay, a man of very good character and understanding, and who is well known to several of the officers now here, will explain matters. Ormsbay's testimony is confirmed to me by every chief and head-man who have been with me. The words of the Great Natchez warrior, when answering some of my talks made in favor of the General, were: Bowles laid our beloved man, Gen. M'Gillivray, on the ground, and made him of no more consequence than a child, but we will raise him up again; and, from the talks we have now heard, we are convinced he is right; we will therefore put his enemies under him.

The enclosed letter from Timothy Barnard, a man of family and good repute, in Georgia, who has been settled as a trader in the Creek country thirty years, and always a confidential man with their Government, will further show to you the state of confusion the nation is in.

I never could scan the General's motives in affecting to treat Bowles' usurpation, and the confusion his country hath been in for near a year, with such indifference; there must be a hidden cause, but which cannot long lie dormant. I am again impelled to repeat my want of faith in this man's integrity to our country; the whole tenor of his conduct is a flimsy appearance of friendship, but not one pointed or spirited exertion in favor of the United States. I wish I may be deceived, but I fear you will not find him, in the end, the man you wish him to be. A man, to preserve his reputation, ought not to serve many masters; the General has many, and I am convinced the United States are not the favorite. A Spaniard, or an Englishman, is respectable all through the Creek nation, but it is very dangerous for any person, known to belong to the United States, to travel, or be in that country; and, I am sorry to find, that no pains have ever been taken to remove that unjust prejudice.

I now enclose you a copy of my last communication to General M'Gillivray, which is under date of the 21st instant, the contents of which anticipate what I have to say on Indian matters.

From the present confusion in the nation, and its appearing the wish of those Indians that were with me, I did not press the running of the line immediately; and therefore consented to their returning home to settle their internal matters, which, when done, they have promised to meet me, and proceed on this business.

In order to quiet the fears of the people of this country, I have written a letter to the Governor of Georgia, on the present state of Indian affairs in this quarter, a copy of which I now enclose you.

I attend to your instructions, respecting the Spanish Government; my conduct shall be conformable to your desire. They now have a resident settled in the Creek Nation; he lives at the Little Tallassee, in one of General M'Gillivray's houses; his name is *Oliver*; he has goods, and delivers presents to the Indians, and seems in high favor.

The Governor of New Orleans, the Baron Carondelet, hath sent an invitation to a number of the Creek chiefs to meet him as soon as possible at Orleans or Mobile, as they choose: but they have declined going, until they can settle their internal disputes. Mr. Pantons (principal of the house of Pantons, Leslie, & Co.) arrived at M'Gillivray's about the time he was to have set off for this place; unfortunately, this Mr. Pantons hath more influence over Mr. M'Gillivray, than any person living, and, it is said, directs all his movements. Pantons, from interest as well as inclination, is an inveterate enemy to the United States.

I find the Creeks have been killing some white people on their Western frontier. In my talks with the Indians, I am led to believe that the people killed, belong to a settlement south of Cumberland river, and on lands that never have been sold, or ceded by the Indians; that those people have repeatedly been ordered off by the Indians, but will not go; that, before Bowles was taken, he laid a plan with his Indian adherents to strike at those people, which they have done; and lives have been lost, and prisoners taken on both sides.

[ENCLOSURES.]

*Letter from Timothy Barnard to James Seagrove, Esqr.*

FLINT RIVER, 10th May, 1792.

DEAR SIR:

I have been these ten days ready, prepared to start down to the Rock Landing, where I expected to have had the pleasure of seeing you. Jack Kinnard was likewise at my house, and ten of his people with him, so far on their way to the Rock Landing. They staid with me here nine days, waiting till they could hear that the Cussetah people were started, sent several expresses up to the Buzzard Roost, to bring their information on. The last news that came to them from there was, that the Cowetah people had killed two white people, and that the Cussetah King had sent out word that he had done his endeavor to get Mr. McGillivray to come down, and set off down, but that he had sent word that he was sick; and when he heard that, he was determined to have started without him; but on hearing that the Cowetas had done this mischief, it put him out of all hopes of having the line run this time, till matters are a little more settled. The White Bird king, I hear, is on his way down to the Rock Landing, and several more. I have to acquaint you, sir, that, if it had not been for this villanous piece of business that Bowles has transacted, there would have been some of the head-men from almost every town in the Creek nation to the treaty, and matters would have been completed long ago; but, as some of every town in the Lower Creeks, except the Cussetahs, have joined Bowles, it has put the friends of the United States in this quarter to a great deal of trouble. The Cussetahs and Jack Kinnard, and his people, have left no stone unturned, striving to bring matters about to run the line; and, when those rascals that had joined Bowles, found that it was near coming to the point, they thought there was no more effectual way to stop it than to go out and kill some one, for satisfaction for the man they lost. The father to the fellow that was lost, is a head-man in the Cowetas, and one of Bowles' party. Though the Spaniards took him off before their faces, they still think he will be back in a short time. What has given them another reason to expect him back is, that the Spaniards, since they took him to Orleans, have permitted him to write letters back to the nation, to one Willbanks, who is now in the nation, saying every thing he can in Bowles' favor; persuading the Indians that he will be back to the nation in a short time, with a number of goods. I cannot see into this manoeuvre of the Spaniards, giving him the privilege to write back; except it was that they thought it would be the means of pacifying the Indians, from committing violations on their territory, as I well know they are very much afraid of the Indians. As to Bowles ever coming back, I think it out of the question, after what he has done to Messrs. Pantan and Leslie, as two thousand pounds will not replace the damage those gentlemen have sustained. After the Indians find Bowles does not come back, I am very sure they will draw in their horns, and matters may be still settled. I have myself done every thing in my power to convince the Indians that Bowles is leading them on to their ruin, which he has heard, and threatens my life. Many of the head-men of the nation are of my opinion, Kinnard especially. Kinnard would not agree to go to the treaty, without I would go with him, which I should have done, as I knew his presence there was necessary. He desired me to mention that, if matters were made up, that he will still attend with pleasure; and is very sorry he has been obliged to return, through the bad conduct of the red people; but he says he still hopes matters will be made up. No more news this way arrives to me at present worth relating, therefore wish you health, and remain,

Dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

*Letter from James Seagrove, Esquire, to his Excellency Edward Telfair, Governor of the State of Georgia.*

ROCK LANDING, on the Oconee, 21st May, 1792.

SIR:

I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency, that, at a respectable meeting of the kings, chiefs, and warriors, of the Creek nation, at this place, I delivered them a talk, the 18th instant, on the state of public affairs, which was well received by them; and I have assurance from them, of their disposition to preserve peace and good understanding between them and the United States. That, as soon as the internal feuds in their nation can be settled, for which purpose a general meeting is now ordered by General McGillivray, they will attend me, in order to carry into effect the treaty made at New York, as well as all other matters depending. In the mean time, they will, by their example and advice to their countrymen, not only put a stop to any outrage being committed by the people of their nation, on this country, but to banish from their land all such as have advised them to measures which could tend to disturb the peace of the United States or the Creek nation.

The reason General McGillivray did not attend at this meeting, agreeably to promise, arose from the perturbed state of his nation, owing to internal matters.

From the present appearance of matters, I am fully of opinion peace will be preserved with the Creeks. I have not been able to discover any disposition in them to the contrary, and I fondly hope we shall not give them cause to change their present temper toward us.

The Creek Indians who have been with me, deny, in the most positive and pointed terms, their people having murdered, as is said, a Mr. Yarborough and his son. There had been a party of Cowetas, relations to an Indian of that town, who was killed by whites, some time past, on their frontier, (and for which they had repeatedly required satisfaction, but without effect) set out to take satisfaction, but were followed by the Cussetah chiefs, and sent home; and nothing since hath been attempted.

Reports now circulate here, which are believed, that Yarborough and son were murdered by white people.

I have reason to think, that, on investigation, your Excellency will find, that several late alarming accounts, which you have received from this frontier, have been very much exaggerated, if not totally without foundation.

As a proof of the favorable opinion I have of the Creeks' pacific disposition, I intend going into the nation as soon as I hear from General McGillivray.

On my return, I intend doing myself the honor of calling on your Excellency; in the mean time, remain, with all possible respect,

Your obedient, and very humble servant.

John Ormsbay, a native of Pittsburg, in Pennsylvania, who arrived at this place last evening, from the Creek nation, declares that he was in company with General McGillivray, at the Tuckaubatchees, on the last day of April, and that he went in company with the General from thence to his house, at the Hickory Ground; that the General was prepared to set off for this place, but was prevented by the Old Tallassee king, the big half breed of the Kialle-gees, and the Mad Dog, of Tuckaubatchees, all of whom told the General that he must not meet the Virginians, as they had talks from the English people, (meaning Bowles' party) that England, France, and Spain, were all joined against America; that Bowles would return to them in a few days; that Colonel Brown (a great favorite with the Indians) was to come and join Bowles, and his party, from the Bahama Islands. That the Creek nation appeared in a most distracted state, from the stories circulated among them by some of Bowles' partners, who remain, the head of whom is a man of the name of *Willbanks*, a low, illiterate fellow, whom this informant saw in the Cowetahs' town, as he came along. That General McGillivray had declined coming to the Rock Landing; that he told Mr. Ormsbay he should despatch an express to Mr. Seagrove, in a day or two, with a full state of all matters. That Mr. Pantan, of the house of Pantan, Leslie, & Co. arrived at General McGillivray's on the 30th ultimo; that there was a Spanish commissary, or agent, established at Little Tallassee, and lives in General McGillivray's new house; he came from New Orleans; his name is *Olivar*; that he has goods, and makes presents to the Indians. That the Governor of New Orleans had sent into the Creek nation, an invitation for a number of their chiefs to meet him,

either at Orleans, Mobile, or Pensacola, as most convenient to them. That General McGillivray expressed his fears, that, unless matters could soon be accommodated, the Indians would be hostile against the United States; that he said the Indians were altogether regardless of his advice; that he was determined to quit them, and go to his place on the river Tensa; that several scalps and prisoners had lately been brought into the nation, from the settlements toward Cumberland river; that the Creeks were much displeas'd at the Chickasaws and Choctaws, in consequence of the latter having favored the Americans, and some of them acted with their army, to the northward, last campaign; that it was expected the Creeks would go to war with the Chickasaws and Choctaws. The tenor of General McGillivray's conduct, whilst this informant remained in the nation, appeared friendly to the United States. That Mr. Cornell, the interpreter, at whose house Mr. Ormsby lodged, appeared very friendly to the Americans, and used what influence he had in their favor. That it is impossible for any person, known to belong to the United States, to travel in the Creek nation without insult, and danger of losing their lives; the names of English, or Spanish, must be assumed, by way of protection.

JOHN ORMSBAY.

ROCK LANDING, on the Oconee, 11th May, 1792.

Delivered in presence of  
JAMES SEAGROVE,  
JAMES JORDAN.

ROCK LANDING, on the Oconee, 21st May, 1792.

DEAR GENERAL:

I am not favored with a line from you since the 8th of last month, which induces me to believe that some misfortune hath befallen your letters on the way. My anxiety, on your account, for twenty days past, hath been extremely great, owing to the many extraordinary pieces of information brought from the nation.

On the 11th instant, a man of the name of John Ormsbay, made declaration in writing, to me, that he was in your company on the last day of April, at the Tuckaubatchee town, and went from thence with you to your own house; that you were all prepared to come here, but were stopped by the old Tallassee King, the big half breed of the Kealeages, and the Mad Dog, of the Tuckaubatchees; that those chiefs were very peremptory in forbidding your coming here. The cause of this extraordinary conduct in those people, I am led to believe, arises from the internal commotion in the nation, which, I am told, is still kept up by Bowles' party. I cannot, however, suppose, that they can be very formidable, now that their leader is removed, and that, by this time, the most simple, or obstinate, of your people, must now plainly discover that they have been dupes to the villanous impositions of Bowles.

It would have afforded me much satisfaction to have heard from you by Ormsbay, with an account of the real cause of your detention, and a full state of matters. My dear general, you must suppose the state of suspense I have been, and still am in, on your account, to be very unpleasant: for, when, at the moment I was to expect the happiness of seeing you, to receive such unfavorable accounts, really shocked me. I cannot promise myself any ease of mind, until I receive a full state of matters from your own hands.

Your not coming forward as expected hath caused many conjectures, and some alarm in the minds of the people of this country, lest something should be meditating by your people unfavorable to this frontier; but the assurance I give them of your determination to preserve peace, together with the very orderly conduct of the Indians now with me, and their friendly talks, will, in a great measure, subside their fears.

I am happy in informing you, that your good friend *Chinabee*, the great Natchez warrior, with thirty-five of the principal men, have been with me for ten days past. I think him a valuable friend to you and to the United States. I have paid him every attention in my power, and I believe he will return to you well pleased. I have had several private talks with him, and have communicated some matters which he will tell you. He promises me to use all his influence in restoring peace and good order, as does every Indian that has been, or are now here, give me the most solemn assurance of aiding your measures.

The Bird-tail king of the Cussetahs came here on the 15th instant, and informed me that I need not expect you; that the confusion in the towns was so great, that many of your people were openly opposed to your going any where, until there could be a general meeting of the nation, which he says you have desired to be at the Tuckaubatchees. I am extremely sorry to find, from the Old King and the other chiefs that have been with me, that the removal of Bowles hath not lessened the feuds in your country, and that the unaccountable conduct of your people in favor of this villain and his associates, is but too conspicuous and daring.

On this information, I thought it would be well to dismiss the Indians that were with me, as their presence might be necessary with you; but before I sent them away, I conceived it would not be amiss to give them a talk, which I did on the 17th and 18th instant, a copy of which you have enclosed.

It will make me happy indeed, if the contents of this, my first *essay in Indian address*, coincide with your opinion; if in any thing I have erred or fallen short of your wish, I hope you will attribute it to the real cause—my want of experience in matters of this kind; and also, to my not having your good counsel and assistance beforehand.

If I may judge from the declarations of the Indians who were present at my talk, they are fully convinced of the very improper conduct of that part of the nation who adhere to Bowles and his party, as well as to those who have delayed the business of the United States; and disapprove *very much* of the late murders of some white people on the Western waters, near Cumberland river, by some of the Creeks.

I hinted to the chiefs the idea of employing a certain number of their young men to act occasionally with our army to the Westward; they seemed to relish it very well, but I would make no engagements with them, and have referred them to you on that head. They are full of it, and will consult you thereon.

If I am so fortunate as to hear from you in a few days, and that you encourage it, I will set off to see you at the intended meeting at the Tuckaubatchee. I had determined to go out in company with the great Natchez warrior and his people, but he and the other chiefs have dissuaded me from it at this time, not thinking it advisable. They recommend my waiting here for twenty days, and if, during that time, I do not hear from you, I shall return to the river St. Mary's, and there wait to hear from you and them.

The chiefs and warriors who have been with me, give strong assurance of their using every means in their power, to bring about good order in your country, and to preserve peace with the United States: they have pledged themselves to me for the faithful performance, and I have great confidence in them. I think the Bird-tail King, the Old Head warrior of the Cussetahs, Halletemathle, Nethloe, or Second Man, and Chinabee, the great Natchez warrior, are your warm friends, and will shortly give you convincing proofs of it. You may rely, my friend, I have made use of every argument, in public and private, with them, and all the Indians I have seen, to depreciate and degrade Bowles and his villanous party, and to exalt you and your friends. I hope my endeavors will not be altogether unsuccessful.

Although my talk, which you have enclosed, is long, and touches on most of the necessary points, yet, I told them much more in different conversations, all tending to explain and set them right; but, in particular, dwelt on the unquestionable and effectual support you had at your call from the President of the United States. I took much pains, and had explained to them the President's ardent desire of being in peace and close friendship with every Indian on this continent, and that from motives of humanity and benevolence to his fellow creatures; that measures were now pursuing for that purpose with the refractory Western tribes, which is actually the case, but that, if they continue deaf to the calls of reason, they will be brought to a sense of their duty by coercive measures, which are also preparing.

Doubtless you have heard that some leading fellows from the hostile Western tribes have been among your people lately, using all their influence and address to get them to join them against the United States. I hope you have got notice of it in time to crush the evil in the bud. *Chinabee*, the Natchez warrior, informs me, that he fell in with three of those fellows who belonged to the Shawanese, who were out on this business; he will give you a full and satis-

factory account of them. I find that they have also been in the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee nations, but I hope without success in either. It is, however, well to be watchful, and these things point out (in my opinion) the necessity there is of employing some of your young men in favor of the United States, as it will be fixing them to a side. I am of opinion it will be impossible to keep them entirely neuter.

The enclosed letter from the Department of War, which came by express, and under cover to me, yesterday, will probably give you further light into matters. Should it be agreed on in the nation that the number of warriors required for service to the Westward shall go out, should any provisions be required to carry them on as far as to Governor Blount, at Nashville, I will furnish, on the shortest notice, from the stores at this place. From Governor Blount they will receive a further supply to carry them to their destination.

I am exceeding sorry that I could not see you at this time, as there are many matters I wish to communicate with you on, which cannot so well be done by letter. We must meet by some means or other. Business cannot be so well done at a distance.

Enclosed you have a list of the Indians who were present at my talk, as, also, a sketch of the presents which I gave them. I have reason to think that every man of them goes away contented, as well as possessing very different ideas to what they brought here: for they candidly told me, that they had been led to expect bad treatment and deception. The Great Natchez warrior tells me, that he and his people were forbid coming (by Bowles' party) as we had laid plans to detain them until we got their lands, or destroy them in case of refusal. The Choctaws also sent forbidding him to come, but he now says that he is happy; he did not attend to them, as he will be able on his return to convince them that they are credulous fools.

Should the feuds which distract your country unfortunately increase so as to endanger your remaining in the nation, and that you determine on a temporary removal, I would by all means advise its being to the United States, for reasons which must be obvious to you. In such case I hope you will make my house your home as long as convenient to you. This letter I have given in charge to the *Blue Giver* of the Cussetas, whom I think a friendly trusty fellow; he promises to deliver you this or lose his life, and I have not a doubt but he will return (if you choose) to me with your answer, for which I shall wait at this place twenty days from this date. I hope you see the necessity of my having regular, full, and minute advice from you; much depends upon it.

I wish much to send you some of the good things that I provided, in expectation of your partaking of them here; but the bearer thinks he cannot get them along at this time. I can send you some choice Coniac brandy, Geneva, spirits, and wine; also, tea, sugar, and coffee. If you think they will reach you safe, let me know by return of the express, and send a trusty person for them, and they shall be sent on.

Having much writing to do, and *Long Tom* pressing to get off, I must conclude this, with assurance of unalterable regard and esteem.

Dear General, yours, &c.

JAMES SEAGROVE.

General ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRAY, *Creek Nation*.

*A talk delivered by James Seagrove, Esquire, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from the President of the United States.*

To the kings, chiefs, head men, and warriors of the Creek nation, assembled at the Rock Landing, on the Oconee river, in the State of Georgia, on Thursday, 18th day of May, 1792:

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:

I having it in command, from the President of the United States, to repair to the Creek nation, and there to enter on different matters of business with General McGillivray, and the kings, chiefs, and warriors of the same; but, finding on my arrival at this place, that the people of your towns were much divided and in great confusion, in consequence of the villanous imposition of a low adventurer, of the name of Bowles, I thought it would be best to call the wise men of your nation to meet me at this place, where we could deliberate, not being under any dread or influence from the spirit of the times.

In consequence of this, I sent a talk into your nation, on the 25th March last, inviting the kings, chiefs, and warriors, to meet me, to which I received their answer, that they would attend by the 22d of last month; but, the time being elapsed, and the number now here comparatively small to what I was led to believe from their promises, I am at a loss to account for so unexpected a change. From several letters I received from General McGillivray, I had not a doubt of his being present at this meeting, and I believe most of you were of the same opinion. This unaccountable delay and disappointment must remain to be explained at a future day.

Although the number now assembled is not great, yet I am happy in observing among you several of the most respectable men of your nation; I therefore conceive it my duty to make you acquainted with part of my business I have to lay before your nation, not having a doubt but you will pay every attention thereto yourselves, and, on your return to your nation, you will, as honest good men and friends, use all your influence in impressing the necessity there is of your people's conforming to the desire of the President of the United States, which alone can save them from destruction.

In the first place, I have it in command, from the President of the United States, to make known to you the very great regard and friendship he hath for the Creek nation, and that it is his constant wish to promote your happiness in every instance in his power. Actuated by these friendly motives, he hath thought fit to appoint me to meet you, and, in conjunction with your beloved man, General McGillivray, to take such measures as will put all matters depending between your nation and the United States on a firm, peaceable, respectable, and permanent footing.

Being now met on so desirable a business, I hope every man comes into this council as I do, with a heart prepared and determined to do all the good they can for their fellow men, whether white or red. Should this be the case, and I trust it is, there cannot be a doubt but we shall speedily arrange and settle matters happily for our respective countries.

The first object, my brethren, that presents for our consideration, is, the state of confusion your nation hath lately been in; and, I must inform you, it gave your good friend, the President of the United States, great uneasiness, on your account, and made him sorry to hear that any body among you could be so deceived as to listen to the infamous falsehoods which the impostor, *Bowles*, told them, and which have been the cause of all your confusion and delay of business.

The vile impostor, *Bowles*, being now removed from among you to where he doubtless will be properly punished for his crimes, makes it, in some measure, unnecessary to inform you, that I have it in command, from the President of the United States, to offer to your beloved man, General McGillivray, together with the kings and chiefs of your nation, any kind of assistance which he and you may require now, or at any future time, in order to punish such bad men as *Bowles*, or any other who shall dare to disturb the peace of your nation.

Perhaps some of you who are now present are not acquainted with the true origin and character of this base impostor, *Bowles*; I shall, therefore, give you a sketch of the man, as well to expose him and his adherents, as to caution you in future not to be so ready in listening to what every idle vagabond who comes into your land may tell you, with a view to make you angry with your best friends, with one another, and involve you in trouble, and bring ruin on your nation, if you are so unwise as to take their talks.

This *Bowles* is an American, of low, mean extraction, born in Maryland; he was obliged, on account of his villainy, to fly from home and follow the British army, where he was despised and treated as a bad man and a coward. Finding he could not live there, he returned to America; but, being too lazy to work at his trade for a living, he



renewed his bad acts, for which he was obliged to fly his native country, or be hanged. Finding himself thus situated, he endeavored to impose on the King of England, by telling him that you had sent him there, and you wished to make him, Bowles, your beloved man; that it was your desire to make war against the United States and Spain; but the King of England, finding him an impostor, drove him out of his land, but treated the Indians that were with him kindly, on their own account, and not on Bowles's. He then went to Providence, where, we are told, he was taken by the hand by men whose characters in life have been nearly similar to his own. Those bad men encouraged him in his pursuit of coming among you and doing all the mischief he could to you and your friends. How far he has succeeded in these things, I call on your own knowledge of facts to determine.

You must, now, all of you, be sensible of the lies he hath told you: for, of all the promises he ever made you, or the many fine things he hath told you, have you ever found one word of truth in them? Instead of bringing you in goods, like an honest man, did he not rob the stores that have been supplying you for years, the owners of which are your friends? Has he not advised your young men to shed white blood? and have they not been so mad as to follow his advice, and killed some of our people on the Western waters; in consequence of which, I am told, some of your people are also killed, and others hurt? All this arises, my friends, from your listening to bad white men, whom you admit into your country. Many other acts of violence this wretch wished your young men to commit, but your old wise men prevented.

The intention of Bowles, in all this, was, to make himself a great man. Without any regard to your happiness, his views were to advise your people to commit acts that would involve you in a war with the United States and Spain, and to give you a bad opinion of your beloved man. Sorry am I to think that so many believed his lies. I am certain they must now feel ashamed of themselves, who were dupes to this fellow.

I hope all who have listened are now sensible of their error, and that, in future, they will only listen to what is told them by their beloved man, General McGillivray, and the beloved man from the President of the United States, which will always keep them in the right way. I must also inform you, that your good friend, the President of the United States, sent to the King of England about Bowles, and the said King sent a beloved man to the President, who assures him, in the name of his master, that Bowles hath no assistance, countenance, or protection, from him or his nation; that Bowles is an impostor; and that he will punish any of his people who are known to harbor or countenance him in the smallest degree.

BROTHERS: I could tell you much more about this bad man Bowles; but, as he is now gone, I will not take up your time further on this head, only to advise, that if any of his white associates, or assistants, yet remain in your land, (which I am informed there are) that you will immediately drive them out of it; but if they hesitate to depart, that you will punish them yourselves, or deliver them to me: for, whilst any such vile wretches as Bowles, or his partners, are allowed to have rest in your nation, you cannot be a happy people.

Allowing strangers to come among you without proper authority, is a very dangerous thing. You may always be certain, that when you see white men come into your nation without a proper passport, they are bad men, who run away from their own country for their crimes, and that they will impose on you by telling lies, robbing you, and, if they can, make you angry with your friends, and breed disturbance in your towns, as you find Bowles hath done. I hope, therefore, you will, in time to come, not allow any white person, whatever, trader or others, to enter your towns without a proper passport, agreeable to treaty. This will save you much trouble, and keep you in peace and quiet.

The President of the United States observes with concern the delay which hath taken place in carrying into execution the treaty made with him at New York, by your beloved man General McGillivray, and a respectable number of your chiefs and warriors, in behalf of themselves and the whole Creek nation.

BROTHERS: I hope and trust you are all well acquainted with the solemn nature and consequences of treaties formed between nations, and that, therefore, all due respect will be paid to the one now mentioned, as being of more importance to you than any you ever entered into.

The motives which gave rise to this treaty, were the disturbances which frequently took place between your nation and individual States, which were often attended with very disagreeable consequences.

In order to relieve you for ever from the imposition of any of the States, or of individuals, the President of the United States hath, by this treaty, not only guaranteed to you all your lands and possessions, but bound himself and the United States to support and defend you against the attempts of any power whatever to injure you or your property.

My friends, I must request that you will have every article of the treaty made at New York carefully explained to you by the interpreters, upon which you must see how very favorable it is in all its parts to your nation, and how much it is your real interest to have it strictly complied with.

Permit me here to observe, that, in forming treaties between nations; it is not possible to suit the interest or inclination of every class of people; therefore, individual interest must in some instances give way to the general good. I am sensible there are men among us who do not like the treaty, and perhaps it is the same case with you. This, my brethren, we may expect, in business of this kind, and it is evident the formers of this treaty must have had this full in view: for, you will observe, that, in order to compensate those individuals on your side, who might be incommoded for the public good, the President, therefore, ordered valuable presents to be made to your people, which hath been done; and he hath also bound himself and his country to pay your nation one thousand five hundred dollars every year, which also hath been done, and will be continued agreeably to treaty.

This is not all; your good friend the President, ever mindful of you, and having heard of the late confusion in your nation, and fearing that, in consequence thereof, you might have neglected your hunting, and not be able to get clothing, hath sent to me a quantity of valuable goods, which I shall distribute among you as soon as we shall have settled all our business, and you are ready to return home.

The delay in executing the business of the treaty, the President attributes to the imposition and falsehood which Bowles and his party have practised on you, and not to any disinclination in your nation to do what is just and right, agreeably thereto.

You must all see the necessity there is, that you and the white people should know what is each of your own. This cannot be done until the boundary line between you and Georgia being first ascertained, and marked agreeably to the treaty of New York. To accomplish this, you will order three old men to attend, and I shall call for the three old Georgians, who, with the surveyor appointed by the United States, will proceed on the business, attended by a part of the troops now here, who are to do the work of cutting down and marking the trees, so that this line may be seen and known as the boundary line between the whites and red people, when all of us who are now here, are under ground, and for ages after we are no more.

In accomplishing this business, I must recommend that a strict attention be paid on your parts, that no misunderstanding or disturbance take place between your and our people. I will give the most pointed orders to this effect, and I hope you will not fail to do the same.

The next object of the treaty to be attended to, is the immediate delivery of all the prisoners belonging to the United States, which are in any part of the Creek nation. An immediate and unequivocal compliance with this part of the treaty is expected, and a further delay will undoubtedly lessen you in the good opinion of the President, and all the good people of the United States. You will, therefore, give me an account of all the prisoners in your nation, and, at the same time, give orders that they be safely conveyed to this place, and delivered to me, or, in my absence, to the commanding officer of the federal troops. Suitable rewards for care and tenderness to prisoners, will be made to those who bring them in.

I am to inform you, that, as soon as the boundary line is ascertained, and the treaty complied with, measures will be taken for establishing proper Indian trading houses along your frontier and ours, where you will find plentiful supplies of goods at all seasons, and on reasonable terms, and a good market for what you may have to sell, all which will be registered in such way, as to prevent your being imposed on, which, as trade now stands, you are subject to.

When the line is run, should any white person be so impudent as to trespass on your lands, you may punish them, or not, as you please, without the President being offended. This the treaty of New York secures to you, as the line



will then be known, there will be no excuse for offenders; and examples will be made of all who shall dare to transgress the law of the land, be they who they may.

From the whole of the proceedings, you will plainly discover how much your nation hath been imposed on by a set of villains, who have been persuading you that it was our intention to take a great part of your lands, even as far as the half-way house; but you now find that I ask nothing from you, but a compliance with the treaty made at New York, which hath been solemnly ratified by your nation and the United States.

The treaty has pointed out all matters so clear and distinct, that I cannot conceive that any difficulty can arise in carrying it into full and perfect effect. On the part of the President, all that the treaty stipulates hath been so far complied with; and the like good faith is now expected from your nation.

**FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:** I cannot suppose that any of you are at a loss to know how much it is for the interest of your nation, to be in close friendship with the President and the United States. You must know how much they have it in their power to befriend and assist you, beyond what any other nation or people on earth can. And I am fully empowered to assure you, that it is their wish so to do, and to live with you as friends and brothers to the end of time.

There are several of you now in this assembly, who have seen a part of the United States, (though by no means the most populous) from which you can form a judgment, and acquaint those of your friends who have not been there, how very dangerous it would be for any nation or people whatever to offend you, whilst the President of the United States is your warm friend and protector; and this will ever be the case, whilst you fulfil your engagements, and act uprightly towards him and his country. This line of conduct being observed by you, you will not have to fear from any quarter.

I shall not take up your time by detailing to you the strength and power which the United States possess; what you may be at a loss for on this head, your beloved man General McGillivray can fully inform you.

I am happy in informing you that presents will be made you from time to time, by the President, to every man in the Creek nation, who, by his decisive, active conduct, and actual service, proves himself a friend to the United States.

It is with pain that I am again under the necessity of bringing to your view, the very alarming and bad conduct of some of your people, in shedding the blood of the citizens of the United States on your western frontier. This, you must allow, is very extraordinary in a people under a solemn treaty of friendship with the nation whose people they are killing, a part of which you are now sitting with in friendship. Although the melancholy scene is distant from us, yet we feel for our brethren as we ought, and I now call on one and all of you now present, as you regard the peace and happiness of yourselves and your country, that you put an immediate stop to these unprovoked and horrid outrages of some of your bad people: for, let me tell you, my friends, unless your people are checked, and obliged to give satisfaction, that the consequences may be felt by your nation when too late for you to remedy. I must again desire that you use your influence to have all the prisoners sent to me.

There is one matter more which I have to recommend to you, and that is the practice your people have of coming into the white people's land and stealing their horses and cattle; this you know to be the case; and that several lives have been lost in consequence. Indeed, there is scarce a dispute arises but on this account. By the laws of our land it is made death for a white man to steal a horse; you must, therefore, suppose that our people will not suffer yours to commit a similar crime with impunity; it, therefore, behoves you, my friends, to put a final stop to this dangerous practice, which will redound much to your credit.

I shall now conclude my address of this day, hoping that what I have now said will be received favorably by you, and the rest of your nation; that you will think seriously upon it to night; and to-morrow I shall expect a talk from you in answer; by that time it is probable I may think of something further to acquaint you with.

ROCK LANDING, *Friday, 18th May, 1792.*

The following is a copy of a talk delivered by James Seagrove, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the kings, chiefs, and warriors, at this place:

**FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:**

I have heard with pleasure your different talks in reply to mine delivered you yesterday. It gives me singular satisfaction to find that it is your determination to put an end to the confusion which, for some time, hath pervaded your land; that you will stop the further effusion of blood by your people, deliver up the prisoners in your land, and, by every means in your power, preserve peace and good understanding between the United States and your nation; and that, as soon as the internal affairs of your towns will admit, I may expect to meet you to carry the treaty, made at New York, into full effect; all those matters are so desirable, and I cannot doubt of your sincerity, that I shall take the earliest opportunity of making them known to your good friend the President of the United States.

**BROTHERS:** Since addressing you yesterday, I received a letter from your nation, confirming the accounts several of you gave me, of the very great confusion the people of your towns were in. I find that a general meeting of your nation is called, at which your presence will be necessary. I shall, therefore, not delay you longer than to-day, whilst the presents, which I have ordered for you, are getting ready.

Before we part, I must again urge the necessity of your utmost exertions in bringing about good order in your nation, and of preserving peace and good neighborhood between you and us.

On your return to your nation, I have not a doubt but you will represent matters in a just light; that you will inform your beloved man General McGillivray, and the people of your nation, that the President of the United States recognises the said General McGillivray as your great chief and director, and, as such, will aid and support him in all his just pursuits.

As soon as the time is fixed for your great meeting, you will send me notice, and, if agreeable to you, I will attend.

My place of residence, during the summer, I intend on the river St. Mary's, where runners from your nation will find me. I shall now dismiss you, and, after wishing you all safe home, remain your real friend and brother.

*James Seagrove, Esq. to the Secretary of War.*

ST. MARY'S, *14th June, 1792.*

SIR:

Having received accounts at the Rock Landing that there were a great many hunting parties of Indians, in the settlements on the southwest frontier of this State, who were represented as being insolent to the inhabitants, and stealing their horses and cattle; dreading that bad consequences might ensue from this, I thought it would be advisable in me to investigate the business. I, therefore, set off from the Rock Landing, with an Indian and my interpreter, from thence, traversing through the woods along the banks of the Oconee and Altamaha to Beard's bluff, and from thence across to the river. In my route, of ten days, I fell in with several camps of hunting Indians, to all of whom I talked, and pointed out to them what I conceived right. I found the report of stealing horses and cattle but too just, which I did all in my power to remedy, by taking what I could find that had been stolen by the Indians, and restoring to the owners, forbidding the like in future, and advising the inhabitants not to use harsh measures on such occasions, lest they should involve their country in war. I am happy in saying that the inhabitants of this lower frontier behave with great moderation, although they are great sufferers by the daily plunders of the Indians. A stop must be put to this practice, or peace cannot be preserved.

I have, since being here, written to some of the leading chiefs of the lower towns, representing this mischief, requesting their exertions to put a stop thereto.

I think my fatiguing journey has, and will be attended with good consequences, as those parties of Indians, who were out hunting, were uninformed of what the chiefs had been doing with me at the Rock Landing; and, I think it is probable, I have prevented some of them being killed, as the settlers were getting out of all patience; but my interference hath quieted them.

Having arranged those matters as well I can for the present, I intend setting off for the Rock Landing to-morrow. By an express, I received the enclosed letter from General McGillivray, also the copy of one you will find herewith, which he wrote me. I hope that to you contains more satisfactory matter than the one to me.

By Mr. Durouzeaux's letter you will observe that the General is gone to New Orleans; a short time will unriddle his mysterious conduct. The story of the Spanish officer I do not put faith in; it can hardly be possible that the Spanish nation would interfere in such business, especially as we seem to be on good terms with them.

Since I have been here, I have, in conformity with your direction, communicated information to the Governor of St. Augustine, a copy of which you have herewith.

I do not agree with General McGillivray in opinion, that we are in danger of a war with the Creeks; I am persuaded that we are not, unless they are urged to it by those who ought not.

I shall make it my first business to ascertain the story of the Spanish officer, which you shall have without delay. Jack Kinnard is hourly expected here. I wish much to see him; but, as the chiefs, mentioned in Durouzeaux's letter, are by this at the Rock Landing, it will not do to delay. I have, however, given my brother instructions to obtain every information from him, and to forward it to me. Nothing further offering on this frontier, worthy of communication, I conclude, remaining yours.

[ENCLOSURES.]

*Alexander McGillivray to James Seagrove.*

UPPER CREEKS, *Little Tallassee*, 18th May, 1793.

DEAR SIR:

I received your letter of the 1st instant. You have, no doubt, been expecting me some time: I had been waiting, this month past, to get our lower gentry into humor of attending to national matters, and to recover from the confusion they had been thrown into by the talks of the lying Captain. After he was secured by the Spaniards, I had some hopes of their soon forgetting him and his British fleets, when, to my surprise, some Indians, from Orleans, have given and spread reports that have made matters worse than ever; and a Spanish officer has actually arrived, and tells the Indians that he has orders to prevent them from running the line, or doing any other business with the Americans, and invites them to a meeting, in September next, at Pensacola. This last stroke is too much: the Indians, at least a good many, are as mad as ever, and Bowles' partisans are again getting loud about giving away land; it is no wonder the Indians are distracted, when they are tampered with on every side; and am myself in the situation of a keeper of Bedlam, and nearly fit for an inhabitant.

Finding that the Cussetah chiefs are still at home, Randall carries a talk, desiring them, in the most pressing language, to go directly and have the line run. But, since Bowles had given hopes of British aid, a majority of the towns would agree to cede no more than the east side of Oconee, and now they are told to give none at all; and I wish that more may not be insisted on at present, to avoid disputes and its horrid consequences—a diabolical war, and in which they will be supported, and in which I will not have any hand.

I am hastening to go and get an explanation from the proper persons, and their reasons for their interference. As yet, I cannot guess at their motives; you are no stranger to their dispositions.

As I presume that you communicate with none but the honorable Secretary of War, it is almost unnecessary for me to express a wish, that no paragraph, from this letter, be copied for a newspaper.

The Indians will report these Spanish talks of themselves. Please forward, as soon as convenient, the enclosed, by a safe hand. The good people of Augusta do not scruple to intercept and break open letters to and from General Knox. One from him to me was treated so last year, of which I never complained to him.

I am, dear sir, yours, &c.

*James Durouzeaux to James Seagrove.*

COWETAS, 28th May, 1792.

SIR:

I am desired by the honorable king of this, and the Cussetah king, to acquaint you, that the two men you mentioned in your last, being killed by the Cowetas, is not so. It was done by the Cherokees—one as satisfaction for the man that was said to be killed with John Galphin, which, by sending to the Cherokees, you can be satisfied in, with their reasons for doing it. But I must acquaint you, that the Mad Dog of the Cowetas was gone out to take satisfaction for the man killed last May, before your letter arrived. I immediately sent a runner after him, (not knowing that the murder had been committed by the Cherokees) to bring back, that satisfaction was taken, and that letters were come to me in consequence of it. Since that, I have not heard if he proceeded or not, nor the runner is not returned yet. I am also to acquaint you, that the head-men of Coweta and Cussetah, have been waiting for General McGillivray coming down, to accompany them to the Rock Landing, to take you by the hand and hear your talks, and tell you theirs, and endeavor to settle all matters for the satisfaction of both parties, that we might hereafter live in peace and friendship with each other. But now, finding that he is not coming, but is gone to New Orleans, and sent to them to come down themselves with me, they are now determined to come down and see you; they would have been down long ago, but they have been confused in separate parties, by that Bowles, who had made himself a number of friends, bought with Mr. Panton's property; that they are at a loss to determine on any thing, by reason of the villains of Bowles' party. And a Spanish agent has lately arrived here from New Orleans; he is to have a meeting in the Lower towns in a few days, after which, we are to set out for the Rock Landing. In answer to your last, they have sent this to acquaint you, and let you know, that they have not, nor did not, throw away your talks; but, that the distraction that these lower towns have been in for some time past, has prevented them until now. Their crops, as well as other matters, has been the reason of our not coming sooner.

Doubtless, but General McGillivray has acquainted you with reasons of not accompanying the Indians at this treaty. The chiefs of the Cowetas and Cussetahs, are now determined, at last, to come down and take you by the hand, and smoke a pipe of tobacco in friendship, and talk over matters, if not agree in every point. For, without talking to each other, matters never will be settled. If any thing should unawaredly happen, they hope it will not prevent our treaty.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

P. S. It is supposed, some young fellows may steal horses; if they should, and be brought in these towns, they are determined to take them and bring them down with us.

*James Durouzeaux to James Seagrove.*

COWETAS, 2d June, 1792.

SIR:

I received yours of 23d May with the talk, but not having time to call a meeting, I have not explained it yet, and the Cussetah king and Hallowing king of the Cowetas being determined to come down and see you, before you left the place, I have sent my son with this, that you may be acquainted with our coming. He had set out with the letters, two days, but meeting the Bird Tail king, returned to know if they were still determined to come down or not. But they are not altered from what I mentioned in my last. We shall be out in about four or five days from this, but we shall travel slow, as the weather is very hot at present.

The Mad Dog that I mentioned, who was gone out to take satisfaction for his son that was killed last May was twelve month, is not returned, but proceeded on. He told the runner, that was sent on after him, that, what the Cherokees did, was nothing to him; that, if they had done wrong, they must answer for themselves; that he had gone out, and would not return, until he had taken satisfaction for his son. The chiefs of these towns beg you will send to the Cherokees and be acquainted with the truth of the matter.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

*James Seagrove to the Governor of East Florida.*

ST. MARY'S, IN GEORGIA, 13th June, 1792.

SIR:

I have it in command, from the President of the United States, that, on every occasion that may occur, to evince the most cordial attention to the Spanish Government and interests on the Southern frontiers of the United States, and that, should any discovery be made by me, that might appear injurious to the interests or peace of the Spanish nation, that I should, without loss of time, communicate the same to the nearest Spanish officer.

The intention of this, is to assure your Excellency, that the most implicit obedience shall be paid by me to this command, and that, on all occasions, I shall be watchful, and give early notice of any thing which may occur within the sphere of my department.

I arrived at this place, on the 8th instant, from the Rock Landing, on the river Oconee, where I held a conference with about two hundred chiefs and warriors of the Creek nation. During my communication with them, I have not discovered any inimical design in that nation, either against Spain or the United States.

I find that Bowles hath occasioned great feuds among those unfortunate people, and that his designs were eventually hostile. But, as he is now removed, (I hope never to return) I hope the nation will soon be restored to a state of tranquillity.

There are, however, several of Bowles' white associates still in the nation, endeavoring to mislead the Indians. Some of these white wretches have lately advised the savages to commit depredations on your government.

Although it may be the general wish of the Creek nation, to be in peace with you, yet there are dissolute characters among them, who listen to such advice. I, therefore, think it my duty to mention this to your Excellency, that you may be on your guard.

The principal agent of Bowles that is now in the nation, is a man of the name of Willbanks.

I shall set off from hence for the Rock Landing, on the 18th instant; should any thing of moment come to my knowledge whilst there, that is interesting to the Spanish Government, your Excellency shall know it by express. In the mean time, I shall be happy in a line from you, before my departure, with an account of Mr. Bowles's present situation and prospects, together with any other information you may see fit. My best respects await your amiable family and self. Wishing you and them all possible happiness in life,

I have the honor to be, &c.

*Translation of Governor Quesada's letter to James Seagrove, in answer to the preceding.*

ST. AUGUSTINE, June 14th, 1792.

SIR:

I received, with the highest esteem, your letter of the 10th instant, in which you were pleased to insert the President of the United States' commands to you, to furnish me with every communication that may be important to the interests or peace of the Spanish nation. To which liberal mode of acting I shall endeavor, in conformity to the precepts of my court and my own wishes, to correspond, as far as my faculties will reach.

I am clear, that, since the late war, various white men, of desperate fortunes, remained in, or continue going to, and coming from, the Indian nation, who, without a real attachment to, or perhaps being authorized by, any Power, have dedicated themselves (and continue to do so for their own private views, or for pure mischief's sake,) to work up the savages against Spaniards and Americans. It is very probable that Bowles aimed at something more, but he certainly assumed the character of principal in his projects. I have always considered him to be a mere tool of other persons. All I know at present of this adventurer is, that he was sent a prisoner from Apalacha to New Orleans, from thence to the Havana, and from that lately to Spain.

My family and I esteem, and return you, your attentive expressions. God preserve you many years. Your hands are kissed by

Your humble servant.

*James Seagrove, Esq. to the Secretary of War.*

ROCK LANDING, on Oconee, 5th July, 1792.

SIR:

Since I had the honor of addressing you from St. Mary's, on the 14th ult. I returned to this place, where I found upwards of two hundred Creek Indians waiting for me. Those people came without invitation, and altogether unexpected.

From the communications we have had together, I find the design of the chiefs who came, and the intention of those friendly chiefs whom they left behind, was to consult with me on a plan of bringing to a meeting the disaffected leaders. This they think can be effected, but not at this place, as many of them have insuperable objections to this frontier, and think we have a design on them, by asking them to a place they so much dislike. Those who are now with us, are empowered by their countrymen to request that I will meet them at the head of the river St. Mary's, as soon as the weather gets a little cool. To which place, they engage they can bring all the disaffected chiefs, and have all matters happily settled.

I have given them a conditional promise, that, if agreeable to the President of the United States, I will meet them at the head of the St. Mary's, on the first day of November next, at which time and place they think every thing can be settled to our wish. They say it is impossible for any business being done in the nation, in the present state of confusion. Those who had been with me and received my talk, have behaved remarkably well since their return home. They are now working on the disaffected, and have already changed several.

I have stipulated with those now here, that I should be allowed to meet them at St. Mary's, that not more than two or three chiefs be sent from each town, and not any of their common people; as it is very expensive maintaining

so many as they usually bring; besides, they retard business. I have used every argument with those Indians now here, to preserve peace with us; and they assure me they will do all in their power to that effect. I am happy to find from them, that there does not appear a wish in the Lower towns to be at variance with the United States. I am persuaded I shall be able to keep them quiet, by talking to them, and giving them presents occasionally; and, in my opinion, the most powerful arguments, delivered by the first orator on earth, would prove ineffectual without them: for, as I have mentioned to you in former letters, of their being accustomed thereto by the British and Spanish Governments, that ours will not be a favorite with them unless something is done for them in the same way; especially at this juncture, when every manœuvre is practising on them by the latter of those nations, to give them an unfavorable opinion of the United States, and prevent them complying with their engagements.

In my last I promised to inform you respecting the Spanish officer mentioned by General McGillivray. The result of my discoveries on this head, as well as some other matters, I have made known to the President of the United States, by this opportunity. My reason for troubling the President, in the first instance, with this information, is, that it will reach him sooner than you, as I find he is now at Mount Vernon.

Should the President approve of my meeting the Indians at St. Mary's, or not, I request you will give me as early advice thereof as possible, that I may take measures in consequence of whatever may be determined on.

If the place of meeting, and doing business, with the Indians, should be fixed at St. Mary's, I wish to have your orders for removing the goods under my directions, from hence to that place, which may be done by boating them down the Oconee, or by sending them by land to Savannah, and from thence by water. The latter conveyance will be much the safest, but most expensive.

I cannot find, from the Indians now with me, that they have a single word of recommendation from General McGillivray, as to carrying the treaty into effect, or any other desirable object. He is gone to New Orleans, and it is altogether uncertain when he will return.

I know not how far it may meet the President's and your approbation, but I judged it would be bad policy to send those Indians, that are now with me, away, without making them some presents. I find what I gave the others had a happy effect in the nation. A few thousand dollars applied in this way may save a much greater, and more disagreeable expense. I shall put them off with as little as possibly I can; their consumption of provisions is very great, but unavoidable at such times. I intend sending them off to-morrow.

The great drought which hath been all this summer in the Creek nation, and also the upper part of this country, makes a famine much dreaded. I find I shall be obliged to give those Indians corn to carry home with them, to prevent their families from starving. From what I can find, unless assistance is given by the United States in this way, many of the unfortunate people of the Creek nation must perish, as their crops of corn are nearly destroyed by the drought. Permit me to suggest, whether it would not be policy, as well as great humanity, in our Government, to send a supply of corn from the Northward, to the St. Mary's, to be given to them. It cannot be had in Georgia, at any price. Should a change of affairs make it necessary to assemble a force on this frontier, (at this time) they must be fed from some other country than Georgia.

There is an absolute necessity that the form of a licence should be provided for traders from the United States to the Creek nation; and also passes for any person going there. You will observe, the Indians complain of the run of people from our country. Peace and good order never can be kept until a restraint or stop is put to this practice.

The present mode of giving passes never will answer: for, whilst so many persons have the power of granting them, and who do not give themselves the trouble to examine who are proper objects, all good intention is frustrated. In my opinion, this ought to be vested in one person, and he be furnished with proper printed, or engraved, forms of licence and passes for him to fill up. I think an engraving, with some emblematical figures, such as would be conspicuous to the Indians, and not easily counterfeited, would be best. If they could be done so as to give the Indians a check part, for them to keep, one in each of their town-houses, it would assist very much.

I wish, as soon as you have leisure, you would form something of the kind; or, if you approve, and give me directions, I will have it done.

No application hath yet been made to me for provisions or any thing else, for the Indians going out to the Westward. I do not find that General McGillivray has ever hinted it to any of his nation, so that you need not expect any from the Creeks this year.

Enclosed you have the heads of a talk which I delivered to the Indians now here, (two hundred and thirty-one in number) also, the minutes taken of their talk to me. I now send you the Indians' answer to my talk of the 5th of May, which, in hurry, was omitted.

Finding that I do not get my health at this place, (I now write with a hot fever on me) as soon as I can arrange all matters here, I shall remove to St. Mary's, where I shall remain until further orders or business may require.

I am, &c.

*James Seagrove to the President of the United States.*

ROCK LANDING, on the River Oconee, in Georgia, }  
July 5th, 1792. }

SIR:

The information which I am about to give, appearing to me of importance to the United States, I hope will plead my excuse for thus intruding on your moments of retirement.

In my despatch of the 14th ultimo, to the Secretary of War, I promised to procure what information I could, respecting a Spanish officer, which General McGillivray mentions in his letter to me of the 18th of May, a copy of which you have herewith.

I find on inquiry of the Indian chiefs now with me, that this *Spanish officer* is the same person that I have mentioned in my former letters, as a Spanish resident or agent, who had arrived from New Orleans, and lived in a house of General McGillivray's, at Little Tallessee.

It remains no longer a doubt who this person is, and his business in the Creek nation. His name is Olivar, a Frenchman born, a Captain in the Spanish army, wears the uniform of the regiment of Louisiana, sent by the immediate order of the de Baron Carondelet, Governor of New Orleans, as an agent (or perhaps something more) to conduct affairs in the Creek nation.

It would appear by the style of General McGillivray's letter to me, that this Spanish agent had just arrived, and that he was a stranger to him or his business; this was not the case, for it is well known, and I can produce unquestionable proofs, that he had then been several months at Mr. McGillivray's own house, at little Tallessee. The general also took much pains in sending for a number of the chiefs, and introduced this Spaniard to them as their great friend; who was come to live among them, and to do great things for them. It can also be proven, that he was riding about the country with this Spaniard at the time when he had engaged to be with me.

I have not a doubt but the arrival of this Spanish agent, was in consequence of preconcerted plans between McGillivray and the Spaniards, on his visit last winter to their possessions, and that *Captain Olivar* is to be his successor in the Creek land; for you must know the general is again gone, with nearly the whole of his property, into New Orleans, and I doubt whether he returns. Certain it is, that he had engaged to attend the Spanish treaty with the Indians, at Pensacola, in September next.

As soon as Mr. McGillivray quit the nation, Captain Olivar threw off *all mask*, by calling meetings in the towns, directing what the Indians should, and should not do; he, in the most public and positive manner, forbids them parting with a foot of land to the United States; and forbids their running their boundary line between them and Georgia; and positively tells the Indians not to have any thing to do with the Americans. It is said by several persons (but I cannot vouch for the truth of it) that he has gone so far in the Upper towns, as to advise the Indians turning out against our people on the Western waters. I think this not improbable; for, about ten days past, he had the impu-

dence to come into the Lower towns and give out public talks, and advised the Indians not to come near me, and on no account to run the line. This I have from persons who were present and heard him. I am happy in being able to inform you that he met but a very cool reception in the Lower towns. The Indians who have been with me were returned home, and influenced their people so much in our favor, that he found it convenient to make a speedy retreat to Little Tallassee.

A brother-in-law of General McGillivray is now here, (a white man) of the name Charles Weatherford, who confirms what I have related of this Spanish agent; and further says, that he has, at McGillivray's house, a quantity of goods, which he distributes among the Indians. That he draws orders on Government in favor of all the Indians going to Orleans, where they receive goods and ammunition, which they bring up in boats, and that they have a constant intercourse in this way. That this agent is busy in engaging the Indians to attend the treaty at Pensacola. That it was talked of in the nation, that one object of the Spanish treaty would be, to obtain leave to erect forts and establish garrisons on the Creek lands.

Those matters seem of such moment, come so direct, and I believe unquestionably true, that I have lost no time in giving you notice thereof.

I cannot account for this interference of the Spaniards. I sometimes think that Captain Olivar cannot be supported by his Government in such doings, and that he is exceeding his instructions.

By the Secretary of War's letter to me of the 29th of April, it would appear that a good understanding existed between the United States and Spain.

In consequence of the Secretary's directions, in the despatch alluded to above, I wrote a line to the Governor of St. Augustine, in order to feel his pulse on the occasion, as well as to know from him, what they had done with Mr. Bowles; a copy of our correspondence you have herewith.

My communication to the Secretary of War of the 24th of May, together with my letter to General McGillivray, of the 21st of the same month, and talks to the Indians, I must pray your perusal of.

I find that the Spanish agent is on very friendly terms with Mr. Bowles's successor in the nation, a man of the name of Willbanks.

I cannot help expressing my fears to you, that the Spaniards are playing a double game with us, on the score of Mr. Bowles. My opinion is, that they will make him useful to their views; their very kind treatment of him since he has been among them, cannot fail to create strong suspicions in the breast of any one as well acquainted as I am with Spanish want of lenity to *actual prisoners*, especially those who have offended against their Government.

Mr. Bowles hath not been confined by them, and it is a doubt with me but what appeared a capture of him to us, was, in fact, a concerted plan with him. He is sent to Spain, but not in confinement. Why send him there? Surely the Governor of New Orleans, or the Captain General at the Havana, are possessed of powers equal to punishing or acquitting a man of Bowles' character.

I fear there is some dark and dangerous business in contemplation among those people. I fear General McGillivray is not faithful to the United States; and I have my suspicions, that, if any mischief is a brewing, he is deeply engaged in it. I never expect he will come forward as an active character *in the field*; he wants spirit, and this is the reason for placing Olivar in his stead, and of his withdrawing to the Spaniards as an asylum. Olivar is represented to me as a man of good address, who speaks the French, Spanish, and English languages equally well.

I think the reason of McGillivray's not meeting me, and his not forwarding the business of the treaty of New York, as well as his evasive conduct to all the pressing arguments made use of to him by the Secretary of War and myself, arose from preconcerted plans with his Spanish and English friends, and not from any real opposition the Indians made thereto.

Agreeably to my instructions, I have labored very hard to replace this *ungrateful man* in the confidence of his countrymen, which he has lost from his duplicity and want of resolution. I fear I shall be censured by the Indians, who are our friends, for my zeal in his behalf. I assure you that nine out of ten of them now despise him, and seldom mention his name but with disrespect.

I conceive it my duty to have Major Call, the commander of the Federal troops, and Mr. Ellicott, the surveyor, present at my communications with the Indians, in order that they might witness the situation of matters, and act accordingly.

It is truly disagreeable to me, but duty impells me to mention to you, that this once valuable officer hath resigned himself to so continual a state of intoxication with strong liquors, as to render him totally incapable of acting, or even judging, of what is proper in the line of his duty. I have already hinted this to the Secretary of War, and referred him to the officers that went from this, for further information.

Notwithstanding the untoward state the Creek nation is represented to be in by General McGillivray, I think I can venture to assure you, that I can keep them from breaking with us, if not restore them to order, and get all matters settled with them. I hope you will see the necessity of my having it in my power to supply them occasionally.

You are too well acquainted with the nature of Indians, for me to say more to you on this head, as well as the precarious situation of those people at present.

In the execution of these or any other matters you are pleased to commit to my care, I can only say, that fidelity and industry in me shall not be wanting.

I have left open my despatches to the Secretary of War for your perusal. Should any thing further offer of consequence, I shall forward it by express.

I have the honor, &c.

*James Seagrove to the President of the United States.*

ROCK LANDING, on the Oconee, in Georgia, July 27, 1792.

SIR:

I herewith send you a copy of what I had the honor of communicating to you on the 5th instant, which I sent by express to Savannah, to be forwarded from thence by Mr. Habersham, the collector; since that date, I am not so happy as to receive a line from any of the public departments, and, as the cloud in this Southern country seems to thicken, with matter interesting to you and the Union, I must again trouble you with what information I have been able to collect since the above period.

In the first place, you will find enclosed the copy of a letter which I wrote Governor Telfair, of Georgia, and also the declaration of Charles Weatherford, against a Colonel Samuel Alexander, of the militia of Greene county, in this State, which will, in some degree, convey to you the licentious, ungovernable spirit of the people on this frontier, and on how precarious a tenure we hold peace with the Indians. The refractory conduct of the frontier inhabitants of the upper part of this State is so notorious, and so apparently determined to bring on a war with the Indians, that all endeavors to preserve peace seems in vain.

My motives for sending Governor Telfair the deposition against Alexander, and writing him, as you will please observe, was, that he should not plead ignorance at a future day of the conduct of his citizens, and at the same time to see what measures he would take to check such doings.

Was it necessary, or would it answer any purpose, I could have many, very many of such testimonies taken. Scarcely a day passes, but I have fresh instances of those frontier banditti's opposition to pacific measures, and of their flying in the face of the General Government. To such lengths have matters got among them, that they now consider the troops and servants of the United States, who are placed among them, nearly as great enemies as they do the Indians, and for no other reason than that they recommend moderation, and a compliance with the laws of the land.

It is truly distressing, that a few such vile characters should bring an odium on the State of Georgia; for they are few, comparatively speaking, to the good people in the State, who are as forward as any in the Union to support

federal measures. But the misfortune is, that there is sufficient of those bad to involve the whole in great distress, which will be the case, should there be an Indian war.

Since my last to you, which was pretty full on the subject of Spanish and Indian matters, I have received many pieces of information, all tending to confirm me in the opinion, that the Spaniards are acting as much to the injury of the United States as they possibly can, and that General McGillivray hath verified my predictions of him.

From every information which I can collect from white people and Indians, there does not remain a doubt with me, but that the Spaniards will, if they possibly can, involve the United States in a war with the four Southern nations of Indians; every exertion is making by the Spaniards, and undue measures taking with the savages to stir them up against us.

The enclosed testimony on oath, of James Leonard, who appears to be a man of information, and respectable decent manners, will explain and open to you new matter of perfidy in Spain, as well as base conduct in General McGillivray. Mr. Leonard is a stranger to me, and in this country. His appearance is much in his favor—he is a modest man, of few words, and seems actuated in this information by no other motive but to serve the United States. He is a citizen of Massachusetts, and lived at Beverly.

Mr. Leonard's testimony being corroborated to me by a variety of accounts and circumstances within my own knowledge, I am the more readily led to place confidence in it. He is now with me, and I have taken much pains in cross-examining and sounding him on this information, but cannot find him defective or any room for suspicion as to his veracity.

That General McGillivray has all along been acting a traitor's part by the United States, I have long suspected and hinted to you. To him, alone, are the United States to charge all the delays, and confusions, and irregularities, which have taken place between them and the Creek nation. He it is, who hath impeded and prevented business being done with them. It is to him that Bowles owes his consequence: for certain it is, that he was weak and wicked enough to believe (for several months after Bowles's arrival in the nation) that he came under authority from the British Government, and, therefore, understandingly favored him. Bowles had address enough to impose this belief on McGillivray's director, Mr. Panton, and they carried on the deception, with a view, in the end, to injure Spain, as well as this country, and to re-establish the English with the Creeks. This I have from one of McGillivray's own family, who was let into the secret.

McGillivray is now gone, and I hope, most sincerely, never will return to the nation: for, so long as he has any thing to say in their councils, the United States never will succeed with the Indians. He is an enemy, in his heart, to our country and its measures; and is now so totally under the influence and direction of Spain and Panton, that he cannot, or dare not, serve the United States, if he was so inclined. Upon the whole, I think it fortunate that he has thrown off the mask, and taken himself out of the nation. His name will soon be despised by the Indians, provided the agents of America are allowed to speak freely to them. I can with confidence and truth say, that had not McGillivray been in the way, I should, ere this, have had all matters agreeably situated between the United States and the Creeks. He has been a heavy clog on my endeavors: for, instead of opposing him in his perfidious acts, I was using every argument to reinstate him with his country, who had penetration to see that he was acting a double part, and therefore they despised him. I view and consider him as of very little consequence to the United States; there are men in the Creek nation who may be made much more useful, and of greater influence than ever he was.

Should it be found that the Spaniards are acting as has been represented, and that you see fit to combat them in their own way, that is, make use of the Indians, I will engage to turn the tables completely on them: for you may rely, that the Indians are disposed to be our friends, notwithstanding the underhand, unwarrantable doings of McGillivray and the Spaniards. The Spaniards, it is well known, they dislike, and would sooner join any nation than them. So that, if I am allowed to speak plainly to the leading characters, and have it in my power to make them presents, I think I can not only prevent them acting against us, but secure them to act as circumstances may require. I have already taken measures to have two or three trusty fellows at the treaty at Pensacola, from whom I shall hear what is done there. To-morrow I shall set off for the head of St. Mary's, where I expect to meet *Knard*, the principal active man in the Lower towns, with some other chiefs, to give them their lesson before they go to Pensacola. Allow me to mention the naked, defenceless state of the Southwestern frontier—not more than fifteen men there, and those without even a sergeant to direct them. I have applied to Major Call, to send one of the companies, now here, to go to the head of St. Mary's, but he does not find himself at liberty. In my opinion, a respectable force on that frontier is necessary at this time.

Enclosed, I send you an anonymous letter, which came enclosed to me from the Creek nation—it is directed to the printer in Savannah. The writer of it I do not know, but it contains the received opinion and belief of all the white people in the nation; and many matters stated in it are absolutely true.

The situation of affairs in this quarter seems so very interesting, that I do not think it prudent to delay giving you information; and as the conveyances to me are uncertain, and the danger of despatches falling into improper hands, I have sent the bearer, James Jordan, a very trusty young man, who lives with me, and to whom you may commit the care of any commands you may have to me. He has orders to wait your time for that purpose. I have sent, also, a letter I received from Timothy Barnard; it may afford you some information, as Barnard is a man to be depended on. I have left my letter to the Secretary of War open for your perusal.

I shall continue my endeavors to discover what is going forward in the nation, as well as among the Spaniards, and convey you notice. In hope of soon hearing from you with further power and instructions,

I remain, your most obedient, most devoted,  
And very humble servant,

J. S. SEAGROVE.

The President of the United States.

*James Seagrove to the Governor of Georgia.*

ROCK LANDING, on the Oconee, in Georgia, July 18th, 1792.

SIR:

I did myself the honor of writing you yesterday, and enclosed you the British minister's disavowal, on the part of his court, of Mr. Bowles or his projects.

I now send, for your private inspection, the declaration, on oath, of Charles Weatherford, relative to the conduct of a Colonel Samuel Alexander, who lives in Greene county, in this State.

From what I can understand, this Colonel Alexander came to this place with intentions to create fears in the minds of the Indians, and others, so as to put a stop to any attempts to ascertain the boundary line. There being at that time, (5th instant) near three hundred Indians with me on business, it is supposed the good people in the upper part of this State were alarmed, lest the line should be run, or any thing done to keep them in peace; for it appears by Mr. Alexander's declaration, that there are many there of his sentiments.

Colonel Alexander came to the fort at this place, on the 5th instant, and desired to see me. I being then at dinner with the Indian chiefs, I thought he would not be an agreeable visitor to those people, whose relations and friends he had murdered in cool blood, and who was the principal cause (as your Excellency well knows) of involving the country in a long, bloody, and expensive war with the Creek Indians; from these motives, as well as my own dislike to all such men and their measures, I did not think it fit or right to see him; but sent him word by the sergeant on duty, that, if he had any business with me, it must be made known by writing.

Upon this, Mr. Alexander went about this place, expressing himself to almost every person he talked with, much in the same style as he did to Weatherford.

I need not point out to your Excellency the bad consequences of such declarations being known by the Indians; and doubtless pains are taken, by such men as Alexander, that they shall be known.



If such men are allowed thus to act with impunity, it is in vain that governments go to heavy expenses and much trouble, in order to preserve peace with the Indian tribes, when such men are determined it shall not be. And unfortunately, those pests to government and society, have it in their power (any day) to involve us in a diabolical war, to answer their own wicked purposes. This, I fear, will be the case ere long. Sorry am I to say that the temper and conduct of many of the settlers in the upper parts of this State, strongly justify this opinion. I fear that your Excellency's as well as the General Government's wise and humane measures, to keep this country in peace with the savages, will prove ineffectual, unless a check can be given to the licentious spirit of some, who call themselves citizens of Georgia.

The principal business of those Indians who have lately been with me, was to consult on measures for reclaiming the disaffected chiefs that are in the nation, to our Government; to fix on a time and place when the chiefs should meet me to arrange all matters; and to request that they should not be asked to meet on this frontier, giving as reason for this, that many of their chiefs disliked this frontier and its inhabitants, and that they had reason to think it was the same on the part of the white people; that they always found them cross to Indians, and charged them with stealing horses, &c. when they did it themselves, and sold them to the red people. They, therefore, thought there was danger in being here, and requested I would meet them to the southward, so soon as the weather grows a little cool. I gave them a conditional promise that I would meet them on the first of November, at the head of St. Mary's, provided the President of the United States approved.

I am happy in informing your Excellency, that those chiefs lately here, renewed and confirmed the assurances given me by those who were with me in May last, of their determination to do all in their power to preserve peace with this country; to collect and bring in to me, (for the owners) all property stolen since the treaty of New York. To prevent their people from stealing from the whites; to take up all white persons coming into the nation without passports agreeable to law, with any kind of property, and bring the whole to me. This last step, I hope, will give a check to the shameful practice now in great vogue among our white villains, of stealing horses, cattle, and negroes; carrying them into the Indian nation, and there exchanging or selling them. This is no speculative opinion; I know it to be an absolute fact.

I had four horses taken from me at this place by a man of the name of Harvey, a captain of militia, who went to an Indian (then in this camp) and offered to exchange on the south side of this river, my four large horses for four Indian jackies. The Indian informed me of this, and pointed out Harvey, who was taken up and confined in the guard house some days. The dread of his being punished, it is supposed, induced his accomplices to turn the horses loose, so as they were found, but much abused. This I have taken the liberty of mentioning, as one instance, amongst many, which have come to my knowledge.

From every appearance at present, I think the people of Georgia have no cause to be alarmed that the Creek Indians will disturb them this summer, at least.

I shall use every exertion in my power to keep them on good terms with us, and, if my labors are not counteracted by bad white people in this country, I have not a doubt of preserving peace.

The Indians who were lately here, behaved remarkably well, and went home, to all appearance, perfectly satisfied, and with dispositions to serve us.

I hope your Excellency will excuse the freedom I have taken, in thus communicating. I should not have given you this trouble, but that I believed it right that you should be acquainted with the dispositions of some of the people of this upper country.

I have the honor, &c.

*The following information delivered by Charles Weatherford to James Seagrove, Agent of Indian Affairs, at the Rock Landing, on the Oconee, the 10th day of July, 1792.*

That, on the 6th day of this instant, this deponent fell in company with Colonel Samuel Alexander, of Greene county, who made inquiry when the boundary line between the Creeks and the State of Georgia was to be run, and how it was to be run? Upon which, this deponent answered, that he knew nothing about the business. Said Alexander then made answer, "We are determined it shall not be run, unless the first articles of the treaty shall be complied with beforehand, as he had no idea of beginning at the tail of the business; that they (meaning the people of the upper counties of Georgia) could, in seven days, raise one thousand men, who would, by force, prevent its being run, and break up the whole business." He continued to denounce threats against all who should attempt to run the said line, unless agreeable to the wish of himself and friends, as described above.

This deponent intimated, that this conduct would be opposing the United States, as well as the Indians. His reply was, "he did not care, he and his friends were determined it should be so." Alexander also desired this deponent to acquaint the Indian agent with what he had told him, and said, "that this was the business which brought him to this place; but as he could not have a personal interview with said agent, he wished his and his friends' determination should be known."

CHAS. WEATHERFORD.

WASHINGTON COUNTY, }  
State of Georgia, } ss.

Personally appeared before me, the above mentioned Charles Weatherford, who, being duly sworn, declares the whole of the preceding testimony to be just and true.

JNO. M'KINZIE, J. P.

ROCK LANDING, on the Oconee, 10th July, 1792

I do certify the whole of the preceding to be exact copies from the original in my possession.

JAS. SEAGROVE, Agent of Indian Affairs.

*The following information delivered on oath, by James Leonard, a citizen of the United States, to James Seagrove, Agent of Indian Affairs, Southern Department.—Rock Landing, on the Oconee, in Georgia, 24th July, 1792.*

That this deponent, James Leonard, came to the province of Louisiana, March third, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, on mercantile business, by way of fort Pitt, and down the Ohio to the Mississippi, and to New Orleans; that he lived in said city of New Orleans about seven months, during which time, he had an opportunity of conversing with the Governor, and almost all other ranks of people in that city; that he could discover that the French and English people who are settled in that province, are, to a man, ripe for revolt against the Spanish Government, and daily wished for the Americans to come and relieve them from the oppressive government which they were under.

That, in September of the same year, he got permission from Governor Miro to remain in either East or West Florida for six months longer, to transact his business, during which time, this deponent removed from Orleans to the river Tensa, a Spanish settlement and post, distant from the town of Mobile about fifty miles, where he remained until June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, in which month, all persons residing in that country, who had not taken the oath of fidelity to Spain, were called on to do it, and they were sworn, amongst other things, to fight for the King of Spain when called on, from the sea to the head waters of the Alabama. That the deponent refused to take the said oath, upon which he was ordered out of the country in three days, stripped of all the property he had there, even to his horse, saddle, and bridle, which hath obliged him to travel from Tensa on foot to this frontier, which is computed about four hundred miles. That Governor O'Neal, of Pensacola, had issued orders that this deponent should not be permitted to go to the United States, but that he should be sent to the West Indies. At



the same time, orders were given to all the commandants on that coast, and to Don Pedro Oliver, commandant of the Creek nation, not to let any person pass to the United States, but such as were in fidelity with Spain, and who could make it appear they were going for the purpose of getting property due them in the United States. That orders were given by Governor O'Neal to the said commandant in the Creek nation, (which orders this deponent heard publicly read, at the Spanish post on Tensa) that, should any person attempt to go through the said Indian nation, contrary to orders, he should send the Indians after them, and if found, to strip and kill them.

That, when this deponent came to the Creek nation, about the 20th ultimo, on his way to this place, he found that Captain Oliver had, by talks, been preparing the Indians to meet at Pensacola in August next, to treat with the Governor General from New Orleans. That he heard the Spanish commandant (Deyveral) of Tensa, speak of three things to be demanded of the Indians at the ensuing treaty, viz. "That the Spaniards shall have leave to repair the old French fort in the fork between the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers, and to place a garrison of Spanish troops there; that the whole trade of the Creek nation must be carried on by the Spaniards; that, in order to do this, and all manner of public business among the Indians, three Spanish agents shall reside in the nation, of which three, General McGillivray shall be one, and in chief."

That, some time in the month of May last, Mr. Panton, of Pensacola, a partner in the house of Panton, Leslie and Co. went from the Creek nation, with General McGillivray in company, to the Cherokee nation. This information this deponent had from the said General when he saw him at Tensa. What Panton and McGillivray's talks were to the Cherokees, this deponent only knows by information from a half-breed of that nation, which was, "that the said house of Panton and Co. at Pensacola, would lower the price of goods to them; and that the Spanish Government would give them very great presents if they would come to Pensacola; on which invitation, he has reason to believe, several will go, as this deponent met (on his way here) four half-breeds of that country, and two white traders going to Pensacola, with about forty pack-horses, which seemed all well loaded."

That, on Panton and McGillivray's return to the Creek nation, from the Cherokees, McGillivray took his leave of Don Pedro Oliver, the Spanish commandant in the nation, who he left in full possession of his house at Little Tallassee, and committed the care of his fruit trees to said commandant; the said General not having any other property there. McGillivray then proceeded to Tensa, where this deponent met him; thence, to Mobile, where he took passage in the King's schooner for New Orleans. That this deponent understood that General McGillivray was positively to attend the treaty at Pensacola, with the Governor of Orleans.

That this deponent left Tensa the tenth of last month, or thereabouts; that, after McGillivray left the nation, Panton staid there until some time in the beginning of the present month, and returned to Pensacola by the way of St. Marks. Panton's talks in the nation were to the following purpose, viz. That he had orders from the Spanish Government to tell them that they must not, on any account, run the boundary line between them and Georgia; and not to have any trade or connexion with the Americans. That the Spanish Government would protect them and their lands, against any encroachments of the Americans; that the King of Spain had sent a great many soldiers into West Florida, for that purpose; and that, also, there was at Pensacola for them, arms and ammunition, with other presents, if they would only go and accept of them. That Panton and Oliver told the Indians that the Americans were poor, and could not give them any Indian goods, such as axes, blankets, hoes, strouds, &c.; that none of these things were made in that country; that the Americans were forced to get those goods from England for their own use. Panton further told them, that they must rob any of the American traders who might come among them, or that they should meet; giving the Indians to understand, that the Spanish subjects only were allowed to trade with them.

That a party of Shawanese Indians, who were of the hostile tribes to the northward, had come down to Orleans, and were sent from thence to Pensacola, where they were received by Governor O'Neal, who gave them presents, and sent them into the Creek nation with the Spanish King's interpreter. Those Indians declared they would be at war with the American States, as long as any of them should live; that this declaration, alone, seemed to make them acceptable to the Spaniards. They are now in what is called the Savannah's town, who are a part of the Shawanese that settled with the Creeks some years past.

That this deponent had frequent opportunities of conversing with General McGillivray, from some time in November to the 25th January last; that he often heard said McGillivray regret, that he, the said McGillivray, ever had formed any connexion with the United States, and has actually forbid this deponent, and many others, giving him the title of General; and that, whenever he went to any of the Spanish places, he forbid his being called General, conceiving it an injury to him with the Spaniards. That, some time in January last, the said McGillivray had all his negroes, and other property, taken from the Creek nation to the mouth of Little river, within fourteen miles of the Spanish commandant's house at Tensa, and within the Spanish Government, where they now chiefly remain.

That, last spring, the said McGillivray was about to burn his new house at Tallassee, but was prevented by Spanish commandant Captain Oliver, who told him he should not, as he, the commandant, should want it.

That this deponent often saw Indians come to McGillivray and tell him, that Indians of other towns had stole horses, and were troublesome to the frontiers, from which conduct they were afraid that the Americans would come and burn their towns; but that McGillivray told the Indians, that they had nothing to fear from any such misconduct; that they need only say that the white people were saucy to them, and he would free them, as he had assurance from General Washington, and General Knox, that the killing of a few people, and stealing of horses, even to the number of forty or fifty of either, from Georgia, would not cause them to send any force against them. This was the talks of Joseph Cornell, also, to the Indians.

That, during the whole time of this deponent's being acquainted with General Alexander McGillivray, there subsisted a perfect good understanding and friendly intercourse between them, so that this deponent hath not been influenced in the preceding declaration, from prejudice, malice, or resentment, against the said McGillivray; but merely from motives of justice, and the regard he has for the United States, hath induced him thus to come forward, of his own free act, and declare to the Indian agent, transactions which he conceives highly injurious to the peace and happiness of the said States.

That it is the opinion of this deponent, from what he has seen, and came to his knowledge in the Spanish country, that the Spaniards are doing every thing in their power to engage the Indians in a war with the United States; not only the Creeks, but the other three nations, viz. the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees.

That the Spanish talks seemed to have great weight on the minds of the Indians who live on the rivers of Coosa, Talapoosa, and Alabama; and that there was a very conspicuous inveteracy in the Spaniards, inhabiting the Floridas, as well soldiers as citizens, against every person whom they believed to be friends to the United States.

That this deponent received undoubted accounts, before his quitting Tensa, that five Spanish regiments, said to contain between five and six hundred men each, had actually arrived as a reinforcement to the posts on the Mississippi, since the beginning of May last; and that as many more regiments were expected from the Havana to that country. That very large quantities of artillery and stores had also arrived to the posts on said river.

That there are many other matters of like tendency which is within the knowledge of this deponent, which will be communicated in future; at present, he concludes this narrative.

JAMES LEONARD.

WASHINGTON COUNTY, *State of Georgia*:

Personally appeared before me, the subscribing deponent to the preceding testimony, by him delivered to the agent of Indian affairs, containing six pages, who, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, declares the whole of the contents of the said preceding six pages to be just and true, to the best of his knowledge and belief, as by him stated.

Rock Landing, on the Oconee river, in the State of Georgia, this twenty-sixth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two.

JAMES LEONARD.

SAMUEL BECKCOM, *J. P.*

*An anonymous letter to the printer of the Savannah Gazette, This letter was sent under cover to James Seagrove, Esq. who opened it at the Rock Landing, the 25th July, 1792.*

CREEK NATION, June 29, 1792.

MR. PRINTER: Please to insert the enclosed intelligence, and I make no doubt you will oblige a number of friends to justice. It may be depended upon as perfectly the truth, which you will find, if you have an opportunity of conversing with any intelligent person, who was in the Indian country for this month past; and it is no more than what ought to be made public, and all underhanded doings.

Yours, &c.

A FRIEND TO JUSTICE.

We have received the following intelligence from the Creek nation, which may be depended upon: Mr. Panton has lately made a tour through the Upper Creeks to the Cherokees, and returned through the Lower Creeks to St. Mark's. He encouraged the Indians every where to oppose the Americans, and not give up their land; he particularly told the Creeks not to run the line. To back Mr. Panton, a Spanish officer has been sent into the Creeks; his talks are to the following purport, viz: Not to give up an inch of land nor run the line, and they should be protected in it; and that there was a large quantity of arms, ammunition, &c. for them at Pensacola, which he invited them to come and receive. He also told them, that, if any blood was spilled to let him know, and he would write to the King of Spain, who had soldiers enough, not far off, to assist them. He further told them, that they had frequently heard that McGillivray had sold their lands, but that he always denied it, and said it was the chiefs themselves; that now he had come into the nation and found it was McGillivray, and had wrote back so; and that, in consequence thereof, he was sent for to New Orleans to answer for his conduct. In short, his talks were encouraging the Indians to commit hostilities against the Americans, (in the Cussetahs excepted) assuring them of assistance from Spain. Talks to the same effect have been sent to the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, but we are happy to hear that neither his nor Panton's talks will be taken by the Chickasaws nor Lower Creeks, but treated with the contempt they deserve. Some of the Upper Creeks, we understand, approve of them. By persons from Pensacola we find the arms they are to receive are trading guns, of English manufacture, and must, of course, come through Panton & Co. Some Indian factors, who were lately at Panton's store, at St. Mark's, were told to tell the Indians to plunder all the American traders and send them back. The Spanish plan, we have strong reasons to believe, is to get the four nations to join them in opposing the Americans, who, we hear from undoubted authority, are preparing to attack their posts and settlements on the Mississippi. We sincerely hope they will improve this hint. It is also confidently asserted by persons from Pensacola, that the Spaniards are sending cannon, &c. from Pensacola up the river Mississippi, and Captain John Lindon is raising horsemen on Tennisaw to act against the American States, at ten dollars per month, and find their own horses. Panton's plan is easy seen into; it is no more than what he has been pursuing several years past. Bowles, we are told, is gone to the court of Spain, to negotiate some business relative to a free port; he is allowed four dollars per day during his embassy; he is treated with every mark of distinction, and not a prisoner, as has been industriously insinuated by Panton and his myrmidons.

*Timothy Barnard to James Seagrove.*

FLINT RIVER, July 13, 1792.

DEAR SIR:

I was honored yesterday with your letter by the Uchee king, and am exceedingly sorry that it is out of my power to comply with your request with respect to coming down immediately to the Rock Landing, as nothing should have hindered me at this time but so insurmountable an accident as, about ten days ago, the distemper got amongst my horses, and I have lost nineteen head, the chief of them the best I had. I had but three valuable riding horses that I kept purposely for my own riding, which are all three dead. I have not more than six or seven pack horses left, and they have, but about ten days ago, come from Beard's Bluff loaded with salt, and are none of them able to go twenty miles; therefore, I am sorry to be under the necessity of informing you that I have not a horse in the world that would carry me in ten days to where you are, at the Rock Landing. Had it not been for the misfortune of losing my horses, I could have furnished you with an excellent one for Mrs. Seagrove, and one for yourself to ride home upon, which I could have come down to you immediately with. If I can procure a horse that I think will suit a lady to ride, against I come down to St. Mary's, which will be in about two months from this, I will bring one down to you there. I am informed by the Uchee king that you mean to have your next meeting at your brother's store, on St. Mary's, which I think will answer a very good purpose, as it will be the means of getting the Chehawuseche and Kithaetta people down there, and perhaps the means of settling matters with them, which there is a great necessity for at this time, as that villain Bowles has put such notions in their heads that the devil seems to be in them ever since. The Cussetah king has been here with me these five days past, and went off for the town yesterday, just before I received your letter. The chief of his business was, to inquire of me what I thought of the present situation of affairs in the nation, as they found what I had told them respecting Bowles had turned out nearly as I had told them. He wished to know a little about the grounds of what this Spanish officer meant by the talks he had given them, which was, in the first place, not to run the line, but to come down to a meeting at Pensacola and Mobile, where the Spaniards, this officer told them, would call the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Creeks, and give them all one talk, and, when they had all agreed to one talk, that they should all be furnished with arms and ammunition, and all other implements of war in their land; and then, they were to lay still, till they found that the subjects encroached on their lands, and, if they did, for them to defend their rights, and that they, the Spaniards, would be at their backs. This, I told the Cussetah king, he might easily see into, as I had lately heard that there were some disputes on the Mississippi, between the Spaniards and Americans, about the land; that the Spaniards were afraid of the Americans, and that they wanted to get the Indians to fight the Americans first, to save themselves, and get the Indians all destroyed, and then think it will be time enough for them to begin. I told him many other things that I thought would take with him, which he seemed to take great notice of. He says, that as matters cannot be settled till towards the fall, with the State of Georgia, they have agreed to go and hear the Spaniards' talk, and if they have any thing to give them they will take it; but that they are determined not to take any talks to do any mischief to their friends, the Americans; and if you call a meeting in the fall they will attend to it, and hopes by that time matters will be settled agreeable to both parties. The Cussetah king says, that, if it should be so that any of the other parts of the nation should stand out and make a war with the United States, that they will single themselves off from those that want war, and let them abide by the consequences of it. The part of the nation that has taken Bowles' part has come into a resolution not one of them to go down to the Spaniards' talk, as they are, I imagine, afraid of being taken to task about robbing Mr. Panton's stores, which I think will be nothing against our country, that they do not go. The busk is now near on hand; if any thing particular should transpire at that time, I shall do my endeavor to give you the earliest information. The Cussetah king informs me that they have, a few days ago, on a meeting of several of the towns, come to a resolution to take all the horses that may be stolen from the frontiers of Georgia, and send them immediately back, and if those that bring them in make any hesitation about delivering them up, to beat them severely. This I now write you, goes by one Captain Harrison, that lives at Carr's Bluff, who arrived here yesterday in quest of six head of valuable horses, stolen from him by the Uchees. The Cussetah king and Uchee king both have promised him very faithfully to send the horses out to me, that I may send them down to him early in the Spring. The same Captain Harrison had a horse stolen and a cow killed, and other property robbed from him by the Uchees, to the amount of six pounds. Captain Harrison followed them and got his horse, after having a skirmish with them, as they fought, and were unwilling to give up the horse. As they were so rusty, and would not give up the horse willingly, he took back three of their guns, as he did not get any of the rest of his things. After

they came home, they gathered a gang and was going back by my house to do mischief on the settlements; I therefore thought proper to persuade some of them back, which I effected, and gave them a letter to Captain Harrison, and informed him with what I had done, and mentioned as you were now about bringing on a treaty with the Indians, at the Rock Landing, that I made no doubt but that you would, if he gave up the guns, make him satisfaction for his losses, as you would not wish any irruption with the Indians at this time. Captain Harrison, on seeing my letter, readily complied, and gave up their guns, and they returned back in peace. All this happened while you was in the height of your business at the Rock Landing. Now, sir, as I did this with a view that nothing might interrupt your business, I shall take it kind in you to make Captain Harrison retaliation for his losses, as I promised him that you would do it. He has promised to take or send this letter up to you. I shall endeavor to be at your treaty at St. Mary's, if possible I can in the Fall, and should be glad to hear from you by the first opportunity. Nothing more, but wish you health, and remain, yours, &c.

TIMOTHY BARNARD.

*Extract of a letter from James Seagrove to the Secretary of War.*

ROCK LANDING, on the Oconee, 27th July, 1792.

The quantity of provisions and liquors may seem great, but no person, who is not an eye witness to the enormous eating of Indians, can have an idea of it. I made an attempt to weigh out their allowance of a pound of beef per man each day, but found it would not do; they got out of all temper with that mode, and threatened to leave me if I would not give them their *bellies full*. Upon reflecting on the situation of affairs, I thought it would be bad policy to fall out with those people, and let them go home discontented on that account. I have been obliged to give way to their craving dispositions, on account of our critical situation at this juncture. Should we ever be so happy as to see the Creeks restored to order, I should treat them in a very different style. What I have bestowed on those who have been with me, and the indulgent, kind treatment they have met with, is now working powerfully in our favor in the nation. Good treatment and administering to their wants, (as sparingly as we possibly can) will be the only way to make them our friends, and keep them so: for, let me assure you, there is no middle road with those people. So soon as the United States decline purchasing their friendship as above, I would recommend by all means that they have a force ready to oppose them in the field. I hope you will excuse my giving an opinion on a matter of so much importance, and when unasked. But, as I have been honored with the confidence of the directors of the affairs of our country, I should conceive myself unworthy of the trust reposed, if I withheld either information or opinion, that I thought useful to the United States.

For me to point out, or dwell on the ruinous consequences of a war with the Creeks to the State of Georgia, and the burthen it would be to the Union, would be altogether useless to you. Your experience in those matters will fully point it out. Situated as the United States are at present with the Western tribes, I should think it advisable to keep those Southern nations in friendship, even at a considerable expense, until matters can be brought to some favorable conclusion with those we are now at war with. I am of opinion that, before the Creeks become *good subjects*, they must undergo a severe correction: for they have been spoiled by the British, Spaniards, McGillivray, and others, and the United States are, unavoidably, adding thereto. But, of all evils, choose the least. I think I can venture to assure you, that, if I am supported with goods and provisions to give them, and allowed to act freely with them in gaining their friendship, that, notwithstanding every thing to the contrary, I will be able to keep the Creeks in peace with us, if not make them very useful. Hitherto, you well know, I have not been able to act as my judgment pointed out. McGillivray stood in the way of all our measures. His removal from the nation, I think a fortunate event for the United States. I think it probable he may be advised by the Spaniards, and others, to continue to deceive the United States.

The Indians are very quiet, at present, in this quarter; and, if the villains on this upper frontier will let them alone, they will continue so.

I remain, with much respect, your most obedient humble servant.

*Copy of a letter of James Seagrove to the Secretary of War.*

SAVANNAH, IN GEORGIA, August 4th, 1792:

SIR:

I am thus far on my way for St. Mary's. I have just seen a gentleman from St. Augustine, who informs me that a reinforcement of seven hundred troops, and a large supply of artillery and stores, had just arrived at that place from the Havana: also, cash to pay off all the debts of Government, to their troops as well as individuals. This they have done in both the Floridas and Louisiana. So soon as I reach St. Mary's, I shall have it in my power to give you better information of what is going forward in East Florida. I have not heard of any change in Indian matters, since my last.

This will be handed you by James Leonard, the person whose deposition I forwarded to the President on the 27th ultimo.

Supposing that it would be satisfactory to see and examine him, on a piece of information so important, I have advised Mr. Leonard waiting on you for that purpose; which he engages to do without delay, and before he communicates with any person.

It appears that Mr. Leonard hath been a great sufferer whilst in the Floridas; that his attachment to the United States is good; and is very desirous of being useful to them in any way in his power.

You will find Mr. Leonard (though in a mean garment at present) a well-informed, intelligent man. I hope you will be able to give him some employ. I think he may be useful. I have assisted him in getting forward, as he was destitute of cash.

I remain, &c.

*James Seagrove, Esquire, to the Secretary of War.*

ST. MARY'S, 8th September, 1792.

SIR:

Since I had the honor of writing you from Savannah, under date of the 4th ultimo, I have not been favored with any of your commands. I am happy in informing, that no unfavorable change hath taken place in Indian affairs, notwithstanding the unremitting endeavors of the Spanish agents to prejudice them against us. Scarce a day passes, but I have additional proofs of the base conduct of the Spanish agents in the Creek nation. They, unquestionably, are using every means to induce the four Southern nations of Indians to take up the hatchet against the United States. Every undue, unjust, and villanous means are using by them, to bring these unfortunate people to act to their diabolical purposes. What the Spaniards can promise themselves by such conduct, I cannot discover: With all their promises, presents, and threats, added to the exertions of McGillivray and Panton, &c., I am hopeful they will not be able to prevail on the Creeks to join them, or even to attend the treaty at Pensacola this month.

I am using every argument with them to prevent their going; but the promise of receiving large presents, will carry some there.

Mr. Olivar, the successor of McGillivray, hath lately been in the Lower towns, inviting them to Pensacola to receive arms and ammunition from the Spaniards, and talks in the most insulting terms of the United States.

I am in hopes of momentarily receiving pointed instructions from the President on those affairs; the time is critical; as little delay as possible should be used. Should the savages once be induced to take up arms against us, it will not be easy to quell them. I have sent for Mr. Kinnard, whom I expect hourly. I have thoughts of placing him at the head of the Lower Creeks; but I shall do nothing until I hear from the President. I have advice of several of the chiefs being on their way from the nation to me on public business, the purport of which you shall know, if of consequence.

In my last I mentioned the arrival of 700 troops, as a reinforcement at Augustine. I find the number is not so great, not being more than 200; all the other information is just. I have direct information every week from thence; I do not find that any additional works are erecting; the Government, however, are grown very strict, as to who they admit among them, and absolutely deny their subjects any intercourse with the Americans or French; their vessels have been embargoed for some weeks, but that may arise from the approaching equinox.

In my opinion, remonstrance ought to be made to the court of Spain, against the House of Panton, Leslie & Co. British merchants, residing in Florida. Panton (it can be proven) openly invited the Creeks and Cherokees to Pensacola, to receive arms and ammunition to use against the Americans, and said he was authorized so to do by the Spanish Government, and that, if they entered into a war with us, the Spaniards stood ready with troops to assist them. He also advised the Indians to plunder and kill every American trader they found in the nation; declaring to them, that no one had any right or authority to be among them as traders, but such as Spain approved. I hope some notice will be taken of those men, who have, and still continue to be a principal cause in keeping up the troubles among the four Southern tribes. I think (if the Spanish court are pushed on this business) they will readily sacrifice Panton & Co., especially as they owe that concern nearly two hundred thousand dollars, for Indian supplies. I have already stated to the President the situation of that house, and the motives which actuate them.

Permit me to mention to you, the naked state of this frontier; not more than twenty soldiers, without an officer, compose our force. If St. Mary's is approved of, as the place to communicate with Indians, I would advise a respectable force to be kept at the head of this river, and some good works erected; the situation is commanding, should we be involved in a war with the Indians, and will be a great check to Spanish insolence. In hopes of soon hearing from you, I remain, with the utmost respect,

Your most obedient, &c.

*Copy of a letter of James Seagrove to the Secretary of War.*

ST. MARY'S, September 13, 1792.

SIR:

Since writing you on the 8th instant, I have had a talk with the *White King*, of the great Eufath towns, and several others, who were sent down by their countrymen to consult with me, respecting the talks of the Spanish agents in the nation, which distracts them very much. From what has been said to them here, and the attention shewn them, those chiefs set off for home yesterday, and have engaged to prevent any of their people receiving Spanish talks, or doing any thing against the interest of the United States.

I am happy in telling you that the Lower towns, who were in favor of Bowles, are coming round to our interest very fast. Kinnard is very active indeed; he publicly opposes his people having any thing to do with the Spaniards.

It will be of the utmost consequence, my receiving immediate orders respecting those Spanish proceedings. I believe I can make them repent their interference. I have not time to add, as the boat which takes this to Savannah is on the point of departing.

I remain, &c.

*James Seagrove, Esq. to the Secretary of War.*

ST. MARY'S, 17th October, 1792.

SIR:

By the arrival of Mr. Jordan (express) at this place, on the 1st instant, I am honored with your despatch of the 30th August last, also a copy of yours of the 11th same month, by Major Gaither, the original of which I have not received, owing to that gentleman's going from Savannah to the Rock Landing. Every part of your instructions shall receive the utmost attention in my power to give, and I hope my endeavors will be such as to answer your wishes. It is pleasing to me to find that the President of the United States and yourself approve of my services hitherto; this alone is sufficient to encourage my going on in the arduous business I have undertaken, and which, in a very great degree, now induces me to consent to that very unpleasant part of your instructions, of residing in the Creek nation a proportion of the year, say one-half. The places for deputies and myself, I intend fixing with the chiefs at our next meeting; as yet, I cannot recommend proper persons for deputies; their appointments are of consequence, and none but approved characters ought to fill those places; attention must also be had to men whom the Indians like.

Since my last respects of the 8th September, I have had frequent communications from different parts of the nation, all of which seem favorable, and promise pleasing consequences to the United States. I am happy in assuring you, that the Spaniards have totally failed in their intended treaty at Pensacola, which was to have been last month; not a single chief from the Creeks attended, and not more than ten or twelve common people—nothing whatever was done.

This gives me strong hope of my future success with the Creeks, as, their not attending was solely owing to my advice to them. From the whole of my discoveries, I am enabled to inform you, that a very favorable change hath taken place in the nation, in favor of the United States; the enclosed copies of letters which I have lately received will serve to shew this change.

Enclosed you will also find copies of several letters which I have sent into the towns, and one to Governor Telfair.

There is not any account from McGillivray, further than his being yet with the Spaniards.

Eight days past arrived here the sloop Polly, Captain Smith, and schooner Oak, Captain Maison, from Philadelphia, with corn and goods on public account. The vessels are now discharging at a place called Colerain, on this river, about seventy miles from the sea, where are convenient stores, and which is without inhabitants. I have obtained a guard from the few men that are on this station, for the care of the property. I returned last evening from where the vessels are discharging; every thing seems to come out in good order.

I have advice by a runner, that the chiefs are preparing, and that they will be down by the middle of November at farthest. The corn will be very acceptable to them, for their situation for bread is very bad indeed; the Cussetah town, which contains three thousand souls, did not actually make fifty bushels of corn this year; many other towns are equally destitute. I have strictly forbid their bringing more than three or four chiefs from each town, but notwithstanding this, I fear I shall have a much larger assemblage than I wish.

The strouds and blankets will be very acceptable, but I fear they will grumble for want of shirts, as well as small articles. I do not find that you have sent any spirits; some must be had before the time of meeting; it is impossible to talk to those people without; five or six hogsheads northward rum, and a pipe Teneriffe wine, will be the smallest quantity we can expect to do with. I hope the vessel which is bringing the remainder of the corn and goods, will have some on board from you. Should the vessel that brings you this, have a short passage, you will have time to send those articles, as there is no such thing as purchasing them here at present. Should there not any arrive from you, I shall be obliged to send to Savannah, or Charleston, for them. In this I shall find much embarrassment, as I am without money, for this, or any other purpose. I hope I may soon receive a supply from you; the vessel which brings this, returns directly here.

From the best information, the Spaniards in the Floridas are much alarmed at the present change in the disposition of the Indians.

I shall observe the most pointed conduct towards them, in conformity with your instruction, which shall also be considered, as hitherto, to General M<sup>c</sup>Gillivray. I shall obtain full proof of the Spanish agent's conduct when I meet the chiefs, and, also, on my going into the nation, which I intend shall be as soon as they and I agree on the time and place.

I attend to what you say respecting licence to trade. I shall not grant any till further instructed; I have not, hitherto, conceived myself authorized to grant them. General M<sup>c</sup>Gillivray, and no other, that I know, gave any since the treaty of New York. There will be an absolute necessity that this trade should be regulated, and allowed to be carried on; otherwise there will arise some discontent among the savages, should supplies be withheld by the servants of the United States.

Enclosed you have a memorandum of some articles, which I much want, to make the intended presents more acceptable. If you can send them in time, it will be fortunate.

I shall write you fully, in a few days, by a vessel via New York,  
And am, yours, &c.

*Memorandum of articles wanted, to make up an assortment of presents to the Indians expected at the head of the river St. Mary's, in November, 1792.*

5 hogsheads high proof northward rum.  
1 pipe Lisbon or Teneriffe wine.  
2 barrels Muscovado sugar.  
200 lbs. coffee.  
1 hoghead tobacco; 1 box of pipes.  
5 tierces rice.  
50 dozen knives, commonly called scalping knives; those made in size and shape of carving knives, are best, and if bone handles, the more acceptable.  
50 pieces cotton Romal handkerchiefs.  
100 pieces Garlia linen, or, low priced Irish linen.  
200 castor hats; a box of feathers for ditto.  
1,000 yards white or blue plains, for leggins, in order to save giving strouds, which are double the price.  
Gunpowder and lead are always expected by the Indians, as necessary to support their families by hunting; but, I do not wish to give it them, if it can be avoided. They grumble much at our not giving it to them.

J. S.

[ENCLOSURES.]

NEW YORK, in the Upper Creeks, 1st August, 1792.

Sir:

I have taken this opportunity to write you by Mr. Hull, and to inform you of our friendly disposition towards our brothers and friends, the white people of Georgia, and to let them know that we have not thrown away their talks. The greatest part of our nation holds, still, your talks; and the reason we could not unanimously agree to go down was, the many and great talks we daily received from different parts, that the minds of the Indians was so confused, that they did not know how to act for the want of our great chief, to join us together.

The great talks that our beloved men had with your beloved men, at New York, we still stand by, and shall consent to run the line; and, if you are agreed, we shall drink out of the same waters. Don't think that I take upon me to write for all the nations; but, this is the mouth of their greatest part of the head-men, and I look on myself as good as any, and request you to keep your people in peace, and we shall do the same. I have seen a great many of the people from the Lower towns, who have seen you, and talk well of you, and hope that you don't take it ill that we have not seen you before this; but it was entirely owing to the confused talks amongst us, and the want of a commissary, who could advise us. The day is not far off that we shall take you by the hand, and be as friends and brothers.

I am your friend and brother.

THE WHITE LIEUTENANT.

JAMES SEAGROVE, Esq. *Agent of Indian Affairs, S. D. U. S.*

*A talk from the kings, chiefs, warriors, and head-men of the Cussetahs and Cowetas, to James Seagrove, Esq. Agent of Indian Affairs, for the Southern department.*

CUSSETAH, 23d August, 1792.

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

You may remember, when we were at the Rock Landing, the talks that passed between us, as, also, the talks we brought up with us. Our interpreter has, in public meeting, told them to the Lower towns, who all seemed well pleased, and are well satisfied that we shall meet and take each other by the hand in peace and friendship, at any place you may mention to us. You will let us know; and let it be as convenient as possible for both parties. You will be informed by a runner from Jack Kinnard, when we shall be ready to set out. You will see by what The White Lieutenant of the Oakfuskie has wrote you, how the Upper towns is disposed. We are informed that a young man of your people is killed by some Indians about Carr's Bluff, on the Oconee river. Who they are that committed this murder, we cannot find out as yet, but we hope it will not be long before it is discovered, as the horse and gun cannot be long concealed, which was taken; and by them we hope to find out, and make an example of, whoever it is that has committed the murder—when we shall send you word. We hope the white people will not be rash, but give us time, as we did when the like happened to us; we waited twelve months before we took satisfaction for the man that was killed, last May was twelve months. You know the time of our hunting will be coming on soon, and a number of our people will be over the Oconee, a hunting, and the white people may be assured that no guilty person will come that way. We hope that nothing may happen to prevent our meeting. There are some horses brought in our towns, which shall be gathered and sent down, three of which we send by Mr. Hull, to Mr. Barnard's, to send down to the frontiers, that the owners may get them, and the rest shall be sent, as soon as gathered.

We observe your orders respecting the stopping such people as come into our land without a pass, and should give the necessary orders to our warriors, but are afraid they might be too eager, and overdo the thing; therefore, we hope you will use your influence and put a stop to their coming, for many of them tell lies, and bring stolen property, which has a bad effect on the minds of the red people.

We conclude with wishing to meet you in peace and friendship.

CUSSETAH KING.  
CUSSETAH WARRIOR'S KING.  
OPAY MICO.  
HALLOWING KING.

JAMES DUROUZEAUX, *Interpréter, C. N. L. T.*

CHEEHAWS, in the Lower Creeks, 28th August, 1792.

MY DEAR BROTHER:

I wish to let you know that, according to your request, I have collected all the stolen horses that has been brought into my towns, the Cheehaws and Telhuanas, and you may depend that the head-men do not set those bad men on to steal the white people's property, nor will they suffer them to do it. I have collected twelve head of horses, which is all that is hereabout; there may be some carried up into the other towns, which I shall inquire into. I send those horses to Captain Fleming, at Trader's Hill, on St. Mary's, to be delivered to their owners on proof being made. The Indians who bring those horses down ought to receive some pay for their trouble: I think that eight kegs of rum will not be too much, as they have had much labor in collecting them. Many bad talks have been of late given out in the nation, but we are determined to listen to none of them. We have taken your talks, and will follow your advice to be at peace with every body. My dear friend, I assure you it is the wish of our nation to live in peace and friendship with you; and we are determined it shall be so. If I knew any thing to the contrary you should know it, being a friend to your nation, and ever shall be to you. I hope soon to take you by the hand, and am,

Your friend and brother.

JOHN KINNARD.

St. MARY'S, (in Georgia) 6th October, 1791.

*The Kings and Chiefs of the Cussetahs and Cowetas, with all other Chiefs of the Creek nation, who may see it:*

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:

I received your agreeable talk of the 23d August last by Mr. Hull. It is very pleasing to me to find that you pay so much attention to the talks that passed between us at the Rock Landing, and that you are pursuing the measures I recommended to you, which cannot fail rendering you a happy people. Your collecting and sending back to their owners all stolen property is very commendable. Nothing will put a stop to the dangerous practice of stealing, so soon as its being discountenanced by the chiefs of the nation in this manner. I fear there is too much reason for the report, that a young man of the name of Pew was killed about three months past by some of the Creeks near Carr's Bluff, on the Oconee. If it should appear he lost his life by your people, I have not a doubt but you will give complete satisfaction, as it will unquestionably appear to have been an unprovoked wanton murder, and, therefore, it becomes the more incumbent on you to use every exertion to discover the perpetrators. Agreeable to your request, I have sent a runner along our frontier on the Oconee, desiring our people not to injure any of your people who may be among them, but, on the contrary, to use them kindly, and at the same time informed them of your talk promising satisfaction. I have also sent a talk to the Governor of Georgia, to order his people not to injure any Indians. I must request that you will give strict charges to all your people who are going out a hunting to behave with civility to all white people they may meet, and to avoid stealing. This will be the way to preserve peace.

I have just received permission from our great and good Father, the President of the United States, to meet you and the other chiefs of your nation on this river as soon as convenient. I have much to say to you from him when we meet. In order that runners may be sent to all the towns, and that the chiefs may have time to assemble, and come down, I have fixed the time of meeting me on the head of St. Mary's to be the latter end of next moon, when I hope as many as two or three of the principal chiefs from each town in the nation will attend, when, I have no doubt, all matters will be made agreeable to them.

The President of the United States having been informed by me of the failure of your crops of corn, hath, out of his great humanity and kindness toward your nation, ordered from Philadelphia a very large supply of corn, sufficient to support your whole nation until another year. He hath also ordered a large quantity of clothing against the approaching cold season. When we meet, we shall make arrangements for distributing the provisions and clothing, which your people can receive at any time afterwards, as their wants require.

I have to desire that no greater number than what I have mentioned may attend at our meeting, as a crowd of people only prevent business being done; and as I shall have proper persons at the public stores on St. Mary's, your people can receive the provisions and presents any time after our meeting. I must now request that you make this known as soon as possible in all the towns in the nation, and inform the chiefs that I shall be happy to see them as friends and brothers. I do not send this talk to any one in particular; it is intended for all; and you will, therefore, pitch upon such chiefs to meet me as you see fit.

Before I close this talk, I must recommend to you all, that, by every means in your power, you will preserve peace with all your neighbors; you have no business with war; peace alone can make you a happy nation; and which it is my ardent wish to see accomplished and enjoyed among you. As we are soon to take each other by the hand, I shall not say more at present than to refer you to the bearer, Mr. John Galphin, for further information, and am your friend and brother.

St. MARY'S, 7th October, 1792.

SIR:

It is with great pleasure that I now acknowledge my having received your agreeable talk of the 15th August last by Mr. Hull. Although I never had the pleasure of seeing you, yet I am well acquainted with your respectable character and good conduct in all matters between your country and mine, and I do assure you, that I feel a great deal of satisfaction in having this opportunity of telling you how much I respect you, and that I shall be happy, on every occasion, in giving you proofs how much I am your and your country's real friend.

Your friendly sentiments toward the United States, and your wise and just determination in holding fast the talks given by our great beloved man to yours, as also my talks given your people at different times, cannot fail to place you and your people in a respectable light with our great and beloved father, the President of the United States, who I shall take care to inform of your friendly conduct.

I am very sensible of the confused situation the Creek nation hath been in for a long while, owing entirely to designing wicked white men, who wished to see your ruin, by advising your people to measures which would have involved them in a war, and perhaps ended in their total destruction.

I am happy to find that a very great majority of your country have had wisdom enough to withstand the advice and attempts made on you by those bad men. Let me advise you to keep your ears shut against all who will attempt to advise you to acts of injustice against your neighbors. They cannot possibly be your friends who advise you to any thing but peace. The time, I hope, is near at hand, when we shall meet as friends and brothers, and when I shall explain to you many matters for the happiness of the Creek nation.

A few days past I received leave from your good friend, the President of the United States, to meet two or three of the principal chiefs from each town in the Creek nation, in order to arrange and settle all matters depending between his country and yours. I now inform you, and all the chiefs of the Upper towns, (through you) that I shall be happy to meet them the latter end of next moon near the head of this river, where every thing will be provided to make them welcome, and to give them proof how much we are their friends.

I must request you will make this known in all the Upper towns, and that you will take measures to bring the number of chiefs required down with you. Perhaps some who have taken Bowles' talks may be shy of coming, but you must tell them that I do not blame them for it; it was not their fault, but those who imposed on them. So let them come and see me, and I will receive them as friends.

I have the pleasure to tell you, and all the people of your nation, that their good friend, the President of the United States, out of his humanity and goodness, having heard from me that there was danger of your wanting bread, on account of the failure of your crops of corn, hath ordered a large quantity of corn being sent from Philadelphia to



me at this place, in order to supply all your people's wants until they can make new crops. He hath also sent a supply of clothing against the cold weather which is approaching.

When the chiefs meet me we will make arrangements for the distribution of the provisions and clothing; and as I shall fix proper persons at the public stores on this river to issue the same, your people will be able to receive them any time after we have had our meeting.

I hope your beloved man, General M'Gillivray, is returned to his house, and that we shall have him with us. I have written to him by this opportunity.

I wish you to send to the Great Native Warrior, and tell him I expect him down.

I send this by Mr. John Galphin, who promises to deliver it safe, and read it for you.

In hope of soon taking you by the hand, I remain your friend and brother.

To the WHITE LIEUTENANT.

CREEK NATION, ST. MARY'S, 7th October, 1792.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I wrote you about five weeks ago; but as I have not had an answer, I fear my letter has not reached you. Mr. Bryant set off with it, but got sick on the road, and sent the letter forward by young Allen, who, I am afraid, has played some tricks with it.

I received your talk of the 28th August last, and am very much obliged by the great attention you pay to the affairs of this country and your own. Your wise advice to your people not to take any talks from the Spaniards, which might be the means of involving them in a dispute with this country, is a convincing proof of your good understanding and friendship for your country: for, without the Creeks are in peace and friendship with the United States, they cannot be happy.

Your good conduct through the whole of the confusion your country hath been in, has made your character very agreeable to the President of the United States, who has sent you a very handsome present, which you shall have when we meet.

I thank you for the trouble you have taken in collecting the stolen property, in order to send it to the owners. It is very commendable, and will be the means of putting a stop to thefts in future, which is the duty of every good man to prevent, as much as is in his power. Those people who have been endeavoring to make mischiefs between your people and ours, will have reason to repent of their folly before long.

Continue, my friend, to advise your people to sit still, and have nothing to say to such people.

I have just received permission of the President of the United States to meet two or three of your chiefs from each town in your nation, at the head of this river, in order to talk over all matters, and arrange and settle all matters like friends and brothers.

I have in consequence sent talks to the Upper towns, inviting the chiefs to meet me the latter end of next moon, and I now send this to you, and must request your attendance, and that you will immediately send off runners to all the towns below, and invite two or three of the principal chiefs from each town, and bring them with you. I hope you will excuse this trouble, as I place the greatest dependence on you. Please give the bearers of this, Mr. Bryant and Mr. Galphin, all the assistance in your power.

When I met the Indians at the Rock Landing, they expressed their fears for want of bread in the nation, owing to the failure of the crops of corn. In consequence of this, I wrote to the President of the United States, who, without a moment's delay, hath sent on a sufficient supply of corn for your whole nation, and also a large quantity of blankets, strouds, and other goods. When we meet, we shall make arrangements for distributing the provisions and goods. This, my friend, is an additional proof of the goodness and great regard the President of the United States hath for your people, and cannot, I think, fail to impress them with gratitude and love for him and his country.

I must again request that you will use all your influence to bring down every chief of any influence, and in particular those who have been deceived by Bowles, as I wish to talk with them, and convince them of their error.

I wish you to bring your brother Billy down with you. I hope General McGillivray is returned, and will be with us. Every thing among us is peace and friendship toward your country, and will continue so.

I refer you to Mr. Galphin and Mr. Bryant for further accounts, and remain your devoted friend and brother.

MR. JOHN KINNARD.

ST. MARY'S, 8th October, 1792.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I hope by this time you are safe returned to your home at Tallassee, and that you have accomplished the object of your journey. Reports have been spread in this country that you had quit the nation, not to return. This I have contradicted by every means in my power, well knowing how false it was. Indeed I have pledged myself to the public that you would be at home this fall.

I have not been favored with a line from you since your departure for Orleans; and the uncertainty of my letters finding you, hath prevented my writing you. By this opportunity I send several talks into the nation, inviting two or three chiefs from each town to meet me at the head of this river the latter end of next moon. My reason for sending talks to the chiefs, was the uncertainty of your being in the nation in time, otherwise the invitation should have been through you alone. Should this meet you, I have not a doubt but you will forward the business all in your power.

The unwarrantable attempts lately made by our neighbors to poison the minds of the Indians against the United States, as well as to have an arrangement of all matters, renders a convention of the chiefs necessary.

I hope we shall be so happy as to have you at our head. I am happy to find a most pleasing change in the dispositions of many of your people toward our country. Their eyes are opening, and they begin to distinguish their real from pretended friends.

When the Indians met me at the Rock Landing last summer, they complained much of the failure of crops of corn in their country. This I informed the President of, who immediately ordered from Philadelphia a very large supply of corn for their use, five thousand bushels of which has arrived in this river, and if more should be wanted, it will be sent.

I have also received a very considerable supply of goods, and also a number of ploughs, and other implements of husbandry, to be distributed among your people, which I shall defer doing until I see and consult you.

By the public prints it appears that Mr. Bowles was hung at Madrid soon after his arrival. I have no official account, but think it true. This I send by John Galphin, and Langley Bryant, who carry my talk, should they be so fortunate as to meet you. I hope you will give them your assistance.

There is every appearance of a general war all over Europe. Thank God our country hath every prospect of remaining in perfect tranquillity. There is great hope that the Northern hostile tribes will be led to peace by the overtures that are now making. Commissioners are gone out to them, and the army under General Wayne is halted, it being the ardent wish of the President to reduce them to reason and peace without shedding blood.

I hope I shall have the happiness of very soon hearing from you with agreeable accounts. Wishing you all possible felicity, I remain your devoted friend and humble servant.

General MCGILLIVRAY.



*Letter from James Seagrove, Esquire, to his Excellency Governor Telfair, of Georgia.*

St. MARY'S, 5th October, 1792.

SIR:

All matters tending to promote the interest or happiness of the State of Georgia, which may come to my knowledge in the line of my department, duty, as well as inclination, leads me to give your Excellency the earliest notice of, for your and my fellow-citizens' information.

It gives me great pleasure to be enabled to assure your Excellency, that the affairs of the United States with the Creek nation, at this time, appear more favorable than for years past. Every day furnishes me with fresh proofs of their ardent desire of living in peace and friendship with this country. Thank God the cloud of misrepresentation and imposition, in which a great part of those unfortunate people have been enveloped, is now nearly dispelled, and reason again resumes a seat among them, and tells them that much of their happiness as a nation and people depends on being in strict friendship with the United States.

My negotiations with them seems drawing to a favorable conclusion, and as the Executive of the United States have put it amply in my power to prove to the Indians their unbounded humanity and tenderness, as well as great munificence toward them, I have not a doubt but that, at all the meetings which I am to have with the chiefs in the next month, all matters will be happily arranged.

The enclosed three talks, which I have lately received from principal chiefs, will serve in some degree to point to your Excellency the present disposition of the nation, as well as show the great necessity there is, on the part of the white inhabitants of this country, to observe a kind and friendly conduct towards such Indians as may fall in their way, as the season is now approaching when they will be commencing their hunts on the frontiers of this State: I hope no injury may be offered them or their property by the inhabitants.

You will please observe what is said by the Cussetah and Coweta chiefs, on the subject of a person supposed to have been killed by the Indians near Carr's Bluff, on the Oconee. I hope, agreeable to their request, no hasty measures will be adopted.

If discovery be made that it was done by Indians, they promise ample satisfaction:

I am, with all possible respect, your Excellency's devoted humble servant.

*General Alexander M'Gillivray to the Secretary of War.*

UPPER CREEK NATION, 18th May, 1792.

SIR:

I received the triplicate of your letter of 20th February last, by express from Mr. Seagrove, early in last month, at the same time informing me that he was appointed by his Excellency the President of the United States, a commissioner to see the treaty fulfilled, and requested my attendance with the chiefs at the Rock Landing, about the middle of the month; at that time I had a severe attack of the rheumatism in almost all my limbs, and it left me so much reduced, that I could not bear the motion of a horse till a short time ago; beside that, the Lower Indians are so distracted and divided in opinion, that they cannot be brought to agree in settling the affairs of the nation.

After that Bowles had been twice before detected as an impostor, by those Indians, I had no suspicion that any of them would have paid the least attention to his stories; at this his last arrival among them, or I should not have left the nation when I did. At the second time when he was here, he must have observed that, in many of the Lower towns, men of note still cherished the memory of the British; of this circumstance he had the art to avail himself; and on his arrival he associated with those of that description, declaring that he was sent as an agent of the British ministry to them only, and to take up the cause that I had deserted, to become an American. That the treaty of New York must not be confirmed by the nation, as the British were sending supplies to support the nation in a war with the United States, with a great deal more stuff, calculated to mislead the credulous savage; and it has had its intended effect, in exciting a clamor among those who held negroes taken in the war, and are averse to restoring them; and those who had been favorites of the British Governors of the Floridas, and have been reduced to an inferior situation since their departure, hope to regain their former consequence, all side with Bowles.

The Cussetahs, at the head of those who are in the interest of the United States, are considerable, overbalance the other, but have not firmness to oppose, with vigor, the other chiefs; and add to all this, the Spaniards, since the peace, have gained an influence likewise in this country. An officer of theirs is now here with an Indian interpreter; from what I can learn, the Spaniards are alarmed, and he means to have a meeting and talk with those of the Lower towns, and I am invited to Pensacola in pressing terms. Such is the present state of this country; I am truly sorry that it is so, at least among the principals of the Lower towns. The Upper Creeks have never taken any part with Bowles' partizans, though it cannot be long ere these dispositions must subside, as the vagabond who fomented them is held a prisoner in the Havana.

He had written some letters to the Governor of West Florida in a bullying style; this circumstance gave the Don an opportunity of laying hold of him. The Baron de Carondelet, Governor of New Orleans, sent an armed vessel to the bay of Apalachy, where Bowles remained after borrowing some of Panton, Leslie & Co's. goods to clothe his gang and self. The Spanish captain told Bowles that his letters were favorably received, and the Governor wished much to see him; to converse on the subject of his letters; he accordingly went on board the Spaniard, and was conveyed to Orleans, and from thence he was despatched to the Havana, where he possibly will be detained longer than he desires.

In June last, the articles of the treaty were explained to the chiefs of the Upper, Middle, and Lower towns of the nation; they would not agree to cede the south fork of the Oconee, as the source of it is directly between this and the Cherokees, and within the limits reserved to the latter by the United States. You will recollect, sir, that I had great objection to making the south fork the limit, and when you insisted so much, I candidly told you that it might be made an article, but I could not pledge myself to get it confirmed, nor that of the negro property, having often changed owners.

I earnestly recommend that the north side of the Oconee be accepted, that being the original object of dispute; however trifling it may appear on the map, it is a very considerable tract of country; considering the numbers and the present situation of this country, hemmed in on all sides, it cannot spare more. And I assure you from my heart, that I by no means desire to see any disputes revive between us; and I now find, from a conversation with the officer a few minutes ago, that it is the wish of his country, and that the nation will be supported in all its claims and rights, and that no land at all ought to be ceded to the United States. This kind of language had been used by some of that party some time ago, on their return from visits to Orleans, but they were not noticed; it may not make considerable impression as matters are circumstanced. I can take no open steps against them; our friends have too much at stake on that side.

My personal attendance at the Rock Landing about running the line, is not absolutely necessary; men of note were appointed by the Cussetahs and Cowetas, who had the management last year; they now can perform that business. It is very important that I should learn the motives of the Spaniards for this conduct; they knew when we were going to New York to treat, and they did not oppose the measure then.

The money allowed us by the treaty is another subject of dispute among the Indians; 'tis too much for the few who pretend to it, and too little for the many; therefore I must desire, that it be withheld entirely. The six chiefs are worthy men, and they get theirs in a way that others know nothing of it.

It has been said, that if the treaty be not fully complied with, it would blast my reputation; let the candid mind consider the foregoing, and the nature of the people whom I have to manage, and it cannot impute blame to me.

You may rely on it, sir, that, as matters are at present circumstanced, if I cannot render the United States any essential services, I will not encourage, but endeavor to prevent, any measures of any people, that may be planned against the interests of the United States.

I am with, every sentiment of respect and esteem, sir, your most obedient servant,

ALEX. M'GILLIVRAY.

Hon. Major General H. KNOX,

*Secretary of the Department of War of the United States of America.*

*His Excellency the Governor of South Carolina to the President of the United States.*

DEAR SIR:

I have the honor to enclose you copies of letters from General Pickens and Colonel Anderson, on the subject of Indian Affairs. To me, I confess, their intelligence is unexpected: for I thought the justice and friendship the United States had treated the Creeks and Cherokees with, had entirely secured their confidence and respect; and that, notwithstanding the attempts of the Northern and Western Indians, the Spaniards, and perhaps the British, the Southern States would have been free from their hostility. To the enclosed letters I refer you for a full statement of their situation, and, as the opinions of General Pickens and Colonel Anderson, on Indian affairs, are much more to be depended upon than any others, I must submit to your better judgment the measures necessary to be pursued in this emergency, assuring you, that, while I continue in office, no endeavors of mine shall be wanting to carry your directions fully into execution. In answer to that part of Colonel Anderson's letter which seems to wish my authorizing an expedition immediately into the Indian country, I have said, that, having been always determined to make the Federal constitution my guide, and the individual States being very properly restrained from commencing or undertaking a war, without the authority of the Union, I should not feel myself, by any means, justified in sanctioning a measure of that kind, even from its necessity; because, however properly it may be done in this case, yet, still, if a precedent was once established, no doubt instances would frequently occur, where the Union might be involved in the most serious expenditures of blood and treasure, by the unjustifiable, or, perhaps, unprovoked and precipitate measures of interested States or individuals. I informed him I would, however, immediately submit the intelligence and opinions of General Pickens and himself, to you, and I had no doubt that proper measures would be adopted by the General Government to support our citizens and protect their rights. In the interim, I have ordered the frontiers of this country to be put in the best state of defence the situation of the militia will admit; and have sent, and mean to send them up such supplies of ammunition, as the commanding officer requires, and have directed block-houses to be built for the protection of the most exposed inhabitants of the frontier. The regiments of militia I have ordered to hold themselves in readiness, are some of them on, others near, and none of them more than eighty miles distant from the frontier; they consist of about 8,000 men altogether, of which I hope a sufficient number may be summoned, if they have notice, to protect it, as I have desired them to raise a corps of militia horse to each regiment, as soon as possible. I have also requested General Pickens and Colonel Anderson to send me their opinions on the subject, and, if they concur with me, I shall endeavor to have a deposite of ammunition, &c. established in a situation sufficiently near to supply them with ease, and, at the same time, so distant, as to be free from surprise. Our upper counties being covered, in some degree, by the more distant and extensive frontier of Georgia and North Carolina, I am hopeful the measures I have pursued may be sufficient to protect them, until some general system is adopted by the Union with respect to the war, which, I assure you, I am apprehensive will be much more serious than the Northern one, as the Southern States are not numerous, the frontiers extensive and exposed, the scene of action at a great distance from the seat of the Federal Government, and the hostile tribes strong and well supplied with arms and ammunition. Georgia will be the most severe sufferer: for, if a general Creek war takes place, which, from these accounts, seems unquestionable, I have very little doubt the greatest part of that country will soon be overrun by them. I shall write you again in a few days, by Mr. Barnwell, and remain, with the highest respect and attachment,

Dear sir, yours truly,

CHARLES PINCKNEY.

IN CHARLESTON, September 30th, 1792.

*Andrew Pickens to his Excellency the Governor of South Carolina.*

HOPEWELL, 13th September, 1792.

DEAR SIR:

On my arrival from the Western country, I had the pleasure of receiving your favors of the 8th and 26th July last, with their enclosures. I was very happy to see, by yours of the 26th July, that you had sent to the Colonels of the different regiments which I formerly had the honor to command, the acts of Congress, with your general orders. Had I not received this, I might have been induced to have sent the acts, and the orders from you to them, as a request from you to me, but not as an order so to do. It is long since I acquainted your Excellency what I had done in that respect, and I am now too far advanced in life to engage again in the trouble and difficulty of military affairs, especially with the militia; and have, perhaps, too long neglected the interest of a large family. Colonel Anderson, I expect, has written you fully on the state of affairs in this part of the country, and the prospects there are of a war with the Creeks, and some of the Cherokees; it might, perhaps, be well to give him some general orders, in case our frontiers should be attacked, and to make some necessary arrangements to prevent a surprise. Ammunition, I know, is very scarce in the frontier parts of this State, and I find that circumstance very much discourages the people. Whilst I was in the Western country, attending the treaties with Governor Blount, I found that country, particularly Cumberland, in a most pitiable and distressed situation, almost continually harassed by the Creeks, and the four Lower towns of the Cherokees, on the Tennessee. Just before we went there, a small station was taken, with about nineteen or twenty persons in it; all were killed or taken, but three or four who made their escape. This was done by a party of Cherokees, Creeks, and a few Shawanes, who had resided among the Cherokees for some years past; several others were killed and wounded in this country while I was there. From the different accounts which I had from the Chickasaws and Choctaws, in private conversation, as well as from persons from that country, all agree that the Spaniards are using all their influence with the Southern Indians, to engage them against the United States; and I am clearly of opinion, that the Creeks are on the eve of going to war with us, as well as those four Lower towns of the Cherokees. I believe there is no doubt but the chiefs, and a number of the warriors of the Creeks, are now at Pensacola in treaty with the Spaniards; they are soon expected here, with a large quantity of ammunition, for the purpose of going to war; the same thing has been offered to those tribes we have lately been in treaty with. This the chiefs told us in confidence; but the Chickasaws appear well attached to the interest of the United States, so did the Choctaws who attended the treaty; but the Spaniards have great influence over a great part of that nation. The cause of our misfortunes with the Indians in general, is of an old date; and our misfortunes in the Northern campaign, the last two years, and, I fear, our prospects the present expedition, in that quarter, are not favorable; all those things are against us, and encourage our enemies. Were I to venture an opinion respecting our Southern country, it would be this: make immediate preparation for the defence of the frontiers, and, as soon as possible, carry a vigorous campaign into the Creek country; this would convince the Southern Indians, in general, that we are able and determined to protect ourselves, and would chastise their insolence. This might prevent the junction of more tribes against than perhaps is now expected. It is vain to attempt treaties with the Creeks, or to make any offers to them, until they are chastised by the arm of Government.

It may be objected, that provisions are scarce in the country; that is true; but flour could be brought from Philadelphia and New York, to Savannah, and from thence to Augusta, by water, at no great expense; without some such measures are taken, I dread the consequences. Mr. Shaw, an agent from Congress, has lately come in here, and left the Cherokee nation; he thinks it unsafe at present to return, although a great majority of the Cherokees appear friendly to the United States. I have just received information that two Indians, one a chief from one of the four disaffected Cherokee towns, are on their way here, but what their business is, or talks may be, I know not.

I am, &c.

*Robert Anderson to the Governor of South Carolina.—Wednesday Morning, 12th September, 1792.*

DEAR SIR:

Before I had sealed your letter, and just now, I received the following intelligence, which I send you, in the author's name and words:

*An extract of a letter from General Pickens, of this date.*

"Mr. Shaw, agent from Congress to the Cherokees, arrived here last evening. I was from home till in the night. He says, the four Lower towns of the Cherokees in the Tennessee, have declared for war, with John Watts at their head, who was lately with the Spaniards at Pensacola. He says they were to set out in a body, on the 4th instant, and to make a stroke at Cumberland, or the settlements near Knoxville, on the Holston. He expects that their number will be from four to five hundred; the Creeks will no doubt make a part. He says the Creek chiefs are not yet returned from Pensacola, but are expected shortly, with a large quantity of ammunition, for the purpose of war. The other parts of the Cherokees from Estanaula, this way, advised him to come down here, and sent a guard with him. As you are about writing to the Governor, I have sent you this intelligence, as I wish you to write fully to him, as I am well assured, if some immediate measures are not taken to prevent it, this country will be in a distressed situation.

"ANDREW PICKENS.

"TO ROBERT ANDERSON."

SIR: Having previously conversed with the general, and having consulted my own reason, on the present prospect of Indian affairs, my real sentiments were as communicated in the letter, of the rectitude of which, there is a strong confirmation. We can only expect now to hear of the perpetration of such acts of savage cruelty, committed on the defenceless inhabitants, in all quarters of an extensive frontier, a circumstance which must be regretted by every feeling heart.

Your most obedient,

ROBERT ANDERSON.

Governor PINCKNEY.

*Robert Anderson to the Governor of South Carolina.—20th September, 1792.*

DEAR SIR:

Although I wrote you very fully on the subject of Indian affairs, by Captain Maxwell, which you cannot have received, nor perhaps may not, before this reaches you, yet, having since received a more full and particular information, and thinking it my duty to do every thing in my power, which may contribute, in the smallest degree, towards the safety of the lives of our citizens, I have therefore taken the liberty to write you, by express.

I send you, enclosed, the affidavit of Jesse Spears, who also will be the bearer of this. He will be upon the spot, and your Excellency can question him upon the subject. This man escaped from the Cherokees in the year 1775, came into our settlements, and gave us notice of a premeditated stroke then intended by the Cherokees against our frontier settlements. He was the only one who escaped, at least to our quarter; the Indians having been very careful to kill or otherwise secure their traders, to prevent their escaping with such intelligence as might counteract or frustrate their designs. But they struck as he had notified, and (which is very remarkable) they struck at the same time, all along the extensive frontier from Georgia to Virginia. At another time, in 1782, this same man came down, and gave notice of a strong party of Indians and Tories, who were to embody or rendezvous, beyond the Oconee river, on the back of Georgia, by a certain day, to make a stroke on the frontier settlements of that State. On his information, we immediately raised one hundred men, General Clarke as many, fell in with the party at the time and place appointed, and totally broke them up. I mention those circumstances to strengthen the belief of his present information. I have ordered the people to build block-houses, where they are exposed and intimidated, to fly to with their families, in case of alarm. I have frontier block-houses built and building, at suitable places along our frontiers, at the distance of about eight or ten miles apart; five are on the way, some of which are nearly completed, but I believe another must be appointed to complete the chain. I have ordered trusty spies to be constantly kept out at Tugulo and the Oconee mountain, as they are the spots (in all appearance) which will be most exposed. I have ordered a few men from the more interior part of the regiment, to each of the frontier posts; but in some places, there is a difficulty in providing them with provisions, the settlements being thin on the frontier, the people poor, and their improvements and crops but small. I mention those matters, to show what is done in the mean time, and to beg your Excellency's further orders and directions in those matters.

Permit me to observe, that we (having had so much experience in the ways of Indian warfare) are of opinion, that it is very expensive, hazardous, and distressing, to carry on a defensive war with Indians; they have such advantages, being so wolfish in their manner, and so savage in their nature, that we cannot war with them upon equal ground, when we only pretend to defend ourselves in our own country. Experience has discovered it to be much the better way to carry the war immediately into their own country. They seem not to be so well calculated to oppose a spirited attack in their own country, as they are to take skulking, wolfish advantages of the defenceless in ours. A very speedy and spirited attack in their country, might, perhaps, rid us of a war which might become very hazardous and expensive in the long run. We think that, if a party of men could possibly be marched through the peaceable towns, and into the disaffected towns of the Cherokees, before the Creeks made a stroke, that it might check the Creeks; at least, it might keep back their premeditated stroke, until the clumsy wheels of Government could be got turned.

But we are well aware that, if the Creeks do immediately break, (of which there is but little room to doubt) and the U. States are obliged to carry on a defensive war, if only till next June, yet it will cost them much blood and treasure; perhaps double as much as would keep our army in their country during the time. These conclusions we are warranted to draw from past experience. I just returned home from reviewing the frontier parts of the regiment—found this man waiting to give the information; the general (with whom he had been) being so unwell that he could not do the business. However, I have since seen and conversed with him on this subject; he is still unwell, but I hope will soon be recovered. Although I have been uniformly opposed to war, and therefore have been decidedly of opinion, that the strictest justice should be done to the different Indian tribes, to evade the disagreeable necessity as long as possible; and, that, if the United States must be dragged into war, they might engage in the business with that conscious rectitude on their part, which cannot fail to embolden the soldier, and give decision to the politician. Then firmness is truly justifiable, as well as absolutely necessary. But now, sir, you may rest assured, that the moment has arrived, when the most spirited exertions of Government are necessary, and I am truly sorry that the citizens cannot be permitted to defend themselves in the best way, without the approbation of Government; I mean by an offensive war; because I am of opinion that much could be done in the course of two months from this date; much blood and treasure might be saved, by a spirited exertion, before they were aware; and I have no

doubt, but two or three thousand of the militia from this State and Georgia, could be immediately raised, to march light into the Creek country; about five hundred militia, horse, the rest infantry, with pack-horses. Two thousand more, from the Western Territory and North Carolina, in the same manner to march through and destroy the disaffected Cherokee towns, which would be just on their way, and meet in the Creek country, destroy what they could, and so return. This would only be a temporary relief, but it would greatly check the impetuosity of their present disposition, and, in all appearance, would save the lives of many innocent people. This could be done; and the people have firmness and resolution enough to carry such a plan into execution, if they had the sanction of any authority; self-defence would be a stimulus to spur them on. Could such a plan be sanctioned by the President of the United States and yourself, in time, I think it would be of great utility, and I have no doubt (in all human probability) but it would be carried into effect. But if your Excellency would even consent to risk your approbation to such a plan, and depend upon the necessity of the case, to justify the measure in the eyes of the President and Congress, I have hardly any doubt but that the Western country people would do their part, at all ventures: for they are well calculated for such enterprises. But if any thing of the kind was attempted to be carried into effect, General Pickens must be appointed to the command, in preference to every other man, for two reasons: first, because the people have confidence in him, and will cheerfully turn out to go under his command; and, in the next place, because he is most equal to the task. I have never hinted it to him, but I think he will serve, from the same cause by which I think the people will be induced to turn out, namely, self-defence, or, more properly, the defence of the country in which he lives; and I do think him the most suitable person that could be appointed, and he thinks it might be done in the way I have stated, as I have conversed with him on the subject. But I fear it cannot find authority under which it can claim protection; indeed, should an expedition into their country next spring, be approved, we are very scarce of flour in these Southern States, as the rust killed up the wheat generally. This is an unfortunate circumstance, but there is flour enough in the Northern States, which could be shipped to Savannah, in Georgia, and brought up in boats to Augusta. All those things must be done this winter, else no campaign in the spring; then we may as well dissolve the Union, as to pretend to hold together, because Georgia will be ruined, perhaps this State, and several others much injured. Indeed, I am of opinion (if they see Congress tardy, or relax in their exertions, as they have been against the Northern tribes) they will soon have Spain to contend with, and perhaps one more of the European Powers. Pardon these suggestions; they have just rose as I have wrote them down, for the bearer waits. I am in haste, and have kept no copy. I wrote for arms and ammunition, if possible, in my last, and, as the necessity is not lessened by this, I need not repeat the request. You will please pay the bearer for carrying this.

Your Excellency's, &c.

No. V.

*Statement of the Troops in the service of the United States*

Old Troops in service, - - - - -			1,264
RECRUITED SINCE THE 5TH MARCH, 1792.			
In Massachusetts, - - - - -			51
Vermont, - - - - -			68
Connecticut, - - - - -			45
New York, - - - - -			166
New Jersey, - - - - -			165
Pennsylvania, - - - - -			756
Delaware, - - - - -			95
Maryland, - - - - -			289
Virginia, - - - - -			843
North Carolina, - - - - -			47
			2,525
Dead, deserted, and discharged, - - - - -			148
			2,377
In service, - - - - -			(a) 3,641
Wanting to complete, - - - - -			1,479
			5,120
(a) DISTRIBUTION.			
At various places on the Ohio, and } Old Troops, - - - - -			988
to the Northwest thereof, } Recruits, - - - - -		1,916	
On the march to Pittsburg, - - - - -	do	162	
At the several rendezvous for recruiting, do		299	
			2,377
In Georgia, - - - - -			3,365
			276
			3,641

WAR DEPARTMENT, *November 6th, 1792.*

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

2d CONGRESS.]

No. 30.

[2d SESSION.

## SPANISH INTERFERENCE WITH THE CREEKS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON THE 7TH, AND TO THE SENATE ON THE 21ST NOVEMBER, 1792

*Gentlemen of the Senate**and of the House of Representatives:*

I lay before you copies of certain papers relative to the Spanish interference in the execution of the treaty entered into, in the year 1790, between the United States and the Creek nation of Indians, together with a letter from the Secretary of State to the President of the United States on the same subject.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, *November 7, 1792.*

NOTE. The papers referred to are inserted in No. 63, "Foreign Relations," Vol. I.

2d CONGRESS.]

No. 31.

[2d SESSION.

## WABASH AND ILLINOIS TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, NOVEMBER 8, 1792.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *8th November, 1792.*

SIR:

The President of the United States has directed me to inform the honorable the Senate, that, yesterday afternoon, an express arrived, with information from Major Hamtramck, dated at Post Vincennes, on the 4th of October, that Brigadier General Putnam, who then was sick, had, on the 27th day of September, concluded a treaty of peace with the Wabash and Illinois Indians, consisting of the following tribes, to wit: Eel river Indians, Ouatansons, Pattawatamies of the Illinois river, Musquitoes, the Kickapoos of the Wabash, Piankeshaws, Kaskaskias, and Peorians; and that Brigadier General Putnam was to forward to the hostile Indians, by certain chiefs of the Wabash, the messages, of which copies are herewith submitted.

Lieutenant Prior also writes, on the sixteenth ultimo, from Louisville, on the Ohio, that he has arrived there with sixteen chiefs of the Wabash Indians, who are proceeding to Philadelphia, by the way of Pittsburg.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your most ob't humble servant,

H. KNOX, *Sec'y of War.*

The Honorable the PRESIDENT of the Senate of the United States.

*The Speech of Rufus Putnam, Agent to General Washington, for the purpose of treating with the Indians Northwest of the Ohio, and concluding a peace with the same.*

BROTHERS of the Delawares, Shawanese, Miamies, Wyandotts, and all other tribes inhabiting the country on the Miami and Sandusky rivers, and on the lake:

The Great Chief of the United States, General Washington, has sent, since early in the spring, messages of peace to you; and I, who have come from this Great Chief and his council, more than four months ago, have also sent a speech to you for that purpose.

BROTHERS: After waiting a long time for your answer, and not receiving any; I was encouraged to speak to the nations on the Wabash and Illinois rivers, and finding their ears open, I held a treaty with them at Tshubhicking, (Post Vincennes) where we have buried the hatchet; wiped off all the stains of blood; and concluded a firm and everlasting peace.

BROTHERS: I believe, were you but once agreed to hear what I have to say to you, and should meet, see, and hear me, you would find that it would be for your good. As long as we don't see and hear one another, but listen to the singing birds, which fly to and fro, we are carried away with every story, and not only remain strangers to one another, but enemies also.

BROTHERS: Open your ears to the truth. I speak from my heart, not with my lips only. I wish to see you happy. I wish a peace established between you and the United States. I wish to see your women and children go to rest without fear, and your young men become industrious hunters, so that you all, young and old, may live comfortably.

BROTHERS: All this can be the case if you choose it. The United States don't mean to wrong you out of your lands. They don't want to take away your lands by force. They want to do you justice.

Now, Brothers, I send you this my speech by some of those who have been here at this treaty. They have seen and heard me, and are witnesses to all that has passed between us, and they will tell you the truth.

BROTHERS: When you have heard my speech, and all that my messengers have to say to you, I desire your wise men to consider it well. The great and good spirit will then convince them of the good intentions of the United States, and that the road is yet open to them to become a happy people.

BROTHERS: I desire you to send some of your wise men with my messengers to meet me at the mouth of Muskingum, that we may see one another, and speak together, before I return again to our Great Chief, General Washington. I shall direct every thing so that you will have nothing to fear. Arise then, come and see me, and let us shake hands with one another. [A belt.]

POST VINCENNES, *Oct. 5th, 1792.*

In addition to the above speech, of Brigadier General Putnam, the following was addressed to the Delawares, in particular, viz: the Delaware chiefs and captains, Walendawechen, Pachgañtschihillas, Muchingwe, Pushees, Captain Pipe, &c.

BROTHERS: I am come from Bethlehem to assist in establishing a peace between you and the United States. You know I have lived with you many years, and love you. I sincerely wish your nation well and happy.

BROTHERS: The Great Chief who has spoke to you is a good man; he loves you, and will always speak the truth to you; I wish you to listen to his words, and do as he desires you. If you do so, you will find it will be good for your women and children.

BROTHERS: It is true many things have happened which were bad; but these things were the consequences of the war.

BROTHERS: I desire you not to look to what has passed, but to come forth and speak to this Great Chief, who will, with your assistance, remove all that is bad, and make every thing clear and light again. Rise, therefore, and don't lose this fine opportunity. Consider your nation; you are their wise men; they look to you to do what is good.

BROTHERS: If you come to the mouth of Muskingum, I shall see you and assist you in your business.

JOHN HECKEWELDER.

POST VINCENNES, *October 5, 1792.*

*General Putnam's speech to the Indians, inviting a deputation to Philadelphia.*

BROTHERS: I thank the Great Spirit, who has inclined our hearts to do good, and to establish a good peace between you and the United States.

BROTHERS: Let us endeavor to restore peace and happiness to all, as far as lies in our power, and for this purpose I request that you will send a speech to your neighbors, Miamies, Delawares, Shawanese, and other tribes, who have hitherto stopped their ears, and refused to speak with the United States about peace; although many speeches have been sent to them for that purpose.

BROTHERS: I propose to send one speech more, requesting them to open a road to some place or other, where we may meet and speak to one another; and I trust, with your assistance, that the Great Spirit will cause the good work to succeed.

BROTHERS: Our Great Chief, General Washington, is very desirous to see a number of your chiefs; to take them by the hand, and smoke the pipe of peace with them, at his council fire—there to brighten the chain of friendship, and personally convince them of the goodness of his heart, and show how strong he and all the great chiefs of the United States hold you.

BROTHERS: If you agree that one or two chiefs from each tribe should visit the Great Chief, General Washington, as I propose, I shall provide for every expense of the journey, and a safe convoy and accommodation, both going and returning. The route will be from here to the falls of Ohio, by land, thence by water to Pittsburg, and from thence by land to Philadelphia.

BROTHERS: If you listen to me in this, I have no doubt but you will find the interest and happiness of your tribes greatly increased, by the good things which the Great Chief will do further for you.

BROTHERS: I wish you to take my words into consideration, and return me an answer as soon as you have determined.

[2d CONGRESS.]

No. 32.

[2d SESSION.]

SOUTHERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, NOVEMBER 15, 1792.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *November, 15th 1792.*

SIR:

I have the honor to submit to the honorable the Senate, by order of the President of the United States, an extract of a letter from James Seagrove Esq, temporary agent to the Creek Nation, dated the 28th ultimo, containing further information relative to Indian affairs in the Southern department.

I have the honor to be, sir, with perfect respect, your most obedient servant,

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

The PRESIDENT of the Honorable the Senate of the United States.

*Extract of a letter from James Seagrove, Esq. to the Secretary of War, dated*

ST. MARY'S, *23th October, 1792.*

My last respects were under date of the 17th instant, per the sloop Polly, via Savannah. Since then, I have received frequent accounts from the Creek nation, all of which are favorable for our country.

The greatest part of the chiefs, and many of their people, are on their way to me. In four days from this time, I expect part of them in.

Yesterday, my interpreter, Mr. Bryant, arrived from the nation, and brought me a letter from General McGilivray, a copy of which I now enclose. I know not how you may like this letter of the General's; I confess it does not by any means please me. It is, however, as I expected; that, if matters did not succeed to the wish of his Spanish friends, that we should see him back in the nation, acting with the same duplicity he ever hath done. His pretensions as to being the means of bringing the Indians to meet me at this time, are fallacious, as on a review of matters will plainly appear.

The Cowetas and Cussetahs were the first to request it, at the Rock Landing, in July last. At that time, he was not in the nation, and his absence since must have prevented, not having had any intercourse with the people. Their different talks to me, plainly show it was their own act. The favorable change of sentiment, as well as conduct of the Creek nation, since his absence, is conspicuous in a great degree. Would to God he had continued a few months longer with his friends in West Florida; but no, that would not answer their purpose; he is sent back to distract our measures, and, if possible, prevent any thing being done. His assertions with respect to the Indians being averse to running the line, are absolutely false. I am confident that all those interested in the event, are anxious to have it done, which doubtless you have observed in their communications with me.

Unfortunate man! I really pity him. He must now feel severe stings for his want of integrity to the United States, and gratitude to his benefactors, and is extremely hard driven to keep his head above water, and carry on his scene of deception toward them.

I have reason to dread that he comes determined to undermine and injure our cause all in his power; but I hope the Indians are, or will be convinced, that the United States are their best friends, and will not be led by him.

Observe again, we have his frivolous excuse, *want of horses* to attend our meeting. It is saying very little for his influence or consequence in the nation, that he cannot command a horse to ride. He can find plenty for any

other service; but the truth is, he is ashamed to meet many of the chiefs, who, he knows, would upbraid him for his conduct, and at the same time fears offending his Spanish friends.

These, sir, are my sentiments of this man, and though I shall act to him as placing the greatest confidence in all he does or says, yet, in my heart, I must despise him, and of course will watch strictly all his plans and designs, and give you my candid opinion of them.

If I am not very much opposed by his underhand machinations, I shall have the line run this winter. I think it will be the most favorable season; the difficulty in the woods will not be so great, and the health of the troops will not be in so great danger.

What McGillivray says respecting the intrusions of the white people from the frontier of Cumberland, I have reason to fear is but too true; but this you must have more direct from Governor Blount.

It is to be lamented that the insatiable rage which our frontier brethren have for extending their limits, could not be checked, and kept within the bounds set them by the General Government. The United States, like most other countries, is unfortunate in having the worst class of people on her frontiers, where there is least energy to be expected in her civil government; and where, unless supported in the early stages of settlement by military force, civil authority becomes a nullity.

I am extremely sorry to hear that the Cherokees are likely to be hostile to the United States. I am happy to say that I cannot discover a trace of disaffection or backsliding in the Creeks, in consequence of the commotions among the Cherokees. No endeavors on my part shall be wanting to keep them apart.

Should the Cherokees have the audacity to take up arms against the United States, I fondly hope that not a moment will be lost in chastising them in the most exemplary manner. If they are allowed to proceed any length, and are successful, the infection will unquestionably spread among the other Southern tribes, and when, or where it may end, God only knows. Permit me to suggest the idea of a spirited, powerful volunteer expedition, from the three Southern States, being immediately sent into their country, and break them up.

About six days past, arrived here from the Rock Landing, a detachment of twenty men, under command of Lieutenant Nicoll, of the artillery. By him I received your favor of the 11th of August last, with one thousand dollars in bank bills, as also, the whole of the silver ware you mention, which shall be disposed of agreeably to your wish.

Last evening, arrived here, the sloop Commerce, Wm. Morrison, master, from Philadelphia, with the remainder of the five thousand bushels of corn, and some few dry goods, for Indian use. I shall discharge her as soon as possible, at the same place with the rest, where are very commodious stores provided.

If nothing unforeseen take place, I shall return with the chiefs into the nation.

It would be of great utility to the service, as well as to the citizens and commerce of this country, if the Post Office would extend their posts to this place. It now comes within eighty-five miles (to Sunbury) and from thence is a very good wagon road to this place, by the way of Reed's Bluff, on the Altamaha; where is a regularly kept ferry; from thence to the Burnt Fort, on Great Setilla, where is also a ferry; and from thence to this town, only thirty-five miles. I hope you will see the great certainty this would add to all communications; and therefore will urge its being carried into effect, as soon as possible.

[ENCLOSURES.]

*James Durouzeaux, Indian Interpreter, to James Seagrove, Esquire.*

COWETA, 15th October, 1792.

SIR:

I am desired by the chiefs of the Cowetas and Cussetahs to inform you, that they have once more agreed to come and see you at St. Mary's: I send you General McGillivray's letter, for fear I cannot get a horse to do myself the honor of waiting on you, as I have had the misfortune to lose all mine, by a distemper that has proved very mortal amongst the horses with us.

The Indians beg you will be so kind as to acquaint them, by a runner, the place of meeting; and to have plenty of provisions for them, as they are very scarce: some families have made none this summer.

As to other particulars, I refer until I come down, which will be with the Indians, if I can get a horse.

I am, sir, &c.

JAMES DUROUZEUX, *Interpreter.*

*John Galphin, a half-breed, to James Seagrove, Esquire.*

KINNARD'S COWPEN, in the Creek Nation, 15th October, 1792.

SIR:

I arrived here this morning, and, finding the Lower Towns on their way down, Mr. Kinnard and myself thought proper for Mr. Bryant to return as soon as possible to you. We still find that some busy person is still trying to stop the Cussetahs, and towns round them, from coming down to you. But I hope to be in the Cussetahs in two days from this time; and shall try to put a stop to such proceedings; and I flatter myself that I shall be able to bring the chiefs down to your satisfaction. We have heard that General McGillivray is come home, but don't intend coming down.

The Indians that Willbanks sent to Providence, are returned, and very much displeased at Lord Dunmore's treatment, not giving them any presents, and little countenance. I shall make all speed to return, but not till I see the chiefs and Indians set off, that I may be sure there will be no disappointment to you.

JOHN GALPHIN.

LITTLE TALLASSEE, 9th October, 1792.

DEAR SIR:

I wrote you some time in May last, informing you of the situation of matters in this country, and of my intention to visit the Baron de Carondelet, the new Governor of Louisiana. So, on my return, landing in Mobile, there I got a violent fever which long held me: at Pensacola I found a letter from you. On my coming home, not being fully recovered, I could not go to the Lower Towns, and I sent for the Micos and warriors of the Cussetahs and Coweta towns to come up to me, and bring with them, what talks or letters you might have sent to them during my absence. They came, and handed me the talk which you delivered to the Indians in July, at the Rock Landing. On my leaving the nation, I desired them, in the most pressing terms, to pay no attention to the clamor raised by Bowles, (or, as they called themselves, the English party) but to proceed to meet you at the Rock Landing without delay, and finish the business of the nation, as has been agreed upon, at the last general meeting. They gave as a reason for not doing it, that the opposite party threatened to proceed to direct hostilities against Georgia, if the line was attempted to be run; and rather than bring on that mischief, it was agreed to postpone the matter until my return.

I found the Spaniards much alarmed at the treaty of New York, and seemed bent to use every means to overstep it. In the four months of my absence, their agents held several meetings to persuade the Indians to proceed to hostilities; but the chiefs wisely declined any measures until my arrival.



The Baron and I had long conversations on the subject of the treaty of New York. I observed to him, that, considering the *circumstances* under which I treated; we had no reason to complain; nor did the stipulation of it clash with those we concluded on at Pensacola, in 1784; nor would the massacre of women and children, of the State of Georgia, be of any service to the Spanish interest, and as he declared that his interference was only meant to support the rights and claims of the nation, agreeable to the article stipulated in the Pensacola treaty; that we, being the only proper judges of our own affairs, to let us settle them as we deemed best for our advantages. Agreeable to this, I have instructed the Cussetahs and Cowetas, (they being the representation of the White and War towns, and to whom it was left by a general voice in meeting, to settle the affairs of the limits) to lose no time in meeting, for the purpose to which they have assented, seemingly fully determined, and Durouzeaux attends and urges them on as fast as possible. And this letter will be sent express, via Kinnard's; and the Micoes set out in a fortnight.

I am concerned to remark, that the peace cannot be preserved so generally as we wish, owing to the Cumberland people persisting in attempting to extend their settlements south to the Chickasaw nation, in which they are assisted by Piamingo of that nation, who is not a real Chickasaw by descent, yet by his merit, as a warrior, has an influence over a party which he leads. A meeting between them has been lately held on the Cherokee river, at which the Mingo of that nation likewise attended. The result, I hear, is, that he refused the demand made for extending the settlements of the whites further west and south than Cumberland; and the hunters of this quarter will attack all they can find attempting it, or have got beyond their bounds.

The strictest inquiry has been made, without effect, to discover the murderers of young *Pew*: neither the gun or horse has been seen in the nation in any one's possession. This affair will deter (I imagine) any Indian from venturing in the settlements. It is of no consequence whether a line is run or not, as I have already explained to the honorable the Secretary of War. The river is a boundary that can't be mistaken or removed. For the rest I refer you to the Cussetah, Mico, and the interpreter.

We have heard of the discontents and threats of the frontier people. Let me recommend to you to settle matters as the nation now offers, and leave something to time.

A distemper, the like has not been known in the memory of man, has raged among our horses for these two years, and still continues; most of the traders and Indians have no horses left. The Choctaws and Chickasaws are in the same situation. I am entirely on foot, and to fill up the measure of distress, a bad season is starving us. With most sincere esteem and best wishes,

I remain, my dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRAY.

HON. JAMES SEAGROVE, ESQR.

*Superintendent and Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the United States.*

St. MARY'S, 28th October, 1792.

The preceding, is an exact copy from the original.

JAMES SEAGROVE.

[2d CONGRESS.]

No. 33.

[2d SESSION.]

### NORTHWESTERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, DECEMBER 6, 1792.

*Gentlemen of the Senate  
and of the House of Representatives:*

The several measures which have been pursued to induce the hostile Indian tribes, North of the Ohio, to enter into a conference or treaty with the United States, at which all causes of difference might be fully understood, and justly and amicably arranged, have already been submitted to both Houses of Congress.

The papers herewith sent will inform you of the result.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, December the 6th, 1792.

WAR DEPARTMENT, December 6th, 1792.

SIR:

In explanation of the speeches from the chiefs of the Six Nations, herewith submitted, it may be proper to observe, that Jasper Parish, who is a temporary interpreter to those tribes, informs verbally, that the said chiefs returned from the hostile tribes to Buffalo Creek about the last of October. That they immediately sent a runner to General Chapin, the temporary agent to the Six Nations, and who resides at Canandaigua, about ninety or one hundred miles distant. That he being absent, his son and the interpreter repaired to Buffalo Creek, where they received the said speeches.

Besides the papers transmitted by Mr. Chapin, the interpreter says, that a list of the tribes which composed the council at the Au Glaize, on the Miami river of Lake Erie, was taken by Mr. Chapin, but he omitted to transmit it.

He was informed by the chiefs of the Six Nations, that, at the council of the hostile Indians, which was numerous, but the numbers not specified, no other white person was admitted but Simon Girty, whom they considered as one of themselves.

That the chiefs of the Shawanese were the only speakers, on the part of the hostile Indians, and Red Jacket, the Seneca Chief, the only speaker on the part of the friendly Indians.

That Captain Brandt did not arrive at the Au Glaize until after the council had broken up, which, probably, by a comparison of circumstances, happened about the 10th or 12th of October.

That Captain Hendricks, the chief of the Stockbridge Indians, had proved unfaithful, having delivered the message, belt, and map, with which he was entrusted for the hostile Indians, to Mr. McKee, the British Indian agent, and that the said Hendricks did not repair to the council at all.

The said Jasper Parish also adds, that Red Jacket was exceedingly desirous of repairing to Philadelphia in person, but Mr. Chapin apprehending the expenses, persuaded him to the contrary. This circumstance is exceedingly to be regretted, as further information and explanations would be highly desirable at this moment, in order to judge with greater precision of the meaning of the speeches, which may have suffered in the translation, as well as in other respects.

I have the honor to be, sir, with the highest respect, your obedient and humble servant,

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

The PRESIDENT of the United States.

CANANDAIGUA, November 22, 1792.

Sir:

Enclosed are the speeches of the Western Indians to the Six Nations, as also their speeches delivered to me in council, at Buffalo creek, which will be handed you by Mr. Parish, who is employed by the United States as an interpreter to my father,

You will observe by them, the mode the Indians wish to have pursued, to hold a council next spring; perhaps Mr. Parish can give you some information, which is not noted in the speeches, though I think every observation is minuted.

There were a number of gentlemen from Niagara, who attended the council at Buffalo creek, amongst which, was Colonel Butler, the Indian agent under the British Government, who, in some of his leisure hours, expressed himself, that unless proper means were taken, a lasting peace could not take place; but if the United States' proposals are honorable, he would give every assistance in his power, but if otherwise, he should prevent a peace taking place.

Major Littletrates, who represented Governor Simcoe, assured me it was the disposition of the Governor to give every assistance in his power to procure peace on equitable terms.

I am, sir, with every sentiment of respect and esteem,

Your humble servant,

ISRL. CHAPIN, Jr.

Hon. HENRY KNOX, Esq.

BUFFALO CREEK, November 16, 1792.

BROTHERS, PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, AND KING'S PEOPLE, *take notice!*

Last winter the President took us by the hand, and led us to the council fire, at Philadelphia; there they made known to us their friendship, and requested of us to proceed to the Westward, and to use our influence to make peace with the hostile Indians: we went accordingly, and made known to them our agreement.

When we returned from Philadelphia to Buffalo creek, the chiefs that remained at home on their seats, was well pleased with what we had done at Philadelphia; and after we had determined to proceed on our journey, some of our chiefs was detained on account of sickness.

BROTHERS, PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, AND KING'S PEOPLE:

After we arrived at the Westward, we met with an agreeable reception; they informed us we was their oldest brothers, and appeared as the sun risen on them, as they always looked to them for advice.

It is now four years since we have heard your voices, and should be happy now to hear what you have to relate to us.

The Six Nations then requested of the Western Indians what they had to relate to them, as they kindled the council fire.

The WESTERN INDIANS replied: About four years since your voices came to us, desiring us to combine ourselves together, as we was the eldest people of this island, and all of one color, that our minds may be one.

This they informed us they had attended to, and exhibited a large bunch of wampum to prove the same, from each nation.

To confirm it still further, they informed us we sent them a pipe, which passed through all the nations at the west and southward; all smoked out of it, both women and children; and as this pipe has been through the nations, and all smoked out of it, they then returned it to us, and bid us to smoke out of it ourselves.

BROTHERS: Listen once to your eldest brothers: Our forefathers have handed down to us, that we are one people, of one color, on this island, and ought to be of one mind, and had made our minds strong, and had become as one people in peace and friendship.

This being done, our chiefs agreed to hand it down to future posterity, and the same combination to continue down to them.

The nation called the Unions, took a brand from our fire and kindled it, and became a people with us; then we considered ourselves as one people, combined together.

And now there is a white people on this island who are watching our conduct; but let us attend to our own concerns, and brighten the chain of friendship with our nations: and as our minds are one, let us consider future posterity, and not consider those young warriors who are in the prime of life, and so much engaged in the pursuit of land, &c. which is the cause of so much difficulty at present.

BROTHERS: Consider your country, which is good, and conduct yourselves in such a manner as to keep it to yourselves and posterity.

Now, BROTHERS: You present us the pipe you say your oldest brothers sent you; you say your head chiefs all smoked out of it, and returning it to us again, all took it, and smoked out of it ourselves, in friendship. Now, as we are thus combined together, we are able to lift a heavy burden.

SHAWANEE NATION.—OUR ELDEST BROTHERS: We have heard what you have related—we have heard it with attention; we consider it as if you delivered it from the outside of your lips; although you consider us your younger brothers, your seats are not at such a distance, but what we can see your conduct plainly; these are the reasons why we consider you to speak from the outside of your lips; for whenever you hear the voice of the United States, you immediately take your packs and attend their councils.

We see plainly folded under your arm the voice of the United States—wish you to unfold it to us, that we may see it freely and consult on it. [Speaking on a string of wampum of three strings, throwing it across the fire to us, instead of handing it in a friendly manner.]

Then we proceeded to relate the instructions of Congress, which is too tedious to relate, and which they already know; but when we first related it, we failed for interpreters, so that they had not a proper idea of it; they appeared to be very much ruffled in their minds, and adjourned the council to the next day; then it was interpreted properly to them, and they appeared easy in their minds.

ELDEST BROTHERS: You desire us to consider our country and property; we will accept of your advice, and proceed accordingly.

SIX NATIONS.—Let us look back to the time of white people coming into this country; very soon began to traffic for land. Soon after, Sir Wm. Johnston was sent as an agent from the King, and he began to purchase at the treaty at fort Stanwix, and purchased all east of the river Ohio.

A few years after this purchase, the people of the States and the King's people broke apart, and we being persuaded to take the King's part, became very bad for us. After a few years, the King was beat; then the States took possession of all the land the English formerly took from the French.

You tell us, we come with the voice of the United States; we do, together with the advice of the King. He tells us, not to throw our minds on either side, but to listen to reason, &c. and remain a people confederated.

SHAWANEE NATION.—NOW, ELDEST BROTHERS: You come to us with your opinion, and the voice of the United States. It is your mind to put an end to all hostilities. Brothers: now we will relate what took place last fall, in our country. General Washington sent an army into our country, which fell into our hands; their orders was thus, to proceed into our country as far as the Miami towns, to the Glazie; thence to Detroit, but not to molest the King's people, and if the army should meet any people that appeared friendly, to leave them behind their backs without harm.

The President of the United States must well know, why the blood is so deep in our paths. We have been informed, he has sent messengers of peace on these bloody roads, who fell on the way. And now, as he knows that road to be bloody, no communication to take place through that bloody way, as there is a path through the Six Nations' country, which is smooth and easy. If he wants to send the voice of peace, it must pass through this road.

**ELDEST BROTHERS:** We have been informed, the President of the United States thinks himself the greatest man on this Island. We had this country long in peace, before we saw any person of a white skin; we consider the people of a white skin the younger.

**BROTHERS:** You inform us it is the wish of the white people, to hold council with us, General Washington being the head-man; we will consent to treat with them; we desire you, our older brothers, to inform General Washington we will treat with him, at the Rapids of Miami, next spring, or at the time when the leaves are fully out.

We consider ourselves still the proper owners of some land on the east side of the Ohio.

But we will deliver up that, for money that has been paid to some individuals, for land on the west side of the river Ohio.

**BROTHERS:** You have given us a dish and one spoon, desiring the whole combination to eat with them; we accept of them, and shall do accordingly.

We are now about to complete the business you came on. When you return, you will make known to the President, what we have done; it may be, he will not consent to what we have proposed; and if he will not, we must call on you to assist in the heavy burden which will lie on us. We have opened a path for them and pointed out a way, and, if he will not walk in it, we must have your assistance.

Now, our **ELDEST BROTHERS:** When the President came to you, he took you aside to hear what he had to say. He desired you to come to us, and deliver the messages; you have delivered them, and we desire you to deliver the messages we have given you to deliver to him, and desire him to send a message back, what he will do respecting what we have done and concluded on; to forward it to you, and you to us. We will lay the bloody tomahawk aside, until we hear from the President of the United States, and when this message comes to us, we will send it to all the different nations. [Speaking on three strings of wampum.]

#### *Speech from the Six Nations to the President.*

You sent us on the Westward, with a message of peace to the hostile Indians.

We proceeded accordingly to your directions, and was protected, going and coming, by the Great Spirit.

We give thanks to the Great Spirit, that we have all returned safe to our seats.

While we was at the Westward, we exerted ourselves to bring about peace. The fatigues we underwent, are not small. Now, it is our desire for your people, on the Ohio, to lay down their arms, or otherwise it is all in vain, what we have done.

Now, if you wish for peace, you must make every exertion, and proceed through this path, we have directed for you. If peace does not take place, the fault must arise from your people.

We now desire you, brothers, to send forward agents, who are men of honesty, not proud land jobbers, but men who love and desire peace. Also, desire they may be accompanied by some Friend or Quaker, to attend the council.

Wish you to exert yourselves, to forward the message to the Western Indians as soon as possible; and we are taken by the hand, and have agreed, next spring, to attend the council at the Rapids of Miami, when we shall hear all that takes place there.

#### *Hostile Indians to Governor Simcoe.*

**BROTHERS:** We have been informed, the late Governor is a good man; we desire that you will take the Governor by the hand, and lead him to the council next spring. Exert yourselves to get him up, that he may not be backward; that he may sit side and side with the Americans at the time of the council. And when you take him by the hand, desire him to furnish us with provisions necessary for the treaty.

#### *Six Nations to the Governor.*

**BROTHERS:** Now, we have laid all our proceedings before you, which took place at the Westward. You have heard the request of your Western brothers, therefore, wish you to exert yourself to grant their requests.

You informed us, to listen to the voice of peace, wherever we might hear it. Now we hear the voice of peace; we call on you for assistance, that we may obtain peace through this Island.

**BROTHERS:** We now sit here together; you are the man who represents the United States; we have discerned, that too great a degree of pride has subsisted between the two Governments; we desire that it may be laid aside.

When the agents from the United States come forward to the council, we desire they may bring forward all records, plans, maps, and documents, that any way respect the lands purchased from the Indians.

#### *Fish Carrier's Speech.*

Desiring this degree of pride, which has heretofore subsisted, may be done away, and that each government will mutually consent and agree on terms of peace.

#### *Cornplanter's Speech.*

He informs, that he has always attended treaties, that has been held, and has always wished for peace, and has done all in his power for peace; that he has not advised any hostilities to commence on either side, and, now wishes each government to lay aside all pride and prejudice, and to use their endeavors for peace.

After the council was over, Major Littletrates, who represented Governor Simcoe on that occasion, answered the Indians as follows:

**BROTHERS:**

I shall lay before the governor, your requests; and respecting his furnishing you with provisions, &c. I doubt not but he will do it agreeable to your wishes. And also, to procure all records, plans, and documents, which shall be thought necessary, and to do every thing in his power to bring about a peace, so interesting to the United States, as well as to the British Government.

2d CONGRESS.]

No. 34.

[2d Session.

## SOUTHWESTERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, DECEMBER 7, 1792.

*Gentlemen of the Senate  
and of the House of Representatives:*

I lay before you two letters, with their enclosures, from the Governor of the Southwestern Territory, and an extract of a letter to him from the Department of War.

These, and a letter of the 9th of October last, which has been already communicated to you, from the same Department to the Governor, will show in what manner the first section of the act of the last session, which provides for calling out the militia for the repelling of Indian invasions, has been executed. It remains to be considered by Congress, whether, in the present situation of the United States; it be advisable or not, to pursue any further, or other measures, than those which have been already adopted. The nature of the subject does, of itself, call for your immediate attention to it. And I must add, that, upon the result of your deliberations, the future conduct of the Executive will, on this occasion, materially depend.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, December 7th, 1792.

*Governor Blount to the Secretary of War.*

KNOXVILLE, November 8th, 1792.

SIR:

I had the honor to receive your letter of the 15th August, on the 21st of October, by a return express from Richmond, the same that conveyed my letter of the 14th of September to that place, and to receive that of the 9th of October, by Mr. Tatham, express, on the 25th of the same month, whom I have detained until this time, to convey this letter as far as Richmond. The reason why I have so long detained him is, when he arrived, and several days after, I was so indisposed as to be confined to my room, and mostly to my bed, and until now I have not been able to write you in answer, as fully as the subject required. You request a statement of the alleged and actual causes for the violent conduct of the Indians. The letter of the Bloody Fellow to me, of the 10th September, contains all that I have ever heard alleged, a copy of which I forwarded to you, and my letter to him of the 13th, in answer, a copy of which I also forwarded to your office, will be found, I hope, to contain a sufficient answer to such alleged causes. The actual causes will be found in the narratives of Jo. Deraque and Richard Finselton, already transmitted to your office, and in that of James Carey, herewith enclosed, namely, the officers administering the government of Louisiana, and their instrument, Mr. Panton.

I enclose you a return of the persons killed, wounded, or carried into captivity, in or from this territory, since the first day of January, 1791, by the Creeks and Cherokees, including, under the name of the latter, those Shawane who lived in their land, that is, about thirty.

The sufferings of these persons cannot be charged on the Spaniards, as very few of them have happened since Watts' return, but may be accounted for from a principle of Indian education, "that all national honors are acquired by the shedding of blood;" consequently, all who wish for national honors will shed the blood of white people, as Indians no longer kill Indians, as was the constant practice when the principle was established. Another reason for these depredations is, that the white people living among the Creeks and Cherokees, (the greatest of all rascals) and the half breeds, who are numerous, and mostly traders, encourage the Indians to steal horses from the citizens of the United States, to the end that they may purchase them. Thus encouraged, the Indians go into the frontier settlements in search of horses, and if they find an unarmed person, or family, fall on them; and if they take horses and are pursued, kill in their own defence. As soon as the Indians return to the nation with the horses, those who encouraged the stealing of them become the purchasers, and shortly after, knowing the quarter from whence they were taken, carry them out of the nation in a different direction, and sell them to a great profit. This is also a reason why so many horses are stolen; and I verily believe, not one less than five hundred have been stolen from this territory since the first day of January last, an account of which I have not yet been able to collect. And, to throw more light upon this subject, I conceive it necessary here to add, that the want of government, both in the Creeks and Cherokees, is such, that all the chiefs in either nation can neither restrain nor punish the most worthless fellow in it, from, nor for, a violation of the existing treaties, let the enormity of it be ever so great or evident; nor, if demanded by the United States, dare they deliver him up to be punished. Every Indian nation is divided into families, or clans; and it is a law among them, that each clan shall protect and take satisfaction for all injuries offered to the person of each individual of it, whatever his offences may be, except that of killing an Indian of another clan; and then, if the injured clan, or any of its members, take satisfaction, it is well, and the matter ends.

The better to explain how this clanish law operates, I beg leave to trouble you with the following story: The brother of the chief now called the Bloody Fellow, had killed a white man, Cameron; the British Superintendent demanded him, and upon his being delivered, had him put to death; and, in a little time after, the Bloody Fellow put to death the fellow who delivered, or caused his brother to be delivered to Cameron.

Having shown the alleged and real causes of the declaration of war, and the probable causes of the depredations committed prior to the declaration of war, I will now offer some reasons why neither may be justly charged to the encroachments on their hunting grounds. You will recollect that the Cherokee deputies who waited on you last autumn and winter, the Bloody Fellow, Nontuaka, and others, made no complaint respecting the line established by the treaty of Holston, except that they wished the ridge, which divides the Tennessee and the Little river, to be the line, in preference of a straight line, from the place where that ridge struck the Holston. Now, the settlers south of that ridge have not suffered by the Indians since the treaty of Holston, neither in person nor property, except Mr. Gallaspie, on the 12th of September, in having one son killed and another made prisoner; and that was by the Creeks; who never had a claim to a foot of land on the north side of the Tennessee.

It is observable, that most of the depredations committed before the declaration of war, and the attack since, have been committed and made on the people of Miro district, (waters of Cumberland) by the Creeks and Cherokees.

The Creeks having never had the color of claim to land on the north side of the Tennessee, it is not necessary to say any thing to show that their conduct must have been occasioned by other motives than a claim relatively to boundaries. And if the Cherokees ever had a claim, it has been extinguished by two public treaties, that of Hopewell and Holston; at the last of which, a valuable consideration was paid in hand, and since, the first annual payment has been made, and principally received by the inhabitants of the five Lower towns, who have declared war against the United States. Thus, if the Cherokees ever had a claim, it has been twice extinguished, and by two public treaties. But, by the best information I can collect, the claim of the Cherokees to the lands lying on Cumberland, is a recent thing; there are many very respectable people now living who were present at the time. Richard Henderson and Company purchased from them *their claim* to the lands lying on Cumberland, as well as nearly all those included within what is now the limits of Kentucky. And they told Henderson, pointedly, that they did not sell

him any right, for they had none; they only sold him their claim. And a recurrence to the minutes of the late conference, near Nashville, with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, will show that the former claimed, in strong terms, all the lands north of the Tennessee, and below the old field, where a part of their nation formerly lived, and as far eastwardly as the head waters of Elk and Duck, and to the ridge which divides the waters of Cumberland and Duck. And James Carey, the interpreter, informs me, that, upon the return of the Cherokee agents, who were at that conference, and who had a literal copy of the minutes, as reported to your office, they caused it to be read and explained to the chiefs at Estanaula, and they confessed that the Chickasaw claim was just; and it will appear by the same minutes, that the Chickasaws considered that they ceded to the United States, and not the Cherokees, the lands lying south of the ridge which divides the waters of Cumberland and Duck rivers, that is, the lands lying on the waters of Cumberland river. And so they did by a treaty held at Nashville, in the year 1783, by Colonels Donelson and Martin, Commissioners from the State of Virginia, two years prior to the treaty of Hopewell, by which the Cherokees ceded them. This treaty, probably, never was reported to Congress.

Thus I have shown, the Cherokees never had a well founded claim to the lands lying on Cumberland River, and if they had, that they have ceded them, by two public treaties, to the United States; and that they have once been paid for them by an individual. His having no right to purchase or receive the title makes nothing in their favor; they had a right to divest themselves of their title or claim, if any they had.

I also enclose you an account of the number and loss of the Indians who made the attack upon Buchanan's station, and an account of Indian depredations on the district of Miro and on the Kentucky road, from the 3d to the 14th of October, by which you will be informed that, although I have chose to consider the five Lower Towns as the only ones engaged in the war against the United States, for reasons which, in my limited situation, appear politic, yet, that the contrary is the fact. If the reason given for the commission of the depredations, prior to the declaration of war, be just, they seem to prove that no faith can be placed in treaties formed with such nations, and point out the necessity of establishing fortifications for the protection of the frontier inhabitants, while those causes exist; and, if the causes assigned for the declaration of war be just, they operate as additional reasons for making them so much the stronger so long as the war shall continue.

Reference being had to the copy of my letter to the Little Turkey, and the other chiefs of the Cherokees, of the 4th of June, which has been forwarded to your office, it will appear, in that letter, I proposed to the Cherokee chiefs that they should appoint commissioners on their part, to meet commissioners which I would appoint, on the part of the United States, on the second Monday in October, to extend and mark the line agreeable to the treaty of Holston; and the journal of the council at Estanaula, a copy of which is also in your office, contains an acknowledgment of the receipt of that letter. The chiefs never answered whether they would or would not send commissioners, as by me proposed, but, lest they should send them, and complain in case I did not, I appointed and sent forward, to attend at the day and place, Judge Campbell, Charles M'Clung, and John McKee, the two latter in the place of General Smith and Colonel Carter, who could not attend; but no commissioners on their part appeared. To these commissioners I gave instructions, a copy of which you have enclosed, and they extended and measured the line agreeably to those instructions, from Clinch to Chilhowee Mountain—distance about twenty-five miles; but they have delayed to make their report, because, with it, they wish to present an accurate map of the part of the country through which it will pass, and they have not yet been able to complete it; both of which shall be forwarded to your office by the first conveyance after I receive them; but this I can now inform you, from their works which I have seen, that that line cannot be run, agreeably to the treaty of Holston, without leaving out several plantations on Nine-mile Creek, perhaps eight or ten, nor without striking near the mouth of Clinch. These settlements were all made prior to the treaty of Holston, hence I presume they will not be deemed encroachments or violations of that treaty, and I conceive cannot be so considered until the line shall be established, and these settlers shall refuse to move off.

Upon the principle that war dissolves all treaties, perhaps what I have said on the subject of this line may be considered uninteresting matter; but I have thought it necessary, lest it should be suspected, from the Bloody Fellow's letter, that encroachments had already taken place in that quarter.

General Sevier, with the troops mentioned in my letter of the 27th of September, as ordered into service, is in the field, advanced about thirty-five miles southwest of Knoxville, that is, at the mouth of Clinch, with his main force; the other parts of his brigade are detached to different parts of the frontiers of Washington district, for the protection thereof, with my orders to act on the defensive, under the limitations mentioned in your letter of the 9th of October.

The advantages of the troops at the mouth of Clinch are, they will cut off all communication by water, between the Upper and Lower Cherokees; they will deter, in a greater degree, and can more easily intercept, incursive parties from it, than any other situation; they will impress the Lower towns with apprehensions of sudden attacks by water, as well as by horsemen; the distance by water can be passed in from forty to forty eight hours. These apprehensions will induce them to stay at home, to act on the defensive, or to remove their families and property to the mountains, on the approach of an army, instead of going to attack our frontiers. Troops at that place will also give protection, in a great degree, to the travellers to the district of Miro, and they will not only awe the Lower towns but the Upper too, in a much greater degree than they would or could from any situation on the North side of the Tennessee—a thing truly necessary to keep the young fellows from joining generally the Lower Towns.

Of three companies ordered from this district for the defence of Miro district, the greater part have marched, and the remainder are here on their way. I have not heard from that district since the 14th of October.

The Hanging Maw of Chota, four friendly fellows from Estanaula, and one from Hiwassee, arrived here on Sunday, the 4th, and will leave me to day, accompanied by James Carey, the interpreter, with an escort as far as the Tennessee, to protect them from the insults of ignorant unthinking people, of which there are plenty in all countries. The principal object of their visit was to assure me of the friendship of their particular and neighboring towns, and to beg that they should be spared, when an army should enter their nation; which, from political motives, I affected to believe, although I knew the contrary, (Hiwassee in particular had sixteen warriors with Watts) treated them well, made them some small presents, and sent them home well pleased, declaring their friendship for the United States. During their stay, I endeavored, through Carey, to collect such information as might enable me to form a decided opinion of what the Creeks and Cherokees were about to do; but all they gave was so imperfect and contradictory, that no such opinion could be formed. However, I collected from them that Watts was on the recovery, could walk about; that attempts had been made, and were making, to collect another large party of Cherokees, which was not like to be crowned with such success as before, but that smaller parties, under Talotiskie and other chiefs, would certainly turn out for mischief; that runners had gone to Pensacola, with the disastrous news of the repulse of Watts, and to the Creeks, to inquire when they may be expected. I have engaged James Carey, in compliance with your order of the 9th of October, to go on to the Creeks, if he finds he dare venture, which he can only do in the disguised character of being friendly to them; in which he may serve the United States, by entering into their councils, and by collecting information of their intentions. Was he, or any other person, to appear among them in character of a friend of the United States, he would unquestionably be put to death.

In my last, I assured you of the good conduct of the people of this territory, but an event had like to have taken place that would have compelled me to have given them a different character.

On Monday night last, five Creeks, headed by young Lesley, the son of a Scotchman in the Creek nation, the same that headed the party that killed and captured Gallaspie's son, on the 13th September, came in upon the waters of Little river, about twenty miles from this place, and stole and carried off eight horses; they were traced towards Chilhowee, the nearest Cherokee town. This gave reason to suspect the Chilhowee Indians of the theft: whereupon, as many as fifty-two of the neighboring people, including the sufferers, assembled together in arms, and determined to go and destroy Chilhowee and Tallassee too, a little adjacent town, and actually did march; but General Sevier received information of their intentions, and despatched orders to them to disperse, and return home, which they obeyed; and thus the matter happily ended. This affords a proof, both of the feelings and inclinations of the people, and of their obedience to the orders of Government; but I do assure you, much as I have said in favor of their past conduct, that I am hourly in fear that their thirst for revenge, or, what is here termed satisfaction, will

lead them to break through the bounds of good order and government, notwithstanding what can be said or done to prevent it. If war should be declared against the Cherokees and Creeks, or either, I conceive it essential to inform you that, in the district of Washington, in this territory, as many as five hundred horsemen, or mounted infantry, can be raised at thirty days' notice, to perform a three months tour of duty, of the best marksmen in the world, armed with good rifles, and that, in any arrangement for a campaign, they may be counted on to a certainty. I have said thirty days, but I believe, in fifteen; but it is to be understood that, in case of counting on them to a certainty, that they are to be commanded by militia officers, and to be headed by General Sevier; and I will venture to say that, besides General Sevier, there is a sufficient number of officers in this district to command that number of men, equal, in Indian warfare, to any other officers in America. Accounts from the Chickasaws and Choctaws, as late as the first day of October, on which I depend, say that the Chickasaws and Choctaws breathe the warmest spirit of friendship for the United States, and that the Choctaws, on their return home, drove Boshears, the Spanish agent, who prevented a part of that nation from coming to the conference, from among them, and that the Spanish Government have sent up a Frenchman to supply his place. I hope and trust the late conference has had the good effect to keep these two nations at least quiet, so that we shall not have them to contend with as well as the Creeks and Cherokees.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem,  
Your most obedient humble servant,

WM. BLOUNT.

HENRY KNOX, Esq. *Secretary of War.*

*Minutes of information given Governor Blount by James Carey, one of the interpreters of the United States, in the Cherokee Nation.*

After leaving Coyatee, on the 25th day of May, the day after the conference at that place, which promised nothing but peace and friendship, Carey proceeded, with many Indians, (among whom was John Watts) to Toquo, distant fifteen miles, where a letter was handed to Watts, (written by Mr. Panton, a merchant of great business of Pensacola, then in the Cherokee nation) addressed to the Bloody Fellow, as well as Watts. Mr. Panton wrote it from the house of Mr. McDonald, a Scotchman, an old resident in the Cherokee nation, and, in the late war, a deputy under Colonel Brown, who succeeded Colonel Stewart in the superintendency of the nation; and McDonald forwarded it to Watts by an Indian runner. The contents of the letter was to invite Watts and the Bloody Fellow, in the name of Governor O'Neal, to come down to Pensacola with ten pack horses; that they should have from Governor O'Neal arms and ammunition, as many and as much as they wanted, and that Panton himself would supply their nation with goods in plenty. Mr. Panton, during his stay in the nation, made the house of his countryman, McDonald, his head quarters, from whence they together paid a visit to the Little Turkey, and spent several days, Mr. McDonald acting as interpreter between Mr. Panton and the Turkey. The particulars of their conversation, it is supposed, never fully transpired; but it is said, and believed, that Panton invited the Turkey to visit Governor O'Neal; assured him that the Governor would give him arms and ammunition at Pensacola; that Mr. McDonald would accompany him in such a journey; that he (Panton) would supply the nation with goods much cheaper than they had heretofore purchased them; that the Creeks had agreed that the Spaniards might erect a fort at the Alabama fork, a mile below Mr. McGillivray's house, for the protection of the Creeks and Cherokees, and where arms and ammunition would be kept for them both. This Alabama fork is a place where the French once had a fort, to and from which there is water sufficient for large boats to pass up and down from thence to Mobile. Shortly after Watts received the letter that Panton addressed to him, and the Bloody Fellow, they went together to Mr. McDonald's house, and stayed with him a day and a night. Mr. McDonald wrote a letter to Governor O'Neal, recommending Watts, and his uncle Taltieske, in high terms: he also wrote a letter to Governor O'Neal, in the name and at the request of the Bloody Fellow; the contents were, that he had been to see the President, where he was well treated, but as far to seek for his lands as ever; that he was glad to hear that the Spaniards would supply his nation with arms and ammunition, and assist in the recovery of his lands; that he had been blind a long time, but now his eyes were open, he would let go the hands of the United States, and take fast hold of the Spaniards; and requested that the Governor would not permit Watts to return without plenty of arms and ammunition, and that he himself, and the Turkey, and some other of the chiefs, would come down with Mr. McDonald, some time hence, to visit him. The Bloody Fellow then accompanied Watts to the crossing of the Coosa river, encamped with him all night, and returned; and Watts and his companions proceeded for Pensacola, with ten pack horses. At this time, (about the last of June) the national council were about to sit at Estanaula, by appointment made at the conference at Coyatee, at the request of the Bloody Fellow, to receive his report touching the business he had been on to Philadelphia, and to hear the big book read, which he had brought from the War Office. The council waited his coming three days before business was entered upon. At length he sent, as an apology, that one of his relations was unwell, and he could not come. He did not appear at the council, and his absence can be attributed only to the letters he received from Panton: for at Coyatee he was a warm partisan for the United States, as was his friend Watts.

The demand of the Little Turkey, contained in his speech, in council, of the — day of June, "that the ridge between Cumberland and Greene river should be the line," can be accounted for no otherwise than from the visit of Panton. At the time the Little Turkey was delivering this part of his speech, the Jobber's Son, sitting at a distance, observed to those around him, in a low accent, that it was now too late to talk of that line, for they had established a different one at the treaty of Holston: to which the Young Frog replied, "that is nothing; then we had nobody to back us; now we have, and can get to that line;" meaning, as Carey now supposes, the Spaniards.

Immediately after the return of John Watts and his uncle, from Pensacola to Willstown, in the latter part of August, the brother of the late Drugging Canoe, the same that the council at Estanaula declared should succeed to his brother's honors and command, came to Estanaula after the war pipe which he had brought from Detroit, and left at the house of the Old Prince, while the Old Prince was at Philadelphia; which pipe the Old Prince and the King Fisher, on their return from Philadelphia, destroyed; and, being informed of the fate of the war pipe, declared, if the King Fisher was present, he would destroy the medal that had been given him at Philadelphia; that, in future, his talks should be considered as a little boy's, and not as the talks of a man and a warrior. He then requested the Warrior's Son, the Standing Turkey, and the Half Breed, to go to a pipemaker, who lived about twenty miles from Estanaula, and have a pipe made, as near like that which was destroyed as possible, that he might have it to show to the Northwards, whom he daily expected at the Lower towns. About an hour after this conversation had passed, he took the three before mentioned Indians and the Big Fellow out from the company, and delivered them a talk from Watts; that they must attend at Willstown in eight nights; to pay no more attention to the talks of the old chiefs; that they were not to assist the old chiefs in the restitution of horses, or any other property, taken from the United States; that the day was just at hand when the blow was to be struck; that Watts had been to Pensacola, seen Governor O'Neal, and all things were to his wishes; that the thing would be fully explained to their satisfaction on their arrival at Willstown, and delivered them a string of black beads of four strands. This they agreed to, and made Carey acquainted with what had been said to them.

The next day after this conversation, Mr. Shaw presented this fellow, the Drugging Canoe's brother, sometimes called the White Owl's Son, with a scarlet match coat laced, a ruffled shirt, a handkerchief, and some feathers, and a medal. He accepted of all except the medal, offering for apology for not accepting that, that he could not, unless it was offered to him at some public meeting. He then proceeded to tell Mr. Shaw and Carey what valuable presents had been given to him last winter, by the British at Detroit, for the use of himself and his brother, the Drugging Canoe, namely, a pair of large and a pair of small arm bands for each, three gorgets for his brother and four for himself, a pair of scarlet boots and flaps, bound with ribbon, for each; four match coats, a blanket, and two shirts for each, and powder and lead, as much as he wanted, for himself and three other Cherokees who were with



him. He added, that himself and the three other Cherokees, with their powder and lead, went into the battle against General St. Clair, and one of them was killed; and that he himself killed an officer in that battle.

This fellow went from the Running Water, with his three companions, to Detroit, with letters written by Mr. McDonald, and a man of the name of Willbanks, commonly called Captain Willbank, in his early days an apprentice to Rivington of New York, afterwards a refugee tory, and came into the Creek nation with Bowles, from thence passed on to the Running Water, and there lived many months with the Dragging Canoe, wearing the British uniform, and assuming to himself the title of British agent. He never left the Dragging Canoe's until just before the treaty of Holston, and is now among the Lower Creeks. The Cherokees assembled, from every quarter of the nation, at Willstown, to hear Watts' report from Pensacola, and to the green corn dance, which was at the same time to be held there.

Watts commenced his report by causing a letter, which Governor O'Neal had written by him to the chiefs, to be publicly read. The contents were, that his master, the King of Spain, had sent to his care, at Pensacola, arms and ammunition in abundance for the use of the four Southern nations, which he had divided into four separate warehouses; that Watts had been an eye witness of the quantity he had of powder, and lead, and arms; that he had sent some by Watts for the Cherokees; that the King of Spain had made a greater man of M'Gillivray than Congress did; that it was his business to deliver out these articles; that he would be at Pensacola by the middle of October, when, if the whole of the towns would come down, they should be supplied, each town with from four to five hundred pounds of powder, and more if necessary, and lead accordingly, and with arms; and, that he would have plenty of provisions provided for their support while with him; and recommended Mr. M'Donald and Alexander Campbell, their old friends, to their particular notice and protection.

The letter being read, Watts then informed what Governor O'Neal had said to him. The Governor, he said, received him with open arms; asked him if he had seen any Spanish settlers before he arrived at Pensacola; assured him that the Spaniards never wanted a back country; wherever they had landed, they sat down; even such a sand-bank as this is sufficient for them; they are not like the Americans, first take your land, then treat with you, and give you little or nothing for it; this is the way they have always served you, and, from time to time, killed some of your people. In the late war with Great Britain and the United States, the Spaniards assisted them, and lent them money, and they owe the Spaniards a great deal, and instead of paying them what they owe, they take our lands, as well as yours. That the King, his master, had sent in powder, lead, and arms, for the whole four Southern nations, in plenty; and that then was the time for them to join quickly in war against the United States, while they were engaged in a war with the Northern tribes; if they did not, that as soon as they (the United States) conquered the Northern tribes, they would be upon them, and cut them off; that the talks which that part of the nation who had been to visit the President had received, was not from the heart, but only from the teeth; that, besides guns and ammunition, they should be furnished with swords, caps, pistols, bridles, and saddles, for horsemen; that the King of Spain had ordered a fort to be built at the Alabama fork, within a mile of M'Gillivray's house, to which the Creeks had agreed, where there would always be a magazine of arms and ammunition for both Creeks and Cherokees; and that a magazine should be erected for the Cherokees at Willstown.

Watts having thus recapitulated the talks he received from Governor O'Neal, proceeded to address his audience. That his people had been to several places, to Hopewell, to Swannano, to Holston, and to Philadelphia, and he had heard all their reports, but none pleased him like what he had heard and seen at Pensacola.

Here Finnellson's narrative takes up the proceedings at Willstown, which Carey confirms, as far as he knows, and contradicts no part.

The fourth day after Watts' party determined to desist from going to war at the Look-out Mountain, (say the 14th September) Carey received three runners from the Bloody Fellow, the Breath, and the Glass, informing him that his breath had been almost gone on account of a report that he had given information to Governor Blount, that they had determined for war; but as he was raised in the land, they would look over it for that time, and in future he must quit looking towards or giving any intelligence to the Americans; for their parts, they had let go their hands, and they expected he would do the same; that they had written to Governor Blount, and informed him, that the Lower towns had given out the notion of war; but what they wrote was not their intentions; they only meant to deceive him until such time as they and their warriors could go down to Pensacola to Governor O'Neal and receive their arms and ammunition, and get their crops from the ground, and hid; that they expected to see Mr. M'Gillivray at Pensacola, and requested Carey to go with them, and he should there receive a better office than he held under the United States.

About this time, (14th September) arrived at Estanaula, the Boot or Chulcoah, the particular friend of the Little Turkey, from the Turkey's town, saying, his business was to wait there for letters from Governor Blount; when the letters arrived, he stayed himself, and forwarded them to the Turkey and John Thompson; he stayed three weeks, and at length it appeared that his real business at Estanaula was to induce, by his art and address, the young warriors of that quarter of the nation to join in sending beads, talks, and their numbers, by the Turkey and himself, to Governor O'Neal, to procure ammunition and arms for them.

When he was about to leave Estanaula, he came to Carey and requested him to deliver the following message to Governor Blount; that he had been in Estanaula to try to keep peace and friendship in that quarter of the nation; that he was so engaged in the service of the United States that he could not hunt; that he hoped the Governor would send him something for his support.

After closing this message, he informed Carey that the Turkey and himself had been invited to Pensacola by Mr. Panton, along with Mr. M'Donald; that Mr. Panton had assured the Turkey that he should be cured at his expense of an indisposition of which he complained, by a doctor at Pensacola, and if any other Indians were sick, they also should be cured, in case they would come down.

Prior to the departure of the Boot from Estanaula, a runner came to him from the Turkey, who said to him, in the Turkey's name, "What keeps you? Mr. M'Donald is about to set out for Pensacola, and if you don't come along, we must leave you." It is Mr. Carey's opinion, that the true object of the Turkey and the Boot in going to Pensacola is to get every thing they can, as well for themselves as for their quarter of the nation, not intending war against the United States; but it is to be feared that having arms and ammunition in plenty, and being so nearly connected with a number who are engaged in the war, that they must, with their parties, be also drawn in to take a part.

About twelve days after receiving the message from the Bloody Fellow, the Glass, and the Breath, Carey met with the former, who inquired the news from Governor Blount, and being informed, he said it was very well. Carey then asked him what was the reason that the Lower towns wished to go to war against the United States? His answer was, when he came from the President and left Governor Blount, at Coyatee, what was going on was little expected by him; Panton being up in the nation, and giving such encouragement, and Watts going down and bringing up such good reports, and ammunition, it was impossible to keep the young warriors from going to war. Carey then asked him, why the blow was not struck when so many were assembled at Willstown and the Look-out Mountain town? He answered, that himself and the other chiefs had prevailed on them not to strike at that time, but to stay until their crops could be got off the ground and hid out, and until himself, the Breath, and Glass, with their parties, could visit Governor O'Neal, and bring up a larger supply of ammunition and arms; he said he had written Governor Blount that they had desisted from war, but it was only a make haste, from the teeth outwards, to deceive him, until they could make ready. The Bloody Fellow then asked Carey, if he had received the message, as before recited by the runners? Carey answered yes; he then asked Carey what he intended to do; was he going to Pensacola? For his part he was going, and he expected Carey would go, and take with him six pack-horses or eight, to assist up with the ammunition. Carey agreed to go, and asked if pack-horses were scarce with him. He answered he should take down, for his own part, and use, two, and if he got more than they could bring, himself and wife could walk up, and pack their riding horses. He then desired Carey to go home, collect and hobble his horses, that when he was ready, he would give Carey notice, and then Carey would have nothing to do but to set out and meet him at the Creek village on his way. He then begged Carey not to communicate his determinations to Governor Blount, or



any other person, "but let us go to Pensacola together, and see what is to be done there; and if things are as I expect, you will get better business than you are now in."

Mr. Carey confesses, that while all this business was in agitation, and to the time of his leaving the nation, he did not express his disapprobation of the measures, and on some occasions expressed his approbation; he found such conduct necessary, not only for the preservation of his person and property, but essential to the discovering the true objects and intentions of the Indians, which he conceived would the better enable him to serve the United States, under whose appointment he acted; and that, being considered as a party, he was better able by advice, by raising difficulties, &c. to counteract schemes, than if he had openly declared his sentiments.

It admits of no doubt but the talks of the Bloody Fellow, as reported by Finnelson, were well understood by Watts and his party, and that the only objection he had to war with the United States, was the time.

Immediately on the return of Watts to Willstown, he despatched four runners to the Northward Indians, to inform them of his new determination.

From the best information Carey has been able to collect, he supposes there were about thirty Cherokees in the action against General St. Clair, from different parts of the nation, not confined to the Lower towns.

Mr. Carey says, that, with respect to the Creeks, to his knowledge two of the Lower Creeks were at the taking of Gallaspie's son, one of the *Broken Arrow*, and the other of the Coweta towns, the other six were of the Upper Creeks, and that the chief who commanded the Creeks at the attack on Buchanan's station, on the 30th September, was *Talotiskee* of the Broken Arrow, the great friend of Bowles.

It has been concluded among the Creeks that the young warriors, with a few of the chiefs, should go down to Pensacola to receive arms and ammunition, and the others should go to Seagrove, at the Rock Landing, and give good talks, and obtain all the presents they could, until the nation was quite ready for war. This information given by the brother of Chinnabie the great Natchez warrior.

The eight Creeks who took Gallaspie's son, boasted, at Carey's house, that the Creeks did all they could to provoke the United States to war with them; that they killed and scalped men, women, and children; that they took them prisoners, and made them slaves like negroes; that they debauched their women, that they took their property, and that they had done it for many years, yet they could not make them mad: "What else can we do to provoke them? Shall we take some man and *bouger* him, and send him back to tell his people, and try if that will not rouse them to war?"

Carey, after being some days with Governor Blount, at Knoxville, was sent by him to Chota and the Hanging Maw's, to collect further information; at Chota he met with three young fellows, just returned from Cumberland Mountain, but he could collect little or no information from themselves; but a friend informed him they had been with *Talotiskee*; Carey went then down to Coyatee, where he met with five other young warriors, with whom he entered into a confidential conversation, which lasted upwards of an hour; they informed him that they, with the three he had seen at Chota, and many others, had been out for war, with *Talotiskee*,\* that they had waylaid the Kentucky road until six travellers appeared, of whom they killed one; they then turned off that road to the Cumberland road, and met with four fellows who had been with Watts in his repulse at Buchanan's station, who gave them the particulars, upon which *Talotiskee* cried bitterly, then rose, and requested his men to divide into small parties to hunt, and kill three or four deer each, go home, get a fresh supply of provisions, and meet him at the Short mountain, equipped for war, for vengeance he would have for Watts.

Four of these five fellows, live in Chilhowee, one of whom had the scalp of the man they had killed, and holding it up asked, "don't you think it pretty hair?" and another his jackcoat. The other fellow was of Coosawatchee.

It remains yet to be added, that *Talotiskee* blacked himself, and raised the war-whoop at Pensacola, and declared himself for war against the United States.

JAMES CAREY.

KNOXVILLE, November 5d, 1792.

NOTE.—Chota lies on the south bank of the Tennessee, 25 miles distant from Knoxville. Chilhowee on the south bank of the Tennessee, six miles above Chota, distant 30 miles from Knoxville.

To the information contained in this narrative I pay full faith and credit.

WM. BLOUNT.

*A RETURN of persons killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, from Miro District, since the 1st of January, 1791.*

NO.	NAMES.		TIME WHEN	PLACE WHERE.	BY WHOM, WITH REMARKS THEREON.	
1	Richard Withs	-	killed	16 Jan'y	Papon's creek	
2	Lloyd Hynniman	-	do	February	At a sugar camp, near Bledsoe's Lick.	
3	Cornelius Keinden	-	wounded	do	Near Bledsoe's Lick	
4	Capt. Cuffey, negro man	-	killed	20 March	On his master's plantation, Stode river	
5	Charles Hickman	-	do	1 April	Surveying on the waters of Duck	Creeks.
6	George Wilson	-	do	25 May	On the great road, near Station-camp creek	
7	John Nickerson	-	do	27 do	Smith's Fork	
8	— Thompson	-	do	2 June	Near Nashville	
9	John Gibson	-	do	14 do	Mayfield's Station, near Nashville	Creeks.
10	Benj. Heykanol	-	do	29 do	In his own yard, near Bledsoe's Lick	Creeks.
11	Thomas Fletcher	-	do			
12	— Harry	-	do	do	Near the mouth of Red river	
13	— Harry	-	do			
14	Robert Jones	-	do	18 July	Maj. Wilson's, 8 miles from Sumner court-house	By the Cherokees, before they knew of the treaty.
15	John White	-	do	15 do	Cumberland mountain, on the new trace	
16	Joseph Dickson	-	do	31 do	At his own house, near Croff's mills	
17	George French	-	do	1 August		

\* The *Talotiskee* who commanded the party on the Kentucky road, is a signer to the treaty of Holston, the same who was at Pensacola.

## RETURN—Continued.

NO.	NAMES.		TIME WHEN	PLACE WHERE.	BY WHOM, WITH REMARKS THEREON.
18	— Grantham - -	killed	5 Novem	At the mouth of Red river	By the Northwards.
19	— — — - -	do	Decemb'r	Cumberland river, in Conrad's salt boat.	Tuckalateague, or Double Head, a Cherokee, and his party.
20	— — — - -	do			Do.
21	— — — - -	wounded			Do.
22	John Rice - - -	killed	Jan'y 7, 1792	Near the mouth of Red river, in Cumberland	Do.
23	John Curtis - - -	do	do	do.	Do.
24	— Sevier - - -	do	do	do.	Do.
25	— Sevier - - -	do	do	do.	Do.
26	— Sevier - - -	do	do	do.	Do.
27	— Boyd - - -	do	14 Jan.	Clarkeville	Do.
28	— Thompson - - -	do	25 Feb.	4 miles from Nashville, on his own plantation	Creeks.
29	— Thompson - - -	do	do	do.	Do.
30	— Thompson - - -	do	do	do.	Do.
31	Elsy Thompson - - -	prisoner	do	do.	Do.
32	P'r Cuffey's wife & child	do	do	do.	Do.
33					
34	4 boys - - -	killed	6 March	Brown's Station, four miles from Nashville	Do.
35	- - - - -	do			
36	- - - - -	do			
37	Samuel McMurray - - -	do	25 do	Ploughing at Buchanan's Station	
38	- - - - -	do	do	Near the mouth of Red river	Tuckalateague.
39	John Purviance - - -	do	7 May	Dr. Donnell's, near Sumner court house	By the Cherokees, Running Water.
40	Benj. Williams, wife and child	do	8 do	At his own house	Do.
41					
42	Negro woman and child	prison'rs	do	-	With the Cherokees, at the Running Water.
43					
44					
45	A woman - - -	killed	12 do	Company's Station, n'r Nashville	
46	A boy - - -	wounded	25 do	Near Judge M'Nairey's	
47	General Robertson - - -	do	24 do	On his own plantation.	
48	Jonathan Robertson - - -	do	do	do.	
49	James Everite - - -	killed	8 June	Gowen's place	
50	— Parks - - -	do	22 do	Sycamore	
51	Michael Shaver - - -	do	26 do	Zeigler's Station	By Creeks, Shawanese, and Cherokees. The Shawanese and Cherokees live at the Running Water, and killed, wounded, and captured as far as number 72.
52	Archibald Wilson - - -	do	do	do.	
53	Mary, a negro - - -	do	do	do.	
54	— do. - - -	do	do	do.	
55	Joel Ellis - - -	wounded	do	do.	
56	Thomas Keefe - - -	do	do	do.	
57	Galniel Black - - -	do	do	do.	
58	Joseph Wilson - - -	do	do	do.	
59	Jacob Zeigler - - -	missing	do	do.	Supposed to be burnt in his house.
60	Mary Zeigler - - -	prisoner	do	do.	Purchased by her friends from the Shawanese warrior, for 58 dollars each.
61	Elizabeth Zeigler - - -	do	do	do.	
62	Hannah Zeigler - - -	do	do	do.	
63	Sarah Wilson - - -	do	do	do.	
64	Moses Wilson - - -	do	26 June	do.	
65	Zacheus Wilson - - -	do	do	do.	Little Owl, a Cherokee chief.
66	Sarah Wilson - - -	do	do	do.	A prisoner with the Creeks.
67	Eleanor Wilson - - -	do	do	do.	
68	Mary Wilson - - -	do	do	do.	Purchased for 58 dollars, by her friends, from the Creeks.
69	Montilion Wilson - - -	do	do	do.	
70	Molly Jones - - -	do	do	do.	With the Creeks.
71	Eader, a negro - - -	do	do	do.	
72	Isaac Pennington - - -	killed	15 July	N'r the Dripping Spring	By the Creeks.
73	— Milligan - - -	do	do	do.	Do.
74	— McFarland - - -	wounded	do	do.	Do.
75	Unknown - - -	killed	July	On Cumberland river	
76	Ditto - - -	do	do	Near Clarkeville	
77	William Clack - - -	do	16 May	In company with Judge Campbell, returning from court	
78	John Barclay, Jr. - - -	do	31 July	In his father's peach orchard, near Bledsoe's Lick	
79	John Barclay, Sr. - - -	wounded	do	In his own peach orchard	
80	Miss Collinsworth - - -	prisoner	February 17, 1792.	Chickasaw Trace	Now in Nickajack, with the Cherokees.
81	John Collinsworth - - -	killed	do	do.	By the Cherokees, the Glass present.
82	Mrs. Collinsworth - - -	do	do	do.	Do.
83	A man - - -	do	do	do.	Do.
84	Mrs. Paskley - - -	capt'd and afterwards killed	do	Big Barren	Cherokees, Running Water.

RETURN—Continued.

NO.	NAMES.		TIME WHEN	PLACE WHERE.	BY WHOM, WITH REMARKS THEREON.
85	Mrs. Paskley's child	killed	February	Big Barren	Cherokees, Running Water.
86	Mr. Mins	do	do	do.	Do.
87	His son, about 12	prisoner	do	do.	Redeemed by his friends for \$58.
88	A pregnant woman	do	July	Unknown	By and with the Creeks.
89	A boy 12 years old	do	do	do.	Do.
90	Dr. White's negro boy	do	February	Near Nashville	By and with the Cherokees.
91	Oliver Williams	wounded	do	On the Cumberland trace	Creeks.
92	Jason Thompson	do	do	do.	Do.
93	Elizabeth Norris	killed	6 August	Sulphur Fork	Do.
94	Shaderick Williams	do	6 Sept.	Near Cotterel's	Do.
95	William Stewart	do	8 October	Near Nashville	Do.
96	Jonathan Gee	do	30 Sept.	Taylor's Trace	By Watts' party of Cherokees.
97	Clayton	do	do	do.	Creeks and Shawanese.

WASHINGTON DISTRICT.

1	Mrs. McDowell	killed	23 Aug.	Near Moccason Gap, Clinch mountain	By the Bench, who has attached himself to the Shawanese.
2	Francis Pendleton	do	do	do	
3	Reuben Pendleton	wounded	do	do	
4	Mrs. Pendleton	prisoners	do	do	
5	A boy eight years old	do	do	do	
6	Mrs. Faris	killed	26 do	do	
7	Mrs. Livingston	do	do	do	
8	Her child	do	do	do	
9	Mrs. Faris	wounded and died	do	do	
10	Nancy Faris	prisoner	do	do	
11	Mrs. Ratcliff	killed	5 April 1792.	Stanly's valley, Hawkins' county	
12	Her child	do	do	do	
13	Her child	do	do	do	
14	Her child	do	do	do	
15	A Boy	do	16 May	Knox co. n'r Knoxville	
16	A Boy	do	do	do	
17	Gallaspie	do	do	do	
18	Gallaspie	pris'ner	12 Sept	{ Knox co. south side } { of Holston }	Creeks.
19	James Paul	killed	3 Oct	Black's block house	Creeks and Cherokees.
20	George Moss	do	do	do	
21	Robert Sharpe	do	do	do	
22	John Shanklin	wounded	do	do	

From the best accounts, the Indians who attacked Buchanan's station on the 30th September, 1792, appeared to have been, Creeks, from 400 to 500; Cherokees, 200; Shawanese, from 30 to 40; of whom, three were killed, and seven wounded. The former were, Tunbridge's step-son, left on the ground; the Shawanese warrior, dragged off; a Creek chief, dragged off. The latter were, John Watts, with a ball through one thigh, and lodged in the other, supposed dangerous, but now on recovery; Unacata, or White Man-killer, supposed dangerous, but now on the recovery; the Draggin Canoe's Brother, (alias) the White Owl's Son, supposed mortal, the same who was at Detroit; a young warrior of the Look out, supposed mortal; a young warrior of the Running Water, on the recovery; a Creek warrior, since dead; a young warrior of the Running Water, since dead.

Of the signers of the treaty of Holston, besides Watts, there was the Middle Striker, and the Otter Lifter.

This Unacata mentioned above, among the wounded, left Pensacola the day Watts arrived there, and making very little halt at his own house, came on with his wife to this place, and stayed with me ten days immediately preceding the time he set out with Watts for war, ate and drank constantly at my table, was treated in the kindest manner, and made the strongest professions of friendship during his stay, and at his departure. His visit had not even the color of business, nor could it be extracted from him what he had seen or heard at Pensacola. It would seem as if he had come as a spy.

It also appears that there were sundry young warriors of the Cherokees along with Watts, besides those who live in the five Lower towns, particularly John Walker and John Fields, two young half breeds, who have been raised among and by the white people, in whom every body who knew them had the utmost confidence. The former is quite a stripling, and apparently the most innocent, good natured youth I ever saw. They were both at the treaty of Holston, and have been repeatedly here since. They acted as the advance, or spies to Watts' party, and killed Gee and Clayton.

The Cherokees say the Creeks have long been boasting that they were men and warriors, but that they proved to be great cowards, and that most of them kept such a distance from the station, that they could hardly shoot a ball to it.

Watts is called Colonel Watts since his return from Pensacola.

KNOXVILLE, November 5th, 1792.

More particular information of the warriors of the Cherokees who were with Watts, besides those of the Lower towns, namely:

From Highwassee, 16; Kuihei, 1; Cannasauga, 5; Springstons, 1.

Highwassee lies on the river of that name, forty miles south of Chota, and eighty miles above the Lower towns.  
WM. BLOUNT.

An account of Indian depredations in the district of Miro, and on the Kentucky road, from the 3d to the 14th of October, 1792.

Wednesday, October 3d.—A party of Indians fired seven guns on James McRay, on the north side of Cumberland. About the same time, Benjamin Jocelin, on the south side of Cumberland, had about twenty guns discharged at him. Neither were wounded.

Sunday, October the 7th.—A Mr. Irvine was shot through the thigh on a road about six miles south of Nashville. The same day, about two miles from the above place, Thomas Thompson was fired at, but received no injury.

*Monday, October the 8th.*—William Stewart was killed about six miles from Nashville, on the north side of Cumberland. The same night the Indians burnt Stump's distillery, on White's creek, on the north side of Cumberland, in which were five stills.

*Tuesday, October the 9th.*—A party of Indians went to Sycamore creek, 18 miles from Nashville, and burnt the houses of James Frazier, Riley, and Major Corfield, destroying a quantity of valuable household furniture, a large quantity of corn, and shot down a number of hogs. They then proceeded to Bushy creek, of Red river, where they burnt the house of Obadiah Roberts, and took off a number of horses. They were followed by a party of men, who killed one of the Indians, and regained the horses.

The same day, they took four horses from Major Ramsay, of Tennessee county.

*Friday, October the 12th.*—The Indians fired at a Mr. Suggs, on White's creek, on the north side of Cumberland, and took from him ten valuable horses.

*Sunday, October the 14th.*—The Indians shot at John Cotton, on Station Camp; seven balls passed through his clothes, none of which touched his skin.

The same day, they fired on Francis Armstrong, at his plantation, four miles south of Nashville.

*On Saturday, the 6th of October.*—A company of travellers, on their way from Kentucky, were fired on in the wilderness; one man was killed, and one said to be mortally wounded. The party who attacked this company, consisted of fifty warriors, and were headed by the noted Cherokee chief Talotiskie, a signer to the treaty of Holston. He raised them generally from the Upper towns; and some of them from near the borders of South Carolina. For further particulars respecting him and his party, see the latter part of Carey's narrative.

*Governor Blount's letter of instructions of the 7th of October, to David Campbell, Charles McClung, and John McKee, Commissioners, &c.*

KNOXVILLE, October 7th, 1792.

GENTLEMEN:

By the enclosed extract of my letter of the 4th of June last, to the Little Turkey, and the other chiefs of the Cherokees, you will be informed that to-morrow is the day that I proposed to them to meet the commissioners on the part of the United States at Major Craig's, on Nine-mile creek, in order to extend the line between the said nation and the United States, as stipulated by the treaty made and concluded between the said nation and the United States, on the second day of July, 1791, a copy of which you have herewith. You have also enclosed, an extract of a letter from the Secretary of War to me, of the 22d of April last, to which you will please attend, as your instructions, in case commissioners on the part of the Indians should appear, and proceed to running the line. But, in case none do appear, you will please examine where the ridge which divides the waters running into the Tennessee, from those running into Little river, strikes the Holston, and extend the line from thence to Clinch, and again, from that ridge to the Chilhowee mountain, paying strict attention to the treaty, and report your proceedings to me. I am aware that the Five Lower towns of the Cherokees have declared war against the United States, and that war dissolves all treaties. Nevertheless, I think it essential that so much of the line should be examined and reported upon, that it may appear whether there are any citizens of the United States residing on the Indian lands or not.

I have the honor to be, your most obedient humble servant.

DAVID CAMPBELL, CHARLES MCCLUNG, JOHN MCKEE.

*Governor Blount to the Secretary of War.*

KNOXVILLE, November the 12th, 1792.

SIR:

This morning, fifteen Indians surrounded the house of a Mr. Bryan, within eight miles of this place, in which was another man besides himself. They broke down a window with their hatchets, and pointed in their guns, but were repulsed with the loss of one killed, and another wounded, without injuring any person in the house.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*Of the contingencies of the War Department for the year 1793.*

In estimating the expenses of any given corps of troops in a stationary situation, or upon a peace establishment, every probable demand may be foreseen, specified, and calculated. But, in estimating the expenses of an army in the time of war, designed for offensive operations, the case is materially otherwise: for, after all the stated and probable expenses are estimated, there ought to be an allowance either to make up for short estimates of the several heads of supplies, or to serve as a fund to defray moderate losses by casualties.

All active armies are liable to the loss of provisions, the means of transportation, ammunition, clothing, &c. by numerous accidents attending a state of war. But, in the case contemplated in the estimates, the chance of such accidents is greatly increased by the subtilty and activity of the enemy, and our ignorance of the wilderness in which the troops may operate.

It has generally been considered as wise to appropriate a sum for casualties, to be applied to the public service in case of necessity. If no such case occurs, no expenditure will take place, and, of course, the money will remain in the treasury. But if no contingent fund be appropriated, the operations of an army may be arrested at a critical moment, and the army lost, or the public service greatly injured, for the want of means which might be acquired if authority and provision existed for the purpose.

But futurity being inscrutable to the limited faculties of man, he is unable to ascertain the form or value of demands which have not, and which never may have, any existence.

All that can possibly be done in the present case, is to exhibit the expenses of the late campaigns, and thence to infer the sum which may be judged proper to appropriate for the contingencies of the future, the strength and time of service of the relative armies being duly considered.

It will appear, by paper No. 1, that the claims for allowance, and the accounts actually settled, at the treasury, for the loss of horses in the expedition under General Harmar, amount to seventeen thousand eight hundred and sixty-four dollars and two cents, for which sum an appropriation was contemplated by the act of the eleventh day of February, 1791, embracing one hundred thousand dollars for the said expedition.

The estimates presented for the services of 1791 were embraced by two appropriations. The first of the eleventh day of February, 1791, for fifteen thousand three hundred and six dollars, including the sum of ten thousand three hundred and six dollars for the Quartermaster's Department.

The other, of the third day of March, 1791, for twenty-five thousand dollars, amounting in all for the said year to forty thousand three hundred and six dollars.

The stores and other property lost in the defeat of the fourth of November, 1791, as stated in the paper No. 2, amount to thirty-two thousand eight hundred and ten dollars and seventy-five cents.

In addition to these losses, it appears by paper No. 3, that the contractors have a claim at the treasury for provisions and horses, amounting to fifty-four thousand six hundred and thirteen dollars and thirty-five cents, of which, perhaps, the sum of ten thousand dollars may be estimated for contingencies, the articles having fallen into the hands of the enemy. Whether the sum will exceed or fall short of the allowance which shall be made, will depend upon the proofs which shall be produced at the treasury.

The other contingent expenses for the year 1791, are contained in paper No. 4, amounting to nine thousand six hundred and twenty-one dollars and twenty cents.

The total expenditures made, and allowances claimed, under the head of contingencies for the year 1791, will probably amount to fifty-two thousand four hundred and thirty-one dollars and ninety-five cents.

The estimates for the services of the year 1792, also specified two sums for the contingencies of the War Department. The first, of twenty thousand dollars, was authorized by the act which passed the twenty-third day of December, 1791, entitled "An act for making appropriations for the support of Government for the year 1792."

The other sum, of thirty thousand dollars, was authorized by the act which passed the second day of May, 1792, entitled "An act for raising a further sum of money for the protection of the frontiers, and for other purposes therein mentioned," both sums amounting to fifty thousand dollars.

The expenses already, under this head, are contained in paper No. 5, amounting to ten thousand two hundred and twenty-nine dollars and nine cents.

It is to be observed that the fund appropriated to the Indian Department having been exhausted by goods given, and payments made, to the Creeks, the Cherokees, the Choctaws, and Chickasaws, and also to the Six Nations, that, in addition to the above sum, expended in the year 1792, as contingencies, twenty-four thousand seven hundred and seven dollars and ninety-eight cents has been applied to the Indian Department.

The expenses of the Indian Department are, at this critical period, as difficult to be previously calculated as those of the army, excepting the stipulated sums to the Creeks, Cherokees, and Six Nations, and to the agents employed to the several tribes.

Besides the said expenditures, the contractors of the present year lost, about the 5th of October last, one hundred horses, said to be captured by the Indians. If they prove this, they will be entitled to an allowance, by the terms of their contract.

Hence it will appear that the sum of fifty thousand dollars, requested to be appropriated for the year 1793, is not inordinate.

For the sums which shall be expended, vouchers will be required in the usual manner of other accounts, excepting always the sums which may be expended by the Commanding General for secret services, in which it would be prejudicial to the public interests to disclose names. But this sum is not large, and his reputation stands pledged to the public for its just appropriation.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *December 1st, 1792.*

2d CONGRESS.]

No. 35.

[2d SESSION.

THE CHEROKEES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 10, 1792.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *December 10, 1792.*

SIR:

In obedience to the orders of the President of the United States, I have the honor to submit to the Senate, the copy of a letter from his Excellency the Governor of Georgia, dated the 20th of November last, with certain enclosures, relative to Indian affairs.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient servant,

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

The PRESIDENT of the Honorable the Senate of the United States.

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, *20th November, 1792.*

SIR:

With respect to some late outrages committed on the Cherokees, I have to transmit the following certified documents, viz:

1st. A Proclamation.

2d. A Talk to the head-men and warriors of the Cherokee nation.

3d. The Executive order of the 15th instant, to the Law Department.

4th. A communication to Major Gaither.

From all which, it will evidently appear, that there can be no doubt of the mal-conduct of certain citizens of this State, who have murdered some friendly Indians, and committed other depredations.

You will perceive that the necessary steps have been taken, to bring to justice those offenders, as well as to preserve a continuation of amity.

I have to remark, that, from the very short crops of grain last season, no period has ever been more unfavorable for war than the present; and this, among other considerations, ought to be of great weight to preserve peace with the neighboring tribes. Should my endeavors prove unsuccessful on the score of peace, it will be necessary to be prepared; and for this purpose I have to call for the establishment of magazines of provisions, without which, it will not be possible to keep that number of militia in the field, which will be necessary to give confidence to the frontier settlers to keep their ground, should even war be avoided.

From what I can learn, this violence on the part of the offenders has proceeded from the circumstances of four whites having been killed, horses stolen, and other depredations committed by the Cherokees; whatever palliating point of view this may be considered in, it cannot interfere to prevent the offenders from abiding the due execution of the laws.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most humble servant,

EDWARD TELFAIR.

*The Secretary of War.*

## No. 1.

GEORGIA:

*By his Excellency Edward Telfair, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the State aforesaid.*

## A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas it has been officially represented to me, that certain armed men on the western frontier of this State, did, of late, fire upon, and kill, several amicable Indians of the Cherokee nation: and whereas, by an act passed the 20th June, 1774, in the (then province, now) State of Georgia, it is, amongst other things, enacted, "That to murder any free Indian in amity, is, by the law of the land, as penal, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as to murder any white," and "that, by the law of the land, any person rescuing any prisoners so committed, is guilty of felony:" And whereas such unwarrantable proceedings are not only a daring violation of law, but must, if unnoticed, involve many innocent persons in all the horrors of Indian warfare; and as it is highly necessary that such atrocious offenders should receive the punishment due their offences: I have therefore thought fit to issue this my proclamation, strictly charging and enjoining all officers, civil and military, within this State, to use their best endeavors to apprehend and bring to justice such offenders; and they are hereby further enjoined, and required strenuously to exert themselves in preventing the like lawless and outrageous procedure in future.

Given under my hand, and the great seal of the said State, at the State House in Augusta, this fourteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, and in the seventeenth year of the independence of the United States of America.

EDWARD TELFAIR.

By his Excellency's command:

JOHN MILTON, *Secretary.**God save the State.*

GEORGIA, SECRETARY'S OFFICE, 20th November, 1792.

The above is a true copy from the original proclamation in manuscript, deposited in my office.

JOHN MILTON, *Secretary.*

## No. 2.

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 14th November, 1792.

*To the Head-men and Warriors of the Cherokee nation—The Talk of the Governor of Georgia.*

BROTHERS: Ever since the people of the King over the great water were driven from our land, your people and the white people of this country have lived, until a few moons ago, in peace and friendship; no blood was spilt on either side; trade, mutual intercourse, and good will to each other, did prevail, and it ever has been my great desire that we should continue in friendship with each other, white the trees grow and the waters run; but, now the bright chain is become dim, and some of its links broken, whilst you, with all your good people, as well as I, and all our good people, must lament the unhappy fate of those who have fallen by the mad-men on both sides.

Then, BROTHERS: Let us not charge each other with the acts of our mad-men; and, since we cannot bring life back, let each of us punish those mad people who have spilt the blood of the innocent, and so open the path between us once more, brighten again the chain of friendship, and fasten all its links together, nor longer suffer the dark cloud to cover the little mountain that stands between us. Let the hatchet be buried, and the big sword shall remain in rust; we will then again take each other high by the arm, and fast by the hand; we shall sit under the same tree, the smoke of our pipes shall make one cloud, and we will taste of the same cup.

BROTHERS: Consider well this talk; it is the talk of peace, and will be sent to the great and beloved warrior of all the white towns, that he may know what bad men on both sides have done.

EDWARD TELFAIR.

By his Excellency's command:

J. MERIWETHER, *Sec'y E. D.*Attest, W. URQUHART, *Sec'y E. D.*

## No. 3.

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 15th November, 1792.

*Ordered,* That a copy of the depositions relative to the burning a Cherokee town, and killing some Indians of that tribe, enclosed in General Clark's letter of the 14th instant, be transmitted to the Department of Attorney General; and that they proceed thereon, agreeably to law; and that the judges be severally served with a copy of this order.

Attest,

J. MEREWETHER, *Secretary, E. D.*

## No. 4.

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 14th November, 1792.

*Governor Telfair to Major Henry Gaither.*

Sir:

I have just received two depositions, which contain information of such moment that I find it indispensable for you to call out a considerable re-inforcement of horse to range on that part of the western frontier from Fort Mathews to Tugulo river. My information is of no less import than, that a body of fifty-nine armed men did, in a lawless manner, go into the Cherokee nation, burn a town, and kill three Indians; and that two others, of the same nation, have also been killed within the settlements in Franklin county. Those outrages have been lately committed. There is reason to apprehend that some serious and early attack is meditating by the Indians, against the settlers in that quarter.

I am, sir, your humble servant,

EDWARD TELFAIR.

Major HENRY GAITHER, *Commandant of the Federal troops, Georgia.*

2d CONGRESS.]

No. 36.

[2d SESSION.

## NORTHWESTERN TRIBES AND THE CREEKS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 19, 1792.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *December 19th, 1792.*

SIR:

The President of the United States has directed me to submit to the Senate, the extract of a letter from Brigadier General Wilkinson, dated at fort Hamilton, the 6th of November last, with an enclosure from Major Adair, the copy of a letter from John Belli, deputy quartermaster general, dated Lexington, November 17, 1792; and the copy of a letter from James Seagrove, Esq. relatively to the Creek Indians, dated Saint Mary's, 22d of November, 1792.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient servant,

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

The PRESIDENT of the Honorable the Senate of the United States.

*Extract of a letter from Brigadier General Wilkinson to the Secretary of War, dated at*FORT HAMILTON, *6th November, 1792, 7 o'clock, P. M.*

Just as I was about to despatch this, I received a letter from Major Adair, commandant of the Kentucky mounted infantry, of which the enclosed is a copy. The check which the enemy have experienced in this little affair, will produce good effects, and the event reflects honor upon the Major and the yeomanry of Kentucky; but the immediate consequence will be an entire stop to the transport of forage to the advanced post, as our pack-horses are either destroyed or disabled, and the riflemen dismounted; in this situation I am perplexed by difficulties, as, from my ignorance of the designs of Government, and for the want of explicit orders, I am at a loss whether to direct the purchase of more pack-horses, or to encourage the riflemen to remount themselves; on these points I shall duly deliberate, and will make such decision as my judgment may direct, relying confidently on the liberality of Government for an excuse, should I err; and, in the meantime, I shall urge forward the transport of forage from fort Washington to this post, by every means left in my power.

As this affair happened near to, and in sight of, fort St. Clair, it may be inquired why the commanding officer did not support Major Adair? The answer is short, and will, I hope, be satisfactory. The garrison under his command is posted for defence, and not offence; and although it appears, that, in this instance, to have hazarded would have been judicious, yet, as I have considered it safest for the national interests, to confine my subordinate officers, by rigid instructions, to defensive measures solely, they are bound to hazard, in no case whatever, which does not immediately and essentially interest the safety of the trust which may be confided to them; and it may be added, that, in the instance before us, the attack was a most daring one, and that neither the number, or ultimate object of the enemy, would be developed before it was discovered that Major Adair was a full match for him.

I have this moment despatched twenty of my mounted infantry, who will reach St. Clair before day-light, to aid in bringing in the wounded and the weary; and I have the honor to be, with respect, &c.

Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

JAMES WILKINSON, *Brigadier General.*FORT ST. CLAIR, *November 6th, 1792.*

SIR:

This morning, about the first appearance of day, the enemy attacked my camp within sight of this post; the attack was sudden, and the enemy came on with a degree of courage that bespoke them warriors, indeed. Some of my men were hand in hand with them before we retreated, which, however, we did, about eighty yards, to a kind of stockade intended for stables; we then made a stand. I then ordered Lieutenant Madison to take a party and gain their right flank if possible. I called for Lieutenant Hail to send to the left, but found he had been slain. I then led forward the men who stood near me, which, together with the Ensigns Buchanan and Florin, amounted to about twenty-five, and pressed the left of their centre, thinking it absolutely necessary to assist Madison. We made a manly push, and the enemy retreated, taking all our horses except five or six. We drove them about six hundred yards through our camp, where they again made a stand, and we fought them some time; two of my men were here shot dead. At that moment I received information that the enemy were about to flank us on the right, and on turning that way, I saw about sixty of them running to that point. I had yet heard nothing of Madison. I then ordered my men to retreat, which they did with deliberation, heartily cursing the Indians, who pursued us close to our camp, where we again fought them until they gave way; and when they retreated, our ammunition was nearly expended, although we had been supplied from the garrison in the course of the action. I did not think proper to follow them again, but ordered my men into the garrison to draw ammunition. I returned, however, in a few minutes, to a hill to which we had first driven them, where I found two of my men scalped, who were brought in. Since I began to write this, a few of the enemy appeared in sight, and I pursued them with a party about a quarter of a mile, but could not overtake them, and did not think proper to go farther. Madison, who I sent to the right, was, on his first attack, wounded, and obliged to retreat into the garrison, leaving a man or two dead; to this misfortune I think the enemy are indebted for the horses they have got. Had he gained their right flank, and I once had possession of their left, I think we should have routed them at that stage of the action, as we had them on the retreat. I have six killed and five wounded, four men are missing; I think they went off early in the action, on horseback, and are, I suppose, by this, at fort Hamilton. My officers and a number of my men distinguished themselves greatly. Poor Hail died calling to his men to advance. Madison's bravery and conduct need no comment; they are well known. Flinn and Buchanan acted with a coolness and courage which does them much honor. Buchanan, after firing his gun, knocked an Indian down with the barrel. They have killed and taken a great number of the pack-horses. I intend following them this evening some distance, to ascertain their route and strength, if possible. I can with propriety say, that about fifty of my men fought with a bravery equal to any men in the world, and had not the garrison been so nigh, as a place of safety for the bashful, I think many more would have fought well. The enemy have no doubt as many men killed as myself. They left two dead on the ground, and I saw two carried off. The only advantage they have gained is our horses, which is a capital one, as it disables me from bringing the interview to a more certain and satisfactory decision. I am sorry I cannot send you better news,

And am, sir, yours, &c.

JOHN ADAIR.

Brigadier General WILKINSON.



LEXINGTON, *November 17th, 1792.*

SIR:

Enclosed you will find a letter directed to Colonel James O'Hara, quartermaster general, which, after reading, you will be pleased to forward to him. You will see in that letter the cause of my taking the liberty this day (by General James Wilkinson's advice) to draw on you, twenty-five days after sight, viz:

\$ 1,200	order	Robert Barr.
2,000	"	William Morton and Charles Wilkins.
1,200	"	Al. Scott & Co.
200	}	James Morrison.
200		
200		
100		
100		
300	}	Al. McGregor.
350		
350		
700	"	Al. & James Parker.
500	"	William Leary.
600	"	N. Lewis.
90 66 $\frac{2}{3}$		

\$ 8,090 66 $\frac{2}{3}$

Which sum of eight thousand and ninety dollars and sixty-six and two-third cents, after payment, you will be pleased to charge to the quartermaster department. However disagreeable this proceeding is to me, (having had no orders from you to draw) was necessitated so to do, or, to see the General's arrangements entirely defeated. I hope the quartermaster general will in future supply me with sums equal to the demands in this quarter: for, sir, I have already spent a great many uneasy hours for want of funds; indeed, I shall now be obliged to curtail General Wilkinson's order for pack-horses, for want of money, which this country at present does not afford. If I can find another chance, will draw a few thousand dollars more. Though it may appear, by the bills, that I purchased the pack-horses of those in whose favor I drew, I can inform you to the contrary; and that those horses are to be bought from individuals only, and throughout the whole State.

I am, with respect, sir, your very humble servant,

JOHN BELLI, *D. Q. M. G. United States' Army.*

The Honorable HENRY KNOX, *Secretary of War, Philadelphia.*

*Copy of a letter from James Seagrove, Esq. to the Secretary of War, dated*

*St. Mary's, 22d November, 1792.*

SIR:

Being just arrived here from the conference ground at Colerain, in company with forty-five of the principal chiefs of the Creeks, on a visit to my residence, and finding a boat departing for Savannah, I drop you a line in haste, to inform you that every thing hath gone favorable, beyond my most sanguine expectation.

I had present at our meeting the chiefs of eighteen of the principal towns in the Creek nation. Peace and friendship with the United States they confirm, and declare pointedly against joining the Northern tribes, or any others, red or white, against us. The whole particulars you shall have without delay. In the mean time, I am happy in being able to say, that every thing is in a most pleasing state between the Creeks and our country. I hope you will excuse this, as I am now surrounded by a very noisy, but friendly crew of red kings and chiefs.

I am, with all possible respect, yours, &c.

2d CONGRESS.]

No. 37.

[2d SESSION.]

## THE CHEROKEES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 24, 1792.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *December 24th, 1792.*

SIR:

The President of the United States has directed me to submit to the Senate, the copy of a letter from his Excellency the Governor of Georgia, dated Augusta, December 5th, 1792, with an enclosure, relatively to Indian Affairs in the southern department.

I have the honor to be, sir, with perfect respect, your most obedient servant,

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

The PRESIDENT of the Honorable the Senate of the United States.

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, *5th December, 1792.*

SIR:

The enclosed certified document, being the deposition of Owen T. Bowen, relative to the murder of eight whites, by Cherokees, on the Western frontiers of this State, will evince that the savage principle of retaliation cannot be guarded against. It will now become indispensable that measures be taken to prevent farther outrage. Three companies of horse have already been ordered to range in that quarter where the murders have been committed, and it may be necessary that additional reinforcements be called in, to give protection and confidence to the settlers. No answer has, as yet, been received to my talk sent to the Cherokees, of which, you was furnished with a copy in my last.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most humble servant,

EDWARD TELFAIR.

The SECRETARY OF WAR.

STATE OF GEORGIA, *Richmond County, ss.*

Owen T. Bowen, of the county of Franklin, planter, being duly sworn, saith: that, on Thursday evening last, being the twenty-ninth ultimo, he passed by the house of one Mrs. Crockett, a widow woman, in the said county, where he saw the said widow, and advised her to move away into the fort in the neighborhood, as two Indians had been, on that day, seen in the settlement. That the said Mrs. Crockett replied, she would move as soon as her son came home. That, the next morning, the deponent went to the same house, and there saw the said Mrs. Crockett, together with her son, a young man, three young women, and three children, the youngest about six years old, all lying dead, scalped, and cruelly mangled; and that, from every appearance, the said murders were committed by Indians, and by Cherokees as the deponent believes. The deponent further saith, that there were two war clubs lying by the dead bodies, and several arrows sticking in them. This deponent further saith not.

OWEN T. BOWEN.

Sworn to this 3d day of December, 1792, before

T. HOUSTOUN.

A true copy from the files of the Executive.

Attest,

W. URQUHART, C. E. D.

[2d CONGRESS.]

No. 38.

[2d SESSION.]

NORTHWESTERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 7, 1793.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *January 5th, 1793.*

SIR:

In obedience to the order of the President of the United States, I have the honor to submit to the Senate, a message of the Cornplanter and New Arrow, to Major General Wayne, of the 8th ultimo. The subject of Indian affairs being under the consideration of Congress, the President has conceived it proper that they should be possessed of the message now submitted.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient servant,

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

The PRESIDENT of the *Honorable the Senate of the United States.*

*The speech of the Cornplanter and New Arrow to Major General Wayne.*

CHINUCHSHUNGUTHO, *8th December, 1792.*

BROTHER:

We are glad that our friend, whom you send to us with your friendly message, has arrived safe at our towns, and likewise thank this young man, (the Cornplanter's nephew) who left his hunting to accompany him. He informs us that you are desirous to know what conclusions we came to with the Western Indians. We shall now give you an account of our principal proceedings. We thank the Great Spirit, that we, with the rest of our chiefs, who were at council, have again arrived safe at our towns. According to the promise of our chiefs, made last winter in Philadelphia, we have been to council with the hostile Indians, to endeavor to bring them to a peace. After we arrived at their towns, and had acquainted them that it was the wish of General Washington to be at peace with the whole of the Indians, even those from the rising to the setting of the sun: after they had considered, they all, as one, agreed to make a peace; but as General Washington did not let us know the terms on which he would make peace, it was referred to a council the ensuing spring, where they wish he should be present. They wish it to be considered that they were the first people the Great Spirit seated on this island, for which reason we look on the Americans as children, to call them our younger brethren.

In the spring, we expect to meet them in council, where we can determine on what terms peace shall be made.

We are glad a road for peace is made by our brothers the Six Nations; the same road you must come in the spring, with General Washington, and at the same time you will take our brother, the King, by the hand, and lead him to the same council fire; you can come no other road, as only this one is open the road by the Ohio is out of use, being turned; miry and swampy, by the spilling of blood, for which we blame the Americans; on which account, we say, there is only one road for you to come in the Spring.

General Washington must not think hard of the loss of Colonel Harding and others, as we since have understood they were sent with messages of peace; unluckily for them and us, they had taken the bad road; if our spies, whom we kept on that road, saw any of your people, they took them for enemies, and treated them as such; we know your people would have done the same.

BROTHER AND FRIENDS OF THE FIFTEEN STATES: We now take you by the hand. The Western nations say you always lead us to your fires. It is true, we have a strong hold of each other, so we have undertaken to lead you to their fires. It is true, we have always attended to you, and hope you will this time listen to us, and we will see you safe.

BROTHER: On our arrival at Buffalo creek, we immediately wrote to General Washington an account of the whole of our proceedings; we now let you know only the principal, as we suppose you have, before this, received a particular account from General Washington himself.

We cannot come at present to visit you, as we have so much business to do among ourselves, which we must first attend to. We thank you, and think ourselves happy in your friendship. It is the minds of the Six Nations to listen to the white people, and be friends with them; all our thoughts are how to keep the whole island in peace.

BROTHER: You have a desire to know the nations we were at council with; we cannot tell the names of them. There were present three men from the Gora nations; it took them a whole season to come; and twenty-seven nations from beyond Canada. The whole of them know, that we, the Six Nations, have General Washington by the hand. The twenty-seven nations also say, that after a peace is made with the Americans, and Western Indians, their wishes are for the whole of the Indian nations to declare themselves allies to Great Britain.

The Shawanese say, that if they make peace, it will be on these terms: The Americans to allow them all the lands they held in Sir William Johnston's time; or, at least, that the river Ohio shall be the line, and they be paid for the lands improved on the south side of said river Ohio. These, they say, are the terms, and the only ones, on which they will make peace.

BROTHER: You mention to us a reward for our services, which we are very happy to hear, and hope you will send it by our friend, who will deliver you this. We wish you also to consider the fifteen warriors, who neglected their hunting to accompany us.

These are the words of the Cornplanter and New Arrow, chiefs of the Alleghany.

Per me,

NICHOLAS ROSECRANTZ, *Interpreter.*

I do certify, upon oath, that the foregoing speech or message, is a true translation of that delivered *viva voce*, by the Cornplanter and New Arrow, to me, at Chinuchshungutho, on the 8th instant.

NICHOLAS ROSECRANTZ.

Sworn before me, at Legionville, this 25th day of December, 1792.

ANTHONY WAYNE.

[2d CONGRESS.]

No. 39.

[2d SESSION.]

## WABASH AND ILLINOIS TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, FEBRUARY 13, 1793.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

I lay before you, for your consideration and advice, a treaty of peace and friendship, made and concluded on the 27th day of September, 1792, by Brigadier General Rufus Putnam, in behalf of the United States, with the Wabash and Illinois tribes of Indians. And, also, the proceedings attending the said treaty, the explanation of the fourth article thereof, and a map, explanatory of the reservation to the French inhabitants, and the general claim of the said Indians.

In connexion with this subject, I also lay before the Senate the copy of a paper which has been delivered by a man by the name of John Baptiste Mayée, who has accompanied the Wabash Indians, at present in this city.

It will appear, by the certificate of Brigadier General Putnam, that the Wabash Indians disclaimed the validity of the said paper, excepting a certain tract upon the Wabash, as mentioned in the proceedings.

The instructions to Brigadier General Putnam, of the 22d of May, together with a letter to him, of the 7th of August, 1792, were laid before the Senate on the 7th of November, 1792.

After the Senate shall have considered this treaty, I request that they would give me their advice, whether the same shall be ratified and concluded? and, if to be ratified and confirmed, whether it would not be proper, in order to prevent any misconception hereafter, of the fourth article, to guard, in the ratification, the exclusive pre-emption of the United States to the lands of the said Indians?

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, 13th February, 1793.

*A Treaty of peace and friendship, made and concluded between the President of the United States of America, on the part of the said States, and the undersigned, kings, chiefs, and warriors, of the Wabash and Illinois Indian tribes, on the part and behalf of the said tribes.*

The parties being desirous of establishing a permanent peace and friendship, between the United States and the said Indian tribes, and the citizens and members thereof, and to remove the causes of war, the President of the United States, by Rufus Putnam, one of the Judges of the territory of the United States, northwest of the river Ohio, and Brigadier General in the army, whom he hath vested with full powers for these purposes; and the said Wabash and Illinois Indian tribes, by the undersigned kings, chiefs, and warriors, representing the said tribes, have agreed to the following articles, viz:

ARTICLE 1. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between all the citizens of the United States of America, and all the individuals, villages, and tribes, of the said Wabash and Illinois Indians.

ART. 2. The undersigned kings, chiefs, and warriors, for themselves, and all parts of their villages and tribes, do acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States of America, and stipulate to live in amity and friendship with them.

ART. 3. The said tribes shall deliver, as soon as practicable, to the commanding officer at fort Knox, all citizens of the United States, white inhabitants or negroes, who are now prisoners among any of the said tribes.

ART. 4. The United States solemnly guaranty to the Wabash, and the Illinois nations, or tribes of Indians, all the lands to which they have a just claim; and no part shall ever be taken from them, but by a fair purchase, and to their satisfaction. That the lands originally belonged to the Indians; it is theirs, and theirs only. That they have a right to sell, and a right to refuse to sell. And that the United States will protect them in their said just rights.

ART. 5. The said kings, chiefs, and warriors, solemnly promise, on their part, that no future hostilities or depredations shall be committed by them, or any belonging to the tribes they represent, against the persons or property of any of the citizens of the United States. That the practice of stealing negroes and horses from the people of Kentucky, and other inhabitants of the United States, shall forever hereafter cease. That they will, at all times, give notice to the citizens of the United States of any designs which they may know, or suspect to be formed, in any neighboring tribe, or by any person whatever, against the peace and interest of the United States.

ART. 6. In cases of violence on the persons or property of the individuals of either party, neither retaliation or reprisal shall be committed by the other until satisfaction shall have been demanded of the party, of which the aggressor is, and shall have been refused.

ART. 7. All animosities for past grievances shall henceforth cease, and the contracting parties will carry the foregoing treaty into full execution, with all good faith and sincerity.

In witness of all and every thing herein determined, between the United States of America and the villages and tribes of the undersigned kings, chiefs, and warriors, the parties have hereunto set their hands and seals, at Post Vincennes, on the Wabash river, this twenty-seventh day of September, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two.

RUFUS PUTNAM,

*Brigadier General, and Agent for making peace with the Indians.*

[Signed by thirty-one Indians, of the Wabash and Illinois tribes.]

[TRANSLATION.]

*To all to whom these presents shall come:* Know ye, that we, Tobacco, the Great Couette, Ouounra, Young Tobacco, the Black Fly, and Maringouin, or Musquito, the Small Cartars, Kieskipichia, Old and Young Grelot, all chiefs of the different tribes of the savage nations of the Pianguichias, do acknowledge and confess unanimous, altogether, and separately, for us, and all our posterity, and all the people of the tribes of the aforesaid nations of the Pianguichias, that Louis Viviatte, merchant in the land of Illinois; one of the acquirers, as well for himself as for the afternamed persons, which, after having had different conferences, as well public as others, with us, the above chiefs of the towns and villages at Post Vincennes and Vermillion, has proposed to us, by the treaties and talks we have had together, to buy of us some quantities and extends of lands, all belonging to us, as well as to all the other different tribes of our nation, which we unanimously represent; and declare, further, that we, the abovenamed chiefs, have wisely and ripely considered, for ourselves and descendants, and have also consulted with the other natives of our different tribes, concerning the propositions which have been made to us by the said Louis Viviatte, as well in his name as in those of the other acquirers hereafter named; and we, the aforementioned chiefs, as well as the natives of the different tribes of our nation, are perfectly well satisfied and content, for the afternamed considerations: we do assure and confirm to the said Louis Viviatte, and to all the others who might join him, that the different quantities and extends of lands, hereafter to be specified, to be divided by these presents, that we, the abovenamed chiefs of the savage nation of the Pianguichias, all present in the public council, assembled in the town

and villages of Post Vincennes, and in consideration of the sum of five shillings, counted to us by the said Louis Viviatte, as also for the merchandise and effects offered and presented to us, the said chiefs, Young Tobacco, Montour, the Great Couëtte, and Ouounaha, Old Tobacco, Black Fly, the Maringouin, the Small Cartars, Kieskipichia, Old and Young Grelot, for the usage of the different tribes of the nation Pianguichias, well and duly delivered, in full council, as mentioned, to wit: four hundred white blankets, twenty-two pieces of cloth, two hundred and fifty shirts, twelve groce of garters, one hundred and twenty pieces of ribbon, twenty-four pounds of vermilion, eighteen pieces of velvet galloon, for hosing, a piece swansdown, fifteen guns, thirty-five dozen of knives, with horn handles, forty dozen knives, with close handles, five hundred pounds of copper, in kettles, ten thousand flints, six hundred pounds of gun powder, two thousand pounds of shot, four hundred pounds of tobacco, forty bushels of salt, three thousand weight of flour, and three horses, without the least prejudice to the following silver work, to wit: eleven pairs of arm bracelets, forty hand bracelets, six full moons, six half moons, nine pairs of ear bobs, forty great crosses, twenty-nine hair knots, sixty pairs of ear rings, twenty dozen of small crosses, twenty dozen crosses for the nose, and one hundred and ten dozen of little pins, which we declare and acknowledge to have received, article by article; for which, we acknowledge and declare and confess, unanimously, by these presents, to have, together and separately, for us, and all our posterity and people of our tribes, sold, ceded, and transferred, delivered, and given up, now, and for ever, with promises of guarantee; and, moreover, ratify and confirm, by these presents, that we agree to have sold, to be delivered, to be ceded, and to be given up for ever, and make valid to Louis Viviatte, the honorable Augustus, Earl of Dunmore, Governor of the colony of Virginia, the honorable John Murray, son to the above Earl, Moses Franks, and Jacob Franks, of the city of London, kingdom of Great Britain, Esquires, Thomas Johnston, jr., Esq., Barister at Law, and John Davidson, merchant, both of the city of Annapolis, of the province of Maryland, William Russet, Esq., Matthew Ridley, Robert Christie, senior, Robert Christie, junior, of the town of Baltimore, merchants, in the province of Maryland, Peter Campbell, merchant, of Piscataway, Maryland, William Geddis, Esq., collector of his Majesty's customs, for the new town of Chester, in Maryland, David Franks, merchant, and Mores, attorney at law, both of the city of Philadelphia, in the province of Pennsylvania, William Murray, and Daniel Murray, merchants, in the Illinois country, Nicholas St. Martin and Joseph Bagé, gentlemen, of the same country, Francis Berthuis, of the city of Quebec, gentleman, at present at Post Vincennes, for them and their heirs; and, if the case requires it, having caused, by the will of George the Third, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, to be for the usage, and benefit, and advantage of the said acquirers, here aforementioned, the heirs, &c., and for that every one should, according to law, possess the same quantities and extends of land, hereafter named, viz: one extend, or quantity of land, situated on both sides of the river Oubache, to begin at the mouth of a creek, named Cat river, which empties into the said river Oubache, about fifty-two leagues distant above Post Vincennes, and descending the river Oubache, following the windings and turnings, to the place called the *Pointe Coupé*, about twelve leagues above Post Vincennes, which forms about forty leagues in length, upon the said river Oubache, and of the line or the place from whence it begins, it must continue forty leagues in depth, from the east, also thirty leagues in depth from the west of the said river Oubache, to be continued all along, to be taken from the mouth of the said Cat river, which joins the said river Oubache, to come at the said *Pointe Coupé*; and also an extend or quantity of land, situated at both sides of said river Oubache, which commences from the mouth of the White river, which empties itself into the said river Oubache, about ten leagues from the said Post Vincennes, and from thence, going down the said river Oubache, following the turnings as they are, which joins the Belle Riviere, to be taken from the aforesaid White river, fifty-three leagues, or about, more or less, upon forty leagues in breadth, of the east side, and thirty leagues in depth, from the west side of the said Oubache, to be continued all along, at both sides of the said river Oubache, and what is between, which is about twenty-four leagues, between the said *Pointe Coupé* and the said White river, is reserved for the inhabitants, and for their usage at the said Post Vincennes, with the same depth at both sides the said Oubache, as well as the abovementioned extends of lands and the two aforesaid quantities or extends of lands, heretofore designated, granted, and sold, according to the division specified as above, must contain and form, from the first place here abovementioned, unto the Belle Riviere, in altogether ninety-three leagues in the said Oubache, and, at both sides, must form and have in depth seventy leagues altogether, equally all along the said river Oubache, as aforesaid, without comprehending the twenty-four leagues of length, and the seventy of depth, which are reserved for the inhabitants of Post Vincennes, to be reserved and to be promised by the said chiefs abovenamed.

We, themselves, and for the different natives of their nations, which they fully and effectually represent, as well for their posterity, with promises and guaranties by the aforesaid chiefs, and all the people of their tribes, and their heirs, for that the acquirers should enjoy their lands in peace, and that they may dispose of it at their will and pleasure; as also, to enjoy full liberty and tranquillity on the said lands, as well in their navigation in the said river Oubache, from the entrance to the source of this river, as well in all other rivers which pass across the lands now sold, without any restriction, or opposition and interruption, or quarrel, contrary to their rights, which should, or could not, take place contrary to the privileges ceded, granted, and given up to the said acquirers, of all the minerals, mines, trees, woods, waters, and running waters, profits, commodities, advantages, rights, and liberties, inheritance, appurtenances, dependencies, and any other things, on the two extends or quantities of lands, which belong to them; as, also, all the reservations and residue, success and profits, and of all rights, usages, and possession of property, claim, and demand, against the said chiefs, Tobacco, Maringouin, Montour, the Great Couëtte, Young Tobacco, Ouounaha, Black Fly, Small Cartar, Kieskipichia, the two Grelots, old and young, and all others, or other person whatever, from said savage nation of Pianguichia, on the said lands; and, finally, to enjoy and possess of the two extends, or quantity of lands, and other singular pieces comprehended in the sale by the said acquirers, their heirs, and successors, to their advantage and profit; and the said chiefs, which promises all, and every one in particular, for themselves, and the people of their tribes, and for all other nations who depend from them, and which are submitted to the said posterity and savage nation of the said Pianguichias, as well as to guaranty of all troubles for the aforesaid quantities and extends of lands, as above specified, and who generally depends on it, and oblige and engage ourselves to guaranty and defend for all, and against all, and for always, for our part, and every one of us, and in particular, and for all other natives of the different tribes of the savage nation of the Pianguichias; and have signed with our hands our ordinary marks, in presence of the underwritten persons, as witness and present in council; the council held at said Post Vincennes, the ——— day of ———, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five. And delivered in the present nature, and in consideration of the said act, also specified, mentioned, and interpreted, to the aforesaid identical chiefs present. The liberty of game, or hunting, shall always remain free in all the rivers, also the navigation in said rivers.

Tobacco, chief.  
Montour, chief.  
Great Couëtte, chief.  
Ouounaha, chief.  
Young Tobacco, chief.  
Black Fly, chief.

Small Cartar, chief.  
Quickipichias, chief.  
Old Grelot, chief.  
Young Grelot, chief.  
Cotonier, chief.  
Burnt Arm, war chief.

Afterwards signed by the following as witnesses:

Jean Marie Le Gras, Le Marié Francois Bosseron, J. Bte. Nuberdeau, St. Martin, Pertius, Barois, J. Bte. Bosseron, Bolon, Milhet, Le Leroute—all witnesses.

Post Vincennes, the ———, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, appeared before me, St. Marié, commandant at said Post Vincennes, personally, Prené Coder, alias Panas, and Jean Baptiste Vaudry, inhabitants of the same place; which, after having been duly sworn, have deposed, that they served as interpreters to the savage nations, during all the time they have been in conference, held in the town and village of Post Vincennes and Vermillion, by Louis Viviatte, for himself, as also in the names of different other persons, with the chiefs of the

different tribes of the savage nation of Pianguichias, relatively to the purchase of lands, as above mentioned, specified, and written in the aforesaid act, which the said witnesses, or interpreters, have faithfully interpreted between the said Louis Viviatte and the chiefs denominated in the aforesaid act; and that the said witnesses, in their quality as interpreters, have done for the best in their souls and consciences, according to the best of their understanding and knowledge, and have, faithfully and plainly, explained to the said chiefs denominated in the aforesaid act, to which they have set their ordinary marks, with their own hands, whereof the signification has been mentioned, and, for their consideration, has been explained; as, also, the names of the acquirers; and that the said interpreters should be present at the delivery of the said considerations specified in the act aforementioned; as, also, that they should be present at the passing of the aforementioned act, in presence of the said chiefs, which have put their marks at the foot of the said act.

Signed and sealed, the \_\_\_\_\_ day of the month \_\_\_\_\_, in the year of our Lord \_\_\_\_\_.

RENE CODER, *alias* PANAS, }  
J. BTE. + VAUDRY'S mark. } *Interpreters.*

ST. MARIE.  
PHILLIBERT.

I, Lewis Bomer, Notary Public, residing in the country of the Illinois do certify, do have translated, from the English into the French language, to the best of my knowledge, judgment, and ability, the act before mentioned, containing three pages, originally written in English, on parchment; at the foot of which I have signed my name, and affixed my ordinary seal, as, also, to the present certificate, to serve all those whom it may concern.

Given at Kaskaskias, this eighteenth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

LOUIS BOMER, *Notary.*

Published for a true copy: by

PHILLIBERT, *Royal Notary.*

I certify the above to be a true copy from the original, which is now among the records of this county, and in my possession.

For JOHN MILLS, *Recorder.*

H. VANDERBURGH.

PHILADELPHIA, 6th February, 1793.

At the treaty held with the Wabash and Illinois Indians, by me, in the month of September, 1792, the said Indians disclaimed the validity of the within deed, excepting the tract on the Wabash, to their fathers, the French, as mentioned in the proceedings of the said treaty.

RUFUS PUTNAM.

NOTE.—For the instructions to General Putnam, and his correspondence, see Nos. 29 and 31. Other papers referred to in the message, are not on file.

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 40.

[1st SESSION.]

### NORTHWESTERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 4, 1793.

WAR DEPARTMENT, December 4th, 1793.

SIR:

In obedience to the direction of the President of the United States, I have the honor to submit to the Senate the instructions to the commissioners appointed to treat with the hostile Indians, north of the Ohio, and their report, in the form of a journal of their proceedings. And, also, a statement of the troops in the legion of the United States, and certain intelligence from Major General Wayne.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your most obedient servant,

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

The VICE PRESIDENT of the United States.

*Instructions to Benjamin Lincoln, of Massachusetts, Beverley Randolph, of Virginia, and Timothy Pickering, of Pennsylvania, Commissioners appointed for treating with the Indians Northwest of the Ohio.*

GENTLEMEN:

You, having been appointed Commissioners to negotiate with the hostile Indians, northwest of the Ohio, are to regard the following instructions as the general principles of your conduct, and as delivered by the President of the United States.

You must be well aware of the extreme dislike of the great majority of the citizens of the United States to an Indian war, in almost any event; and with how much satisfaction they would embrace a peace upon terms of justice and humanity. To you, therefore, this negotiation is entrusted, with the hope that you will, by your intelligence and perseverance, be able to close a scene of hostilities, which, on the part of the United States, have been dictated by the protection due their frontier citizens.

In order that you may possess all the knowledge in the power of the Executive to give, you have herewith furnished the several papers upon this subject, enumerated in the schedule annexed, which contains information, from the peace between Great Britain and France, in the year 1763, until the present time.

With respect to the treaties made between the United States and the several hostile tribes, since the peace with Great Britain, in 1783, it is to be observed, that the treaty of fort Harmar, made in January, 1789, is regarded as having been formed on solid grounds—the principle being that of a fair purchase and sale.

The Government considers the Six Nations, who claimed the lands by virtue of former conquests, lying between the Ohio and Lake Erie, which were ceded and confirmed to the United States by the said treaty, with the said Six Nations, together with the Wyandots and Delawares, and Ottawas, and other Western Indians, who were the actual occupants of the lands, as the proper owners thereof; that they had a right to convey the said lands to the United States; and that they did accordingly make the said conveyance, with their free consent and full understanding. Parties, however, who were not at the treaty of fort Harmar, may have been either at the treaty of fort McIntosh or the Miami. Puchonchehelas, a chief of the Delawares, was at the latter.

But, if it shall appear, upon a further investigation of the subject, at the place of conference, that there were other tribes interested in the lands then ceded to the United States, than those who subscribed the said treaty, or

that the consideration given was inadequate, it may be proper, in either or both cases, that a liberal compensation be made to the just claimants.

It will, therefore, be one of the first objects of the proposed treaty, to ascertain from the Indians, what tribes are the allowed proprietors of the country lying to the northward of the Ohio, and to the southward of the lakes.

You will perceive by Hutchin's map, herewith delivered, the boundaries confirmed by the said treaty of fort Harmar to the United States: and, also, the tracts which have been granted by the United States to the late army, and to particular companies of men.

You will endeavor, to the utmost of your power, to induce the tribes claiming a right to the said lands, to confirm the boundary established by the said treaty of Fort Harmar, with the Six Nations, and Wyandots, Delawares, &c.; for which purpose you will, among other considerations, offer—

1st. The guarantee of the United States of the right of soil, to all the remaining Indian lands in that quarter, against the citizens or inhabitants of the United States.

2dly. That the United States will relinquish the places mentioned in the said treaty as trading posts, to the northward of the general boundary; excepting, however, the grounds upon which the forts are erected, now occupied by the British troops; and which, by the treaty of peace of 1783, were ceded to the United States, together with the portions of land in the vicinity of said forts, in possession of the white inhabitants; and which have been purchased of the Indians.

3dly. The United States will relinquish any of the military posts, which shall appear to be established, without the boundaries of the treaty of fort Harmar, or the boundaries which you may agree upon.

4thly. That the United States will pay to the several tribes, in the proportions which shall be agreed upon, the sum of fifty thousand dollars, in goods, according to a tariff of articles, to be settled at the treaty. The tariff shall include the prime cost of the goods in Philadelphia or New York, together with the charge of the transportation to the place which shall be fixed for the delivery, and no more.

5thly. That, in addition to the above sum, to be paid immediately, the United States will also pay, annually, the sum of ten thousand dollars, in goods, to such tribes, and to be delivered at such places, as shall be agreed upon.

You will observe that the space between the tracts of land granted to the particular companies, and the Indian boundary, established by the treaty of fort Harmar, will render it extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to relinquish any lands in the said space, without establishing a cause of perpetual discussions and hostilities between the whites and Indians. But, if the relinquishment of any lands, in the said space, should be an ultimatum with the said Indians, and a line could be agreed upon which would be free from dispute, you may, in order to effect a peace, make such relinquishment.

In case you should be under the necessity of making this relinquishment, it will be left to your discretion whether or not to make the same compensations as are stated for the confirmation of the general boundary established by the treaty of fort Harmar.

But, you are to understand explicitly, that the United States cannot relinquish any of the tracts of land which they have already granted, as marked upon the said map.

In respect to all that has been said, with regard to relinquishment, you will please to understand, that no particular difficulty is intended to be thrown in the way of the relinquishment of any lands westward of the Great Miami, and northward of the Ohio, from the intersection thereof by the Great Miami, except the tract of one hundred and fifty thousand acres, granted to General Clarke.

You will observe, that, as none of the Wabash tribes attended the treaty of fort Harmar, the Western boundary, then established is imperfectly described. In the treaty made by General Putnam, with the said Wabash tribes, on the fourth of October last, the boundaries are not defined. He says, that he understood the Eastern boundary, claimed by the said Wabash Indians, would be described by a line drawn from the Miami village to a creek, a few miles above the falls of the Ohio. But, it is a point of considerable importance, in case of a successful treaty, that a well defined boundary should be established with all the tribes, so that, in future, no misunderstanding should happen on that account.

It will be an object worthy of your attention, to endeavor, as far as shall be consistent with the main design of peace, to form separate contracts, or treaties, relatively to boundaries, with the several tribes to whom the lands actually belong, avoiding, as much as possible, to confirm the idea of an union, or general confederacy of all the tribes, or of any patronage of the whole over the lands of any particular tribes, or subdivisions of tribes. But, as the said Indians are much attached to the idea of a general confederacy, your proceedings, in these particulars, will require peculiar caution and management.

You will, in all your negotiations, carefully guard the general rights of pre-emption of the United States to the Indian country, against all other nations and individuals, as established by the treaty of 1783, with Great Britain. But, in describing these rights to the Indians, you will impress them with the idea that we concede to them, fully, the right and possession of the soil, as long as they desire to occupy the same; but, when they choose to sell any portion of the country, it must be sold only to the United States, who will protect the Indians against all imposition.

In case of a successful treaty, the delivery of all prisoners taken from the United States must be strenuously insisted upon. But it will be left to your judgment, whether a particular compensation shall be stipulated, or not, to the individual owners of such prisoners, as it is well known that they are not considered as the common property of the Indian communities.

While at the treaty, you must endeavor to ascertain, as accurately as may be, the names and numbers of the respective Indian tribes within the limits of the United States, north of the Ohio; and, also, the names of the influential chiefs; their divisions of lands; and all other matters relatively to trade and intercourse with them.

And as it is highly probable there will be a great number of distant Indians from the Northward, Westward, and Southward, you will endeavor to learn the tribes to which they belong, and, whether their being present, is the effect of curiosity, or invitation.

It will depend upon your judgment, whether, after the treaty shall be about concluding, to inform the Indians of the measures taken by the United States for furnishing provisions during the treaty, and of the causes which prevented. It may, also, be proper to observe, that the same causes prevented any great quantities of goods being brought to the treaty ground.

You have, herewith, delivered to you, the belt sent by the hostile Indians; with the message acceding to the treaty; this you will shew them, as the evidence that their message was received. You have also delivered, the belt of the Five Nations, received upon the same occasion.

You will endeavor to obtain permission that agents of the United States may reside among the Indian tribes, as their protectors and friends; and, also, that traders may be established among them. The United States will, hereafter, enter into arrangements with the Indians, to supply them with goods, in the manner most beneficial to them, and which shall tend to prevent all imposition.

In case of a treaty, an article to be inserted, that murderers, on either side, shall be given up, or punished with death, according to the usage of the respective contracting parties.

In case of robberies, or horse stealing, the robbers, or thieves, to be punished with fine; the amount of which to be fixed. If incurred by the Indians, who should fail in payment, the same to be deducted from the annual payment of the tribe to whom the culprit should belong.

The society of Friends have, with the approbation of the President of the United States, decided to send some of their respectable members, in order to contribute their influence to induce the hostile Indians to a peace. They are not, however, to confer with the Indians upon any subject of importance, until they shall have previously communicated the same, and received your approbation.

The Reverend John Heckewelder, a Moravian teacher, who resided many years among the Moravian Indians, of the Delawares, will accompany you, in order, also, to use his influence towards a peace. He well understands the Delaware tongue, and, although he is unwilling to act as a common interpreter, yet you may rely upon his ability to correct others, and prevent imposition. His knowledge of Indian customs and manners may be of great use in your negotiations.

You have delivered to you, one hundred sets of silver ornaments, which you will present to such influential chiefs as you shall judge proper.

It will be necessary that you should endeavor, if consistently with the public interests, to close the treaty on or before the first of August. But, whatever shall be the result of the treaty, you will inform Major General Wayne thereof, on the Ohio, as expeditiously as possible; and, in order that there may be no defect in the transmission of such information, you will send many copies, by different routes, and spare no pains or expense to render the communication perfect.

General Wayne has been instructed to issue a proclamation, informing the people of the frontiers of the proposed treaty, and prohibiting all offensive movements of the whites to the northward of the Ohio, until they shall receive further information on the subject.

The good understanding which subsists between the United States and the Five Nations of Indians, and the steps they have taken for the purpose of terminating hostilities with the Western Indians, manifested by their journey to the council of Au Glaize the last year, induce the reliance that they will still continue their endeavors to bring about a peace. Many of them will be at the proposed treaty, and you will probably be able to make considerable use of them, to instill into the minds of the hostile Indians favorable dispositions towards the United States.

You will exclude all citizens of the United States from attending the treaty, excepting such as are herein mentioned, and such others as shall actually be in your employ.

It is, however, probable that the British agents, Messrs. Butler and McKee, will be present by the desire of the Indians. To this, you will not object, although you cannot formally admit of them, or any other British agents, as mediators or umpires.

It is understood also from General Hull, that several gentlemen of Governor Simcoe's family are desirous of being present at the treaty, perhaps from motives of curiosity. If this should be the case, you will cordially accede to the idea, upon the ground that, the intentions of the United States being upright, they cannot have the least objection to the presence of any gentleman of the British Government as evidences thereof.

You will forbid all persons from attempting any negotiations with the Indians relatively to the purchase of lands, upon any pretence whatever.

The general form of such a treaty as the Government are desirous of having observed in future, is herewith delivered, to which you will adhere, as far as the same may be suitable to the state of things.

In addition to Jasper Parrish, who is the established interpreter for the United States with the said Five Nations, I have written to James Dean also to accompany you as the principal interpreter of the said Five Nations. His influence among the said Indians, and his knowledge of Indian manners and customs, may be serviceable. It is also expected that Mr. William Wilson and Mr. James Rankin will accompany you, as interpreters of the Shawanese and Delaware tongues. These men have been represented as persons having an extensive knowledge of the characters of the Western Indians, and as men of probity, upon whom reliance may be placed.

The sum of twenty thousand dollars in specie will be delivered to you for the particular purpose of gratuities, to such influential persons or chiefs as may in your judgment be necessary; and, also, the further sum of — dollars, in order to defray the expenses of yourselves, stores, and attendants.

If you should effect a peace, it might be proper to invite a number of influential chiefs to repair to this place, in order to visit the President of the United States; and, also, for the purpose of choosing such goods as would be most suitable to their wants.

Your route will be hence, by the way of New York, Albany, fort Stanwix, Wood Creek, Oswego, and Niagara; thence, Governor Simcoe will furnish you with a vessel for the purpose of conveying you to the place of treaty. I have written to General Schuyler to provide boats, for your stores and yourselves, at Schenectady; these boats will be carried by land from the Mohawk river to Wood creek. If you should prefer taking the route from Albany to Niagara by land, you will please to pursue the same.

Given by the special direction of the President of the United States, at the War Office of the United States, in the city of Philadelphia, this twenty-sixth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.

H. KNOX,

*Secretary for the Department of War, and having the direction of Indian Affairs.*

*The Journal of the Commissioners of the United States, appointed to hold a treaty at Sandusky, for the purpose of making peace with the Western Indians.*

Two commissions were made out, appointing Benjamin Lincoln, of Massachusetts, Beverley Randolph, of Virginia, and Timothy Pickering, of Pennsylvania, commissioners for the purpose of negotiating a peace with the nations of Indians Northwest of the Ohio, on principles of mutual justice and convenience.

By one commission, there were given to those commissioners, "or a majority of them, full power and authority to confer on, treat of, renew, conclude, and sign, with such persons as by the said nations shall appear to them to be fully authorized thereto, a treaty or treaties of peace and amity, between the United States and the said Indian nations."

By the other commission, the same power was given to those commissioners, "or to any of them, in case of the death, sickness, or non-attendance of the other two."

The commissions bear date the second day of March, 1793.

The commissioners were accompanied with instructions, of which some parts were confidential.

TUESDAY, April 30th, 1793.

Beverley Randolph and Timothy Pickering set out from Philadelphia to go to Niagara, by the way of Sunbury, Northumberland, and Muncy, Lycoming, in Pennsylvania, the Painted Post, Bath, and Williamsburg, on Genesee river, in the State of New York.

Benjamin Lincoln had set off from Philadelphia on Saturday, the 27th of April, to go by the way of New York, Albany, the Mohawk river, and Oswego, taking under his care the stores and baggage.

Beverley Randolph and Timothy Pickering arrived at Williamsburg the 11th of May, and on Monday, the 13th, at Canawagus, on Genesee, met with the Farmer's Brother, Red Jacket, and some other chiefs of the Seneca nation, with whom they had some conversation.

The commissioners informed them of the time they expected to proceed from Niagara to Sandusky, and when the treaty was to be opened. They encouraged them to attend the treaty, and mentioned the reliance of the United States on their aid in bringing about a peace.

The chiefs said, that, when some of their men were hunting about Canandaigua, the answer of the President to the speech of the Western Indians arrived, relative to the holding of the treaty. That this answer was deficient, because the British were not invited to attend the treaty; and that it was necessary they should attend, because they originally called the Indians to war against the United States. That, nevertheless, Governor Simcoe had ordered Colonel Butler to attend the treaty. That all the provisions were ready, and that the British seemed now, more than ever, desirous to have peace take place between the United States and the Western Indians, and to give all the assistance in their power in promoting it.

With respect to the President's answer to the Western Indians, the commissioners observed, that he had given such an answer as his wisdom directed, and, therefore, that they could say nothing about it.



The commissioners received from the chiefs a written speech, and four strings of white wampum, sent by the Western Indians to the President. In this, they insisted on Sandusky as the place of treaty. This speech and strings, the commissioners enclosed in a letter to General Knox, and sent it by a man going to Williamsburg, to be put in the post office there.

The chiefs handed to the commissioners some papers, which they desired to have explained to them; this was done. They were the speeches between General Wayne and the Cornplanter, last March, at Pittsburg.

The commissioners entertained the chiefs and their followers with victuals and drink, and, at their request, furnished some provisions for their journey to Canandaigua, whither they were going for the clothing procured by General Chapin, for those who went last year to the council of the Western Indians.

FRIDAY, *May 17th*, 1793.

This day Beverley Randolph and Timothy Pickering arrived at Queenstown, seven miles up Niagara river, above Niagara fort, and the landing place for goods to be transported above the falls; here they met Thomas Morris, of Canandaigua, to whom had been committed, in order to be delivered to the commissioners, the extract of a letter from Colonel McKee, of which the following is a copy:

*Extract of a letter from Colonel McKee to Major of Brigade Littlehales, dated Detroit, April 11th, 1793.*

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 23d March. The speech of the United States to the Western Indians, was forwarded yesterday to the Glaize, by some chiefs of the Shawanese, who came here soon after its arrival, to hasten the meeting; and I beg to acquaint you, for the information of his Excellency, that, at present, it appears generally understood by all the chiefs whom I have seen, that the proposed interview with the commissioners will certainly take place at Sandusky; but the time fixed by the United States (viz: the first of June) appears too early for the Indians to be able to collect themselves; as, in all probability, the major part of them will not return from their wintering grounds before the latter end of May, exclusively of the Southern chiefs, expected with the messengers who were sent last fall; and also those who are to attend from Michilimackinac and the Mississippi, in order to accomplish a full and permanent settlement of all the existing differences between the confederated Indians and the United States.

"And I should apprehend, from their accustomary slowness in all their deliberations, that it may be the latter end of June before they are able to adjust all their business at their private councils at the Miami Rapids, preparatory to their meeting the commissioners.

"His Excellency will therefore be enabled to state to the commissioners, should they arrive at the early period proposed, the causes of the delay; and should he think proper to recommend to them to stay at Niagara until the chiefs are nearly ready, I shall not neglect to give him early information thereof, that they may have sufficient time to be at the appointed place as soon as the Indians, who are to meet them.

"Their being at Sandusky so long before the meeting, may be extremely inconvenient to them, and cannot answer any good purpose."

A true copy.

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

Mr. Morris being just then setting off for Canandaigua, the commissioners wrote a short letter to the Secretary of War, mentioning their arrival at Queenstown, and enclosed therein the foregoing extract of Colonel McKee's letter, which they delivered to Mr. Morris, desiring him to forward the same to Philadelphia the first opportunity.

The commissioners then sent off a note (by Jasper Parrish, the interpreter, who had just before arrived) to Governor Simcoe, to advertise him of their arrival, and that they would wait upon him in the afternoon. To this note the following answer was received:

NAVY HALL.

Lieutenant Governor Simcoe presents his compliments to Mr. Randolph and Mr. Pickering, and he desires the pleasure of seeing them at Navy Hall as soon as shall be convenient. The Lieutenant Governor had expected the pleasure of their companies to dinner, but must insist upon their taking beds at his house, and of partaking of such accommodations with him, as this settlement can afford.

*May 17th.*

There being no public house at New Ark, (which is the name of the village where the Lieutenant Governor resides, near a mile from Niagara fort, on the opposite side of the river Niagara) and the Lieutenant Governor's invitation being so peremptory, the commissioners complied therewith, and took lodgings at Navy Hall, which is the name he has given the house in which he dwells, having been formerly occupied by the naval department.

TUESDAY, *May 21st*, 1793.

The commissioners wrote the following letter to General Knox, Secretary of War:

NAVY HALL, *opposite Niagara, May 21st, 1793.*

SIR:

At the moment of our arrival at the landing, (Queenstown) seven miles above this place, on the 17th, we sent you, by Mr. Thomas Morris, an extract of a letter from Colonel McKee, of Detroit, of which we now enclose a duplicate, it being important that you should be apprised of the probable delay for at least one month, in commencing the treaty, and, because of the importance of the information, we repeat it.

On the 17th, we waited on Governor Simcoe, and expressed our desire that a vessel might be sent to Oswego for General Lincoln and the stores. He assented with the utmost readiness to have it done as soon as a vessel capable of entering the port of Oswego should arrive, and he daily expected one from Kingston, (fort Frontenac) but she is not arrived. The only vessel here was a large topsail schooner, bound to Kingston, and waiting for a wind. It seems probable, therefore, that General Lincoln will be obliged to proceed hither with his batteaux.

There is no tolerable tavern in this part of the country. We are at the Governor's; he had provided for us, and insisted upon our taking beds at his house, and of partaking of such accommodations with him as this settlement could afford.

In a former letter, we mentioned the information of the Seneca chiefs; that Captain Brandt had set off with a number of Mohawks for the Westward. His departure must have been about the 5th of this month, and doubtless his principal object was to attend the preparatory council of the Indians, to be held at the rapids of the Miami, as mentioned by Colonel McKee.

We know not when a conveyance for this letter will present; we shall embrace the first.

We are, &c.

B. RANDOLPH.  
T. PICKERING.

On the same day, *May 21st*, the commissioners sent the following message, in writing, by Henry, to his Father, the Cornplanter, New Arrow, and other Seneca chiefs in their settlement:

BROTHERS:

By your conference with General Wayne, about sixty days ago, we find it was proposed that you should be at Niagara about this time, to meet the commissioners of the United States, and go with them to the treaty to be held at Sandusky. We take this method to inform you of our arrival here, and that General Lincoln, the other commis-

sioner, who went by the way of the Mohawk river and Oswego, is expected in a few days to join us. We have time to give you this information, and to repeat the invitation to you to accompany us to the treaty, because it will not begin at Sandusky so soon as we expected.

The Great Chief of the United States has proposed the 1st of June (ten days hence) for the opening of the treaty; but Colonel M'Kee writes, that the Western Indians will not be able to assemble so soon; probably not till the last of June. We, therefore, give you our opinion, that, if you arrive at Buffalo creek in twenty-five days after this day on which we write to you, it will not be too late. By that time, we hope to hear of your arrival, for we have great dependance on your assistance at the proposed treaty.

We remain your friends and brothers,

B. RANDOLPH,  
T. PICKERING,  
*Commissioners of the United States.*

*Written at Niagara, the 21st June, 1793.*

N. B. Henry went as far as Cataragus creek, where, learning that his father had left home and gone for Genesee, he delivered the message to runners to carry it to New-Arrow.

SATURDAY, *May 25th, 1793.*

This day, General Lincoln and company arrived in batteaux from Oswego. Mr. James Dean, interpreter, arrived the same day by land from Oneida.

SUNDAY, *May 26th, 1793.*

The commissioners receiving no intelligence concerning Mr. Wilson, and another interpreter for the Delaware and Shawanese languages, and wanting also a quantity of white wampum, General Lincoln not having found any at New York or Albany, wrote the following letters to Pittsburg:

NIAGARA, *26th May, 1793.*

SIR:

The Secretary of War informed us that he had written to Mr. William Wilson and Mr. James Rankin, of Pittsburg, requesting them to accompany the commissioners for holding a treaty with the Western Indians, to Sandusky, as interpreters of the Delaware and Shawanese languages, and that Mr. Wilson, in particular, had consented to go.

As he had not arrived in Philadelphia when we left it, we hoped he would come directly from Pittsburg to Niagara.

It is of the highest importance, that we have our own interpreters for those languages at the ensuing treaty.

We, therefore, entreat you to apply immediately to Mr. Wilson, and urge his coming on, if he should not have set out; it seemed that Mr. Rankin declined going, because he was not sufficiently acquainted with the Shawanese tongue to undertake the interpretation of it. If this be the case, his presence may be dispensed with. But then, we must request you to apply for another, and, if it be possible, engage some one competently skilled in the Shawanese language to attend us. We have placed such a reliance on Mr. Wilson's assistance, that his non-attendance may prove extremely injurious to the interests of the United States.

We trust, therefore, that nothing will prevent his coming. If, however, any unavoidable accident should prevent it, pray inquire for, and engage, another in his stead. The pay will be made satisfactory. There is now no time to be lost, and it is owing to an unexpected delay of the Western Indians, in assembling, that we are enabled to make this application.

We have sent Jasper Parrish, who is interpreter to the languages of the Six Nations, with this letter. We pray you to hasten your measures to obtain interpreters, that he may return with them immediately. We shall doubtless embark for Sandusky by the time he can possibly return.

We have been disappointed in our applications at New York and Albany for white wampum. Eighty thousand is the quantity we should choose to take with us. If it can be obtained at Pittsburg, pray procure it, or as much as you can, if short of eighty thousand. The enclosed contingent draft on the Secretary of War will enable you to pay it.

We have now only to request, that you will reflect on the importance of our present application; and we assure ourselves, you will cheerfully comply with our wishes.

We are, &c.

B. LINCOLN,  
B. RANDOLPH,  
T. PICKERING,  
*Commissioners of the United States.*

To Major CRAIG, *Pittsburg.*

[ENCLOSED IN THE PRECEDING.]

NIAGARA, *May 26, 1793.*

SIR:

Not having obtained any white wampum, either at New York or Albany, we have desired Major Craig to procure any quantity, not exceeding 80,000, at Pittsburg; should he procure it, he will transmit you the account thereof, which we request you to pay, at five days' sight hereof.

B. LINCOLN,  
B. RANDOLPH,  
T. PICKERING, } *Commissioners.*

To General Knox, *Secretary of War.*

NIAGARA, *May 26, 1793.*

SIR:

We have written to Major Craig, who is in the service of the United States, requesting him to engage interpreters for the Delaware and Shawanese languages, to go with us to Sandusky. These interpreters were expected in Philadelphia before we left it, but they had not arrived, and we have no intelligence concerning them, though we hope they are on their way from Pittsburg to this place.

Your knowledge of Indian affairs in the Western world, will enable you to point out the most suitable persons for interpreters; and we request your aid in engaging them, should those written for by General Knox fail of attending.

The bearer of this letter is Jasper Parrish, interpreter for the Six Nations, who has our directions to bring with him a quantity of white wampum, if to be obtained at Pittsburg. In this article, also, your assistance may be useful.

The importance and urgency of the business, will induce you to excuse our giving you this trouble.

We are, &c.

B. L. }  
B. R. } *Commissioners.*  
T. P. }

To General JOHN GIBSON, *Pittsburg.*

NIAGARA, May 26, 1798.

Sir:

You will proceed with the letters herewith committed to you, to Pittsburg. At the Cornplanter's settlement, get one or two trusty Indians to accompany you as guides. The great objects of your journey are to procure interpreters for the Delaware and Shawanese languages, and to obtain a parcel of white wampum. Major Craig will, we doubt not, pay immediate attention to these matters, and give you all possible despatch; should he be absent, apply to General John Gibson, to whom also we have written, and whose aid, we persuade ourselves, will readily be afforded.

We wish to obtain 80,000 of white wampum; we have already enough of the black. We desire you to make all possible despatch, as we shall endeavor to embark for Sandusky by the 20th of June.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L. }  
B. R. } *Commissioners.*  
T. P. }

To Mr. JASPER PARRISH.

*Letter to the Secretary of War.*

NIAGARA, May 27, 1798.

Sir:

General Lincoln arrived here on the 25th, with the stores in batteaux. No interpreters have arrived for the Delaware and Shawanese tongues; nor could General Lincoln obtain any white wampum, either at New York or Albany. General Schuyler supplied him with about 30,000 of black wampum.

Our letter of the 16th instant, we hope you will receive; that will account for the long delay we must make at this place. A duplicate of the extract from Col. McRee's letter is enclosed, together with ours of the 21st instant.

This unavoidable delay gives us time to send to Pittsburg, to inquire after and engage interpreters, should those sent for, by you, fail of attending, and to procure white wampum. Jasper Parrish goes on this business, and will set out this forenoon. We expect he will return with ease by the 20th June, before which time, there is no probability of our sailing for Sandusky. Should we get no white wampum at Pittsburg, we shall endeavor to borrow of the British agents, here or at Detroit. As this is a very possible contingency, we wish to have it in our power to return what we borrow.

If, therefore, you should have occasion to send a messenger to this place, and white wampum can be procured by you, it may be forwarded, addressed in our absence to the care of Major Littlehales, Secretary to Governor Simcoe, Niagara. Should there be no object of importance requiring your sending a special messenger, the wampum may be sent by the post to Reading, whence it will be brought on to Genesee by Mr. Williamson's riders; the package may be addressed to Mr. Williamson, at Williamsburg, on Genesee, he having engaged to forward by the earliest conveyance, any packages or letters addressed to us. The quantity of white wampum wanted, is 80,000. Jasper Parrish says he went to some house in Philadelphia with T. Francis, where he saw a large quantity,—two millions.

If Major Craig should obtain the wampum at Pittsburg, we have desired him to send the account to you for payment.

Mr. James Dean arrived here on the 25th. The extreme jealousy of the Indians will naturally prompt them to magnify every thing wearing a hostile appearance. The movement of General Wayne to fort Washington, will probably give no umbrage; and in his speech to the Cornplanter, he assured him, he should make no advances beyond the posts already established. But if he reinforces the present posts, advanced of fort Washington, we are apprehensive it may produce mischief, if nothing worse, at least by exciting a suspicion, that it is in order to strike their towns while they are in treaty; it will still longer retard their assembling. The jealousy of the Indians is so great, Governor Simcoe says they will, during the treaty, keep scouting parties about our advanced posts; and that, if any troops should be sent forward, especially to fort Jefferson, the Indians will certainly strike them. We recollect, that your instructions to General Wayne, contained many cautions to prevent any steps which might move the jealousy or resentment of the Indians; but not remembering the precise terms, we have thought it expedient to drop this hint.

We have the honor to be, yours, &c.

B. L. }  
B. R. } *Commissioners.*  
T. P. }

P. S. On inquiring, we find Colonel Butler has no white wampum, but has sent to New York for a supply.

*Letter to Major Craig, Pittsburg.*

NIAGARA, May 27, 1798.

Sir:

Since writing the enclosed (of yesterday) we have found it necessary to send Mr. Parrish express to Philadelphia, where we know he can get some wampum, so that, if you can procure and send us 40 or 50,000 of white wampum, it will suffice.

With regard to the interpreters for the Delaware and Shawanese languages, we repeat our request, that they may be engaged and forwarded immediately. We expect Mr. Parrish will return from Philadelphia in twenty days, at farthest by the 20th June. He is to send some Indian runners with our letters to you. We pray you to give them all needful despatch, and the provisions necessary on their return.

We are, &c.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

*Letter to General Knox, Secretary of War.*

NIAGARA, 27th May, 1798.

Sir:

The letter addressed to you, which is enclosed, was, as you will see, intended to go by the way of Pittsburg; but on searching General Lincoln's trunk, the belt of the hostile Indians, according to the treaty, and that sent by the Five Nations, on the same occasion, which, in our instructions, you say are herewith delivered to us, are not found; they must still be at your office. Neither have we the white new belts, which were intended for our use. These, with what white wampum is on hand, in strings, Mr. Parrish can bring to us, with as much more as will make up eighty thousand or one hundred thousand: for, if there should be a surplus, we cannot make a more acceptable present to the Indians than wampum. For this reason, and also for the purpose of ensuring a full supply, we have continued our request to Major Craig, to send us forty or fifty thousand. The letters to Major Craig will be sent

by some Indian runners, whom Parrish will despatch from Buffalo creek to the Cornplanter's settlement, where they may be delivered to the runners, who are well acquainted with the route.

Mr. Parrish, the bearer of this, says he can reach Philadelphia in eight or ten days, and will return in as many more; we pray you give him all needful despatch.

The Doctor's medicine chest was left at Philadelphia. It seems, that on his way he has bought a pound of bark, and a few other articles, of small account.

Perhaps, as the treaty may now be postponed to a later season than was expected, it may be expedient for Mr. Parrish to bring a pound of bark, and such other articles as the physicians you consulted shall recommend, and Parrish can conveniently bring.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

The commissioners having discharged twenty of their batteau-men, they gave the following order for the residue of their pay:

NIAGARA, 27th May, 1793.

Sir:

As a less sum was put into the hands of the commissioners than you expected; and, as, by a delay, which will probably take place respecting the assembling of the Indians, our expenses will be augmented, we have thought it best to draw on you for the sum of four hundred and sixty-one dollars and seventy-five cents; which draft, we doubt not, you will honor at sight, and cause payment to be made, so as best to accommodate the drawee.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN,  
*In behalf of himself and the other Commissioners.*

To General Knox.

N. B. This draft was in favor of Cornelius A. Van Slyck, of Schenectady, and delivered to his agent, Joseph Menderse.

*Letter to Colonel McKee, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs.*

NAVY HALL, 30th May, 1793.

Sir:

We, having been appointed commissioners of the United States, to hold a treaty with the Indians at Sandusky, and the time proposed for holding the treaty being the 1st of June, met at this place on the 25th instant, and should have proceeded to Sandusky, but for your letter to Major Littlehales, of the 11th of April, in which you express your opinion that the Indians would not be assembled until the last of June, and desire that the commissioners may be apprised of it. We felt ourselves obliged by this attention to our convenience, and, in consequence of this information, determined to remain here a few weeks; or until further advice from you should point out the proper time for our departure. We have now to request you will have the goodness to make known to the Indians, who propose to attend the treaty, that we are arrived at this place, and intend to be at Sandusky by the last of June, at farthest, unless, your future communications should require a different arrangement. We request, also, the favor of the earliest information on this head, to be transmitted to Major Littlehales or to us.

A general and permanent peace being the great object of our mission, we hope to receive the countenance and support of all who can feel for the happiness of the human race. Your aid, in particular, in promoting this important work, may be of the highest utility, and will be most gratefully acknowledged by,

Sir, yours, &c.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

June 1st, 1793.

William Wilson, interpreter, arrived, bringing with him Sylvester Ash, as an assistant interpreter; he brought a letter from Major Craig, mentioning the terms on which they were engaged. June 3d, Mr. Wilson set off for fort Erie, to embark for Detroit, whence, if practicable, he was to proceed to the Miami Rapids, where he might gain useful information. Captain Hendricks, with four of his men, arrived about the same time with Mr. Wilson, and also proceeded to fort Erie, to embark for Detroit.

*Memorandum of instructions given to Captain Hendricks by Colonel Pickering.*

NIAGARA, 4th June, 1793.

After discoursing with the hostile Indians about the treaty, and hearing their claims with respect to the boundary, which they propose should be the Ohio, it may be expedient for you to suggest some things for their consideration, as of yourself, in order to discover how far they may be persuaded to depart from their rigid demands.

1st. It is true, the commissioners, at some former treaties, set up extravagant claims, but perhaps the present commissioners may confine themselves to moderate limits, and relinquish all the rest of the lands.

2d. The treaties formerly made, were carried to the great council of the United States, who, seeing them signed by a number of Indian chiefs, might suppose that those chiefs represented their nations, and that the treaties were right. In consequence of which, the great council sold large tracts of land along the Ohio, to a number of people, who have since settled upon them; and being thus sold and settled, it may be very difficult, if not impossible, now to give them up. I understand that such sales have been made from the west line of Pennsylvania, (which begins at the mouth of Little Beaver creek) down the Ohio, as far as the Great Miami.

3d. Now, suppose the commissioners should relinquish the lands westward of the Great Miami, and pay a good sum of money, or a large quantity of goods, for the lands eastward of the Great Miami, would it not be well to agree to such terms, and make peace?

4th. But suppose the commissioners should be willing to do still more, and give up part of the lands southward of the line settled by the treaties of fort McIntosh and fort Harmar, would it not be well to listen to their offers?

5th. Consider, further, what are the advantages you derive from the lands which the United States wish to retain. They are, furs, skins, and meat, which you would every year obtain by hunting.

But, suppose the commissioners should offer to pay a large annual rent for those lands, in money, in goods, or provisions; would not such terms be better than war? But, probably, besides this rent, you may hunt on these same lands as long as you can find any game.

6th. At all events, keep your minds open to the talk of the commissioners. Do not fix the terms of peace before you hear them. Tell them all your grievances, and listen to their answers. Perhaps former transactions with you have not been fully understood, and thence all the evils of the war may have arisen. I think there is now a disposition in the United States to find out what is true, and to do what is right.

T. P.

NOTE.—The commissioners had conversed on the subject of the above instructions, and concluded to commit them to writing for Captain Hendricks' information; but it not having been done before his departure from Navy Hall, Colonel Pickering wrote them at Chippewa, where he overtook Hendricks on his way to fort Erie. Hendricks proposed to translate them into his own language, and then destroy the original paper.

In a few days after General Lincoln's arrival with the stores and baggage, (without which we could not provide for ourselves) we concluded to remove from Navy Hall, Queenstown, and there encamp, while we should be obliged to wait for the assembling of the Indian nations at Sandusky. But as soon as Governor Simcoe understood our intentions, he again insisted on our staying at his house, and in such terms, that we could not, without rudeness, avoid a compliance with his request.

NAVY HALL, June 6th, 1793.

At a meeting of the commissioners this day, it being thought expedient to invite General Chapin, superintendent of the Six Nations, to attend them during the treaty with the hostile Indians at Sandusky, he being present, was accordingly invited, and assured of a reasonable compensation for his time and services. General Chapin accepted the invitation, and promised to attend.

NAVY HALL, 7th June, 1793.

The commissioners presented the following note to Governor Simcoe:

The commissioners of the United States for making peace with the Western Indians beg leave to suggest to Governor Simcoe:

That the very high importance of the negotiation committed to their management, makes them desirous of using every proper means that may contribute to its success.

That they have observed with pleasure the disposition manifested by the Governor to afford every requisite assistance in the preparatory arrangements for holding the treaty with the hostile Indians. But, all the facilities thus afforded, and all the expenses incurred by the British Government on this occasion, will perhaps be fruitless, unless some means are used to counteract the effect of deep rooted prejudices, and unfounded reports, among the Indian tribes: for, the arts of a few bad men dwelling among them, or having a familiar intercourse with them, by cherishing those prejudices, or raising and spreading those reports, may be sufficient to defeat every attempt to accomplish a peace.

As an instance of such unfounded reports, the commissioners have noticed the declaration of a Mohawk, from Grand river, that Governor Simcoe advised the Indians to make peace, but not to give up any of their lands.

The commissioners further observe, that if any transactions at former treaties were exceptionable, the principles of the present treaty are calculated to remove the causes of complaint: for the views of Government are perfectly fair.

And, although it is now impossible to retrace all the steps then taken, the United States are disposed to recede, as far as shall be indispensable, and the existing state of things will admit, and, for the lands retained, to make ample compensation.

The views of the United States being thus fair and liberal, the commissioners wish to embrace every means of making them so appear to the Indians, against any contrary suggestions. Among these means, the commissioners consider the presence of some gentlemen of the army to be of consequence: for, although the Indians naturally look up to their superintendents as their patrons, yet, the presence of some officers of the army will probably induce them to negotiate with greater confidence on the terms of peace. Independently of these considerations, the commissioners, for their own sakes, request the pleasure of their company.

The commissioners feeling the greatest solicitude to accomplish the object of their mission, will be happy to receive from the Governor every information relating to it, which his situation enables him to communicate. He must be aware that the sales and settlements of the lands over the Ohio, founded on the treaties of forts McIntosh and Harmar, render it impossible now to make that river the boundary.

The expression of his opinion on this point in particular, will give them great satisfaction.

*Memorandum.*—Besides the reasons expressly mentioned in the note, there were other inducements to present it. With respect to the invitation to some British officers to attend the treaties, the commissioners found they were desirous of attending, and thought a direct invitation more eligible than a mere assent to their wishes.

Colonel Butler and General Chapin also deemed the invitation to be of some moment.

It was the explicit opinion of the chiefs of the Senecas, that an open communication with the Governor, on the subject of the treaty, might have a salutary effect; and Major Littlehales, the Governor's secretary, gave the commissioners to understand, that the Governor, if requested, would cheerfully give his opinion about it.

They conceived, also, that the presence of some officers of the army would add to their security from insults and from danger.

The same day, the following note was received from Governor Simcoe:

NAVY HALL, 7th June, 1793.

Colonel Simcoe, commanding the King's forces in Upper Canada, has the honor, in answer to the paper delivered to him this morning, by the commissioners of the United States for making peace with the Western Indians, to state to those gentlemen, that he is duly impressed with the serious importance of the negotiation committed to their charge, and shall be happy to contribute by every proper means that may tend to its success.

He is much obliged to them for the polite manner in which they have expressed their sense of his readiness to afford them such facilities as may have been in his power, to assist in the preparatory arrangements for holding the treaty.

He is perfectly aware that unfounded reports, and deep rooted prejudices, have arisen among the Indian tribes; but whether from the acts of a few bad men living among them, he cannot pretend to say; but, he must observe, upon the instance given by the commissioners, of one of "those unfounded reports, that a Mohawk from the Grand river should say, that Governor Simcoe advised the Indians to make peace, but not to give up their lands," it is of that nature that cannot be true; the Indians, as yet, not having applied for his advice on the subject, and it being a point, of all others, on which they are the least likely to consult the British officers commanding in Upper Canada.

Colonel Simcoe considers himself perfectly justified in admitting, on the requisition of the commissioners, some officers to attend the treaty, and, therefore, in addition to the gentlemen appointed to control the delivery of the British provisions, &c. he will desire Captain Bunbury, of the fifth regiment, and Lieutenant Givens, who has some knowledge of one of the Indian languages, to accompany the commissioners.

Colonel Simcoe can give the commissioners no further information than what is afforded by the speeches of the confederate nations, of which, General Hull has authentic copies. But, as it has been, ever since the conquest of Canada, the principle of the British government, to unite the American Indians, that, all petty jealousies being extinguished, the real wishes of the several tribes may be fully expressed, and in consequence, all the treaties made with them, may have the most complete ratification and universal concurrence, so, he feels it proper to state to the commissioners, that a jealousy of a contrary conduct in the agents of the United States, appears to him to have been deeply impressed upon the minds of the confederacy.

To the Commissioners, &c.

Letter to General Knox.

NAVY HALL, 20th June, 1793.

SIR:

We have been in daily expectation of Mr. Parrish's arrival, but probably the continual rains, (for not a day passes without them) have delayed him.

About the 6th instant, the six friends, Mr. Heckewelder, Dr. McCoskry, Captain Hendricks, and his four companions of the Stockbridge tribe, sailed from fort Erie for Detroit, to gain intelligence, and (the whites) there await

our arrival. But the day before yesterday, mentioning to Governor Simcoe our intention of going to Detroit, to learn the true state of things prior to our landing at Sandusky, he objected to our proceeding up to the town of Detroit, though we might go to the mouth of Detroit river, adding, that there were settlers there, among whom we could find such accommodations as we should need; and that he would obtain letters for us, to them, from a gentleman here, (Mr. Baby) who is a member of the Legislative council.

As soon as Mr. Parrish returns, and a vessel shall arrive at fort Erie to receive us, we intend to embark for Detroit river. By all accounts, there will be a very great assembly of Indians, beyond what was expected before we left Philadelphia: Of the Six Nations, dwelling within the United States, the following numbers may attend the treaty:

Oneidas from Oneida,	-	-	-	-	14
Onondagoes from Onondago,	-	-	-	-	6
Cayugas from Cayuga, about	-	-	-	-	5
Senecas from Genesee, about	-	-	-	-	24
Do. from Buffalo creek,	-	-	-	-	47
Onondagoes do. about	-	-	-	-	10
Cayugas do. about	-	-	-	-	14

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To these, may probably be added a number of Cayugas of Buffalo creek, who accompany Fish Carrier, who is the head of that nation.

From appearances, the conclusion of the treaty will be procrastinated beyond the time you expected, unless it should be cut short by peremptory demands, on the part of the Indians, of terms to which we cannot accede.

No further advice has been received from Colonel McKee, relative to the time when the Indians will be at Sandusky. He and Brandt attend their previous councils at the Rapids of the Miami. Colonel Butler was to have sailed about a week since, but, being taken sick, returned from fort Erie. Perhaps he may now go in the same vessel with us.

We have the honor to be, &c.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

*Letter to General Knox, (per Mr. Baynton.)*

NAVY HALL, 26th June, 1793.

SIR:

Yesterday, Mr. Parrish arrived, with your letters of the 6th and 12th. We are happy that he has obtained a full supply of wampum.

On the 1st June, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Ash, interpreters, arrived, with a letter from Major Craig, mentioning the terms on which they were engaged. The vessel, in which the friends, Mr. Heckewelder, &c. embarked, meeting with some delay at fort Erie, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Ash had time to proceed with them to Detroit. Mr. Wilson appears to be an intelligent man; and from his acquaintance at the Westward, we hoped he might collect some useful information. He intended to go to the Rapids of the Miami, but was disappointed. His letter of the 17th, and Colonel McKee's of the 14th instant, (of which copies are enclosed) will explain the causes thereof.

Jasper Parrish left General Chapin near fort Erie, with Colonel Butler, who told him that Colonel McKee had written him on the 19th instant; that the Western Indians were waiting the arrival of the Six Nations, and desired that they might be hastened on. Colonel Butler had, accordingly, sent for those of the Six Nations, who had collected at Buffalo creek, for the purpose of proceeding to the treaty. They have, probably, embarked with Colonel Butler yesterday or to-day.

Another vessel lies at fort Erie, ready to receive us, and we shall proceed for that place to-day. Our stores are now on the way.

At our request, General Chapin has come forward, to accompany us to the treaty. He was here some time ago, and, after much conversation with him, we were of opinion that his assistance would be very useful. We have engaged him some compensation, independent of his ordinary allowance as Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

We were glad to receive the various proclamations forbidding expeditions northward of the Ohio. With all the proofs we can obtain, we shall find it difficult enough to allay the jealousy of the Indians, who will doubtless be frequently alarmed with stories, as groundless as that mentioned in the letters of Colonel McKee and Mr. Wilson. Every escort with provisions will probably occasion such reports, and, should there be any apparent accumulation of troops at the posts, beyond their ordinary complement, it may at least greatly retard our negotiations. Permit us to ask, whether a truce should not be considered as existing during the treaty, and whether a liberal observance of the laws of a truce, on the part of the United States, be not expedient? Although, by the Indians, to whom such laws are unknown, they are not respected, we shall, however, use our endeavors to impress them with the propriety and necessity of abstaining from all hostilities, while the event of the treaty is in suspense.

We ardently hope, that the minds of the Southern Indians may be quieted and peace confirmed.

Nothing would make us more happy, than to be able to relieve the President from any degree of the anxiety he feels for "the entire success of our mission." But no facts have yet come to our knowledge, by which we can warrant an opinion on the event of it. The result shall be communicated to you as early as possible, with the copy mentioned in your postscript. Mr. Baynton has made a verbal communication of what he says was entrusted to him, by you, and which we shall not forget.

We remain, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

*Letter to Major Craig, forwarded by Joseph Nicholson.*

FORT ERIE, 28th June, 1793.

SIR:

Mr. Nicholson arrived here on the 25th instant, with two Seneca Indians, who delivered us your letter of the 8th, with three packages of wampum. We are much obliged by your attention to our request. Fortunately, our messenger to Philadelphia returned the day before, with a full supply. We are glad that two of the Wabash Indians are persuaded to accompany the Senecas, in order to attend the treaty. The compensation to the runners was undoubtedly proper. We think a further compensation due for their faithful services; and accordingly, have now delivered to them, that is, to the two runners who have come here, eight and a third dollars, each, and to the one who remained at the Burnt towns, one guinea. To Mr. Nicholson, we have given four guineas, to support him on his return, and the Indians to their homes; for which, he will account with you. Having previously engaged very competent interpreters for the languages of the Six Nations, it was not necessary to add to the number, by retaining Mr. Nicholson. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Ash arrived here on the 1st instant, and, in a few days, embarked for Detroit. We received a letter from him at that place, on the 17th. The Western Indians were then beginning

to council among themselves, at their general meeting at the Rapids of the Miami of the lake. We shall sail with the first fair wind for Detroit river, and go to Sandusky as soon as we find the Indians are ready to proceed from the Miami.

We are, &c.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

June 29th.

The commissioners and their suite went to fort Erie to embark for Sandusky; but the winds being contrary, they returned three or four miles to their lodgings.

June 30th.

The wind still contrary, nevertheless the commissioners and their suite embarked on board the schooner Dunmore, Captain Henry Ford, commander.

July 5th.

Still detained by contrary winds at fort Erie. This day arrived in a vessel from the Miami, Colonel Butler, a British superintendent of Indian affairs, and Captain Brandt, with about fifty Indians, being a deputation from the Indian nations, assembled at the rapids of the Miami, to confer with the commissioners of the United States, in presence of the Governor of Upper Canada.

The deputation being met, gave notice to the commissioners that they desired to speak with them. The commissioners attending, a Shawanese chief, called Cat's Eyes, addressed them thus:

**BROTHERS:** We are sent by the nations of Indians assembled at the rapids of the Miami, to meet the commissioners of the United States. We are glad to see you here. It is the will of the chiefs of those nations, that our father, the Governor of this province, should be present, and hear what we have to say to you, and what you have to say to us.

**BROTHERS:** Do not make yourselves uneasy that we did not meet you at the time you proposed at Sandusky. The reasons thereof will be mentioned at another time. [Four strings of black and white wampum.]

To which the commissioners, after repeating the foregoing speech, replied:

**BROTHERS:** The commissioners are glad to see you. We will confer with you in presence of your father, the Governor of this province, at any time and place which shall be convenient to him and you. [Returned the four strings.]

The chiefs having consulted a few minutes by themselves, again asked the attendance of the commissioners, and proposed that the conference should be at the Governor's, at Niagara, to which the commissioners agreed, informing the chiefs that they would be at the Governor's to-morrow night.

IN COUNCIL, at Navy Hall, July 7th, 1793.

Present, commissioners of the United States, Colonel Simcoe, Governor of Upper Canada, and a considerable number of civil and military officers, deputation of Indians from the council assembled at the rapids of the Miami. Captain Brandt, with a belt and strings of wampum, rose and said:

**BROTHERS:** We have met to-day our brothers the Bostonians and English. We are glad to have the meeting, and think it is by the appointment of the Great Spirit.

**BROTHERS OF THE UNITED STATES:** We told you the other day, at fort Erie, that, at another time, we would inform you why we had not assembled at the time and place appointed for holding the treaty with you. We now inform you that it is because there is so much of the appearance of war in that quarter.

**BROTHERS:** We have given the reason for our not meeting you, and now we request an explanation of those warlike appearances.

**BROTHERS:** The people you see here are sent to represent the Indian nations, who own the lands north of the Ohio, as their common property, and who are all of one mind—one heart.

**BROTHERS:** We have come to speak to you for two reasons: one, because your warriors, being in our neighborhood, have prevented our meeting at the appointed place; the other, to know if you are properly authorized to run and establish a new boundary line between the lands of the United States, and of the Indian nations. We are still desirous of meeting you at the appointed place.

**BROTHERS:** We wish you to deliberate well on this business. We have spoken our sentiments in sincerity, considering ourselves in the presence of the Great Spirit, from whom, in time of danger, we expect assistance. [A white belt of 12 rows and 30 strings of wampum, in five bunches, nearly all white.]

The commissioners answered:

**BROTHERS:** We have attended to what you have said. We will take it into our serious consideration, and give you an answer to-morrow. We will inform you when we are ready.

Captain Brandt replied:

**BROTHERS:** We thank you for what you have said. You say you will answer our speech to-morrow. We now cover up the council fire.

*The answer of the commissioners of the United States to the speech delivered yesterday by Captain Brandt, in behalf of the Western Indians.*

NIAGARA, 8th July, 1793.

In Council. Present as yesterday.

**BROTHERS:** By the appointment of the Great Spirit we are again met together. We hope he will assist us on both sides to see and to do what is right. It gives us pleasure that this meeting is in the presence of our brothers, the English.

**BROTHERS:** Yesterday, according to your promise at fort Erie, you told us the reason why the nations whom you represent had delayed assembling at the time and place appointed for meeting us. "That it was because there was so much of the appearance of war in that quarter."

**BROTHERS:** You requested an explanation of these warlike appearances.

**BROTHERS:** You told us that the people whom we saw here were sent to represent the Indian nations who own the lands on the northern side of the Ohio, as their common property, and who are all of one mind—one heart.

**BROTHERS:** You said you had two reasons for coming to speak to us here; one that our warriors, being in your neighborhood, had prevented your meeting at the appointed place; the other, to be informed whether we are properly authorized to run and establish a new boundary line between the lands of the United States and of the Indian nations. You added, that you were still desirous of meeting us at the appointed place.

**BROTHERS:** You desired that we would deliberate well on this business. You declared that you spoke your sentiments in sincerity, considering yourselves in the presence of God, from whom, in time of danger, you expect assistance.

**BROTHERS:** We have now repeated your speech as we understood it from the interpretation. We hope we have not mistaken your meaning.

**BROTHERS:** Now listen to our answer in behalf of the United States.

**BROTHERS:** You have mentioned two objects of your coming to meet us at this place. One to obtain an explanation of the warlike appearances on the part of the United States on the northern side of the Ohio; the other, to learn whether we have authority to run and establish a new boundary line between your lands and ours.

**BROTHERS:** On the first point, we cannot but express our extreme regret, that any reports of warlike appearances, on the part of the United States, should have delayed our meeting at Sandusky. The nature of the case irresistibly forbids all apprehensions of hostile incursions into the Indian country, north of the Ohio, during the treaty at Sandusky.

**BROTHERS:** We were deputed by the Great Chief and the Great Council of the United States to treat with you of peace; and is it possible that the same Great Chief and his Great Council could order their warriors to make



fresh war, while we were sitting round the same fire with you, in order to make peace? Is it possible that our Great Chief and his council could act so deceitfully towards us, their commissioners, as well as towards you? Brothers, we think it is not possible. But we will quit argument and come to facts.

**BROTHERS:** We assure you that our Great Chief, General Washington, has strictly forbidden all hostilities against you, until the event of the proposed treaty at Sandusky shall be known. Here is the proclamation of his head warrior, General Wayne, to that effect. But, Brothers, our Great Chief is so sincere in his professions for peace, and so desirous of preventing every thing which could obstruct the treaty, and prolong the war, that, besides giving the above orders to his head warrior, he has informed the Governors of the several States, adjoining the Ohio, of the treaty proposed to be held at Sandusky; and desired them to unite their power with his to prevent any hostile attempts against the Indians, north of the Ohio, until the result of the treaty is made known. Those Governors have accordingly issued their orders, strictly forbidding all such hostilities. The proclamations of the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania we have here in our hands.

**BROTHERS:** If, after all these precautions of our Great Chief, any hostilities should be committed north of the Ohio, they must proceed from a few disorderly people, whom no considerations of justice or public good can restrain. But we hope and believe that none such will be found.

**BROTHERS:** After these explanations, we hope you will possess your minds in peace, relying on the good faith of the United States that no injury is to be apprehended by you during the treaty.

**BROTHERS:** We now come to the second point: whether we are properly authorized to run and establish a new boundary line between your lands and ours.

**BROTHERS:** We answer explicitly that we have that authority. Where this line should run, will be the great subject of discussion at the treaty between you and us; and we sincerely hope and expect, that it may then be fixed to the satisfaction of both parties. Doubtless some concessions must be made on both sides. In all disputes and quarrels, both parties usually take some wrong steps; so that it is only by mutual concessions, that a true reconciliation can be effected.

**BROTHERS:** We wish you to understand us clearly on this head: for we mean that all our proceedings should be marked with candor. We therefore repeat, and say explicitly, that some concessions will be necessary on your part, as well as on ours, in order to establish a just and permanent peace.

**BROTHERS:** After this great point of the boundary shall be fully considered, at the treaty, we shall know what concessions and stipulations it will be proper to make on the part of the United States; and we trust they will be such as the world will pronounce reasonable and just.

**BROTHERS:** You have told us that you represent the nations of Indians who own the lands north of the Ohio, and whose chiefs are now assembled at the rapids of the Miami.

**BROTHERS:** It would be a satisfaction to us to be informed of the names of those nations, and of the numbers of the chiefs of each so assembled.

**BROTHERS:** We once more turn your eyes to your representation of the warlike appearances in your country; and, to give you complete satisfaction on this point, we now assure you, that, as soon as our councils at this place are ended, we will send a messenger on horseback to the Great Chief of the United States, to desire him to renew and strongly repeat his orders to his head warrior, not only to abstain from all hostilities against you, but to remain quietly at his posts, until the event of the treaty shall be known.—[A white belt of seven rows, and twenty-six strings of wampum, nearly all white, annexed.]

The foregoing speech, having been interpreted by Mr. Dean in the Oneida tongue, was interpreted by Captain Brandt's nephew, into the Shawanese language, and from that, by another interpreter, into the language of the Chippewa nation; after which, the Shawanese chief (called Cat's Eyes) thus addressed the commissioners:

**BROTHERS,** the Bostonians, attend: We have heard your words. Our Fathers, the English people, have also heard them. We thank God that you have been preserved in peace, and that we bring our pipes together. The people of all the different nations here salute you. They rejoice to hear your words. It gives us great satisfaction that our Fathers, the English, have heard them also. We shall, for the present, take up our pipes, and retire to our encampments, where we shall deliberately consider your speech, and return you an answer to-morrow.

NIAGARA, 9th July, 1793.

In council, present as yesterday.

Captain Brandt arose, with the belt and strings which were yesterday delivered by the commissioners, and, addressing himself to the English and Americans, said:

**BROTHERS:** We are glad the Great Spirit has preserved us in peace, to meet together this day.

**BROTHERS OF THE UNITED STATES:** Yesterday you made an answer to the message delivered you by us, from the great council at Miami, in the two particulars which we had stated to you.

**BROTHERS:** You may depend on it, we fully understood your speech. We shall take with us your belt and strings, and repeat it to the chiefs at the great council at Miami.—[Laid down the strings and belt, and took up a white belt.]

**BROTHERS:** We have something further to say, though not much. We are small, compared with our great chiefs at Miami. But, though small, we have something to say.

**BROTHERS:** We think, from your speech, that there is a prospect of our coming together. We, who are the nations at the Westward, are of one mind; and, if we agree with you, as there is a prospect that we shall, it will be binding and lasting.

**BROTHERS:** Our prospects are the fairer, because all our minds are one: you have not before spoken to us unitedly. Formerly, because you did not speak to us unitedly, what was done was not binding. Now, you have an opportunity of speaking to us together; and we now take you by the hand, to lead you to the place appointed for the meeting.—[A white belt of seven rows.]

**BROTHERS:** This is all we have to say.

Afterwards, Captain Brandt, recollecting that he had not answered our request, respecting the nations and chiefs assembled at the Miami, rose and said:

**BROTHERS:** One thing more we have to say: yesterday you expressed a wish to be informed of the names of the nations, and numbers of chiefs assembled at Miami. But, as they were daily coming in, we cannot give you exact information. You will see for yourselves in a few days. When we left it, the following nations were there, viz:

Five Nations,	Munsees,	Pattawatamies,
Wyandots,	Miamies,	Mingoes,
Shawanese,	Ottawas,	Cherokees,
Delawares,	Chippewas,	Nantikokies.

The principal men of all these nations were there.

He then presented the list on paper.

*The Commissioners then replied:*

**BROTHERS:** Our ears have been open to your speech. It is agreeable to us. We are ready to accompany you to the place of treaty, where, under the direction of the Great Spirit, we hope for a speedy termination to the present war, on terms equally interesting and agreeable to all parties.

**N. B.** At the Council held at Niagara, on the 7th July, before the arrival of the commissioners from Navy Hall, Captain Brandt, in the name of the deputies, thus addressed the Governor, Colonel Sincoc:

It being agreed at the Rapids that we should come and meet the commissioners in our Father's presence, we return our thanks to the Great Spirit for seeing your Excellency well this day. Our intention and business is peaceable, and our inclination is to do what is right and just. We are all of one mind, and wished your Excellency to be present.—[A belt of wampum.]

*His Excellency, in reply, said:*

He was happy to see them well, and as the commissioners expressed their wishes\* to meet the Indians in his presence, he should be glad to hear what they had to say.—[The belt returned.]

AT NIAGARA, 10th July, 1793.

The commissioners wrote the following letters to the President and Secretary of War, and sent them off by Jasper Parrish, express.

*Letter to General Knox.*

NIAGARA, 10th July, 1793.

SIR:

The enclosed extract from our journal will account for our being here. We think the coming of the deputation from the Western Indians, a fortunate event. It must have been their extreme jealousy of the United States that made them solicitous to speak with us in presence of the Governor; and our answer being satisfactory, we believe it will have a better effect, than the same sentiments delivered under any other circumstances.

Our promise to send a special messenger to the President, to desire fresh orders might be sent to General Wayne, not only to abstain from hostilities, but to remain quietly at his posts, was thought a very necessary measure; and it will be alike necessary that those orders should be issued and strictly observed. In a former letter, we intimated our opinion and wishes on this point. We now think, and our duty obliges us to declare it, that an exact observation of the laws of a truce is essential to the success of the treaty.

The Indians have information, confirmed by repeated scouts, that General Wayne has cut and cleared a road, straight from fort Washington, into the Indian country, in a direction that would have missed fort Jefferson; but that, meeting with a large swamp, it was, of necessity, turned to that fort, and then continued *six miles beyond it*; that large quantities of provisions are accumulated at the forts, far exceeding the wants of the garrisons; and numerous herds of horses and cattle, assembled beyond fort Jefferson, guarded by considerable bodies of troops. With these preparations for war in their neighborhood, (for it is but three days' journey from thence to the Glaize) they say their minds cannot rest easy. The distance, here mentioned, is from Captain Brandt's information, and is, no doubt, exact. We suppose that twenty to five and twenty miles may be deemed a day's journey.

The manner in which negotiations for peace are conducted by Indians, demands a particular consideration. On such occasions, not commissioners, or a few counsellors, *but the body of the nations assemble*. The negotiations will of course be delayed, or interrupted, if the movements of their enemies call the warriors from the council to watch or check them. The measures pursued by General Wayne appear to have produced this unhappy effect, and probably strengthened jealousies, before almost insurmountable. We know that those measures are viewed by the British as unfair, and unwarrantable; and we cannot suppose that their opinion will be concealed from the Indians, if the latter have not previously entertained the same ideas.

After this detail, it can hardly be necessary to express our opinions on the subject. It is obvious, that, to ensure a quiet, uninterrupted treaty, the cattle, horses, and troops, beyond what are proper for the posts themselves, should not be advanced from the Ohio; any that are now in advance, beyond fort Jefferson, should certainly be immediately withdrawn; and we doubt whether that would be satisfactory, if their numbers, in any degree, correspond with the reports among the Indians at their council.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

*Letter to the President of the United States.*

NIAGARA, 10th July, 1793.

SIR:

General Knox will of course lay before you our communications of this date. We address you that we may literally comply with our promise to the deputies of the Western Indians, "that we would desire you to issue fresh orders to General Wayne, not only to abstain from hostilities, but to remain quietly at his posts, until the event of the treaty should be known." Our sentiments on this subject are fully expressed in our letter to the Secretary of War, to which we must beg leave to refer. Those sentiments your own solicitude for peace will sufficiently enforce.

We are, sir, with great respect, yours, &c.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

*Letter to General Knox.*

NIAGARA, 10th July, 1793.

SIR:

In our instructions we are directed to stipulate the compensation to the Indians in goods, by a tariff, comprehending the prime cost and charges of transportation. We have no means of forming the tariff. We request you to send us, by Mr. Parrish, the prices of all Indian goods, and the usual expense of transportation from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, and thence to such place in the Western territory, as shall be suitable, for the delivery of them to the Indians.

We are, sir, &c.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

Having despatched these letters, the commissioners left Niagara, and, the next day, (July 11th) arrived at fort Erie.

July 14th.

The wind favoring, we set sail for the mouth of Detroit river, where we arrived the 21st, in the morning, and took our quarters at Captain Matthew Elliot's. He is an assistant to Colonel McKee.

*Letter to Colonel Alexander McKee.*

ON DETROIT RIVER, 21st July, 1793.

SIR:

We embrace this opportunity to inform you of our arrival at this place, where we shall wait until we have intelligence that the nations of Indians at the rapids of the Miami are ready to move to Sandusky. We shall be greatly

\* The commissioners expressed no such thing; they merely consented to the measure, because it was the *wish of the Indians*.

[See the proceedings of July 5th.]

NOTE.—This copy of the address to, and answer from, the Governor, was received from his secretary, Major Littlehales, at Niagara, 10th July, 1793.

obliged by your endeavors to expedite the counsels of the Indians, that we may meet them without more delay. You will add to our obligations, by sending us the earliest notice when we may expect the Indian nations will arrive at Sandusky, that we may be there at the same time.

We wrote you on the 30th of May, but having received no answer, are apprehensive that our letter did not reach you.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

July 29th, 1793.

Captain Elliot arrived with a deputation of upwards of twenty Indians, from the nations assembled at the foot of the Miami rapids. He delivered us the following letter from Colonel McKee:

FOOT OF THE RAPIDS, 28th July, 1793.

GENTLEMEN:

I had the honor to receive your letter of the 21st instant. That which you mentioned to have wrote on the 30th of May, has not yet come to hand. As soon as I am enabled to inform you at what time the Indians will meet at Sandusky, I will not fail to give you the earliest notice, and, as far as it depends on me, shall expedite it most cordially.

I am, gentlemen, yours, &c.

ALEXANDER MCKEE.

To Messrs. B. L. B. R. T. P. Commissioners of the United States.

July 30th.—In Council at Captain Elliot's, near the mouth of Detroit river.

Present, The Commissioners of the United States,  
The Deputation of Indians,  
The British officers and inhabitants.

The deputation addressed the commissioners as follows: A Wyandot chief, called Sa-wagh-da-wunk, (whose name signifies Carry-one-about) being their speaker.

BROTHERS, listen: We are glad to see you here in peace, and thank the Great Spirit that has preserved us to meet again.

BROTHERS: We were sent to speak to you sometime ago, at Niagara. Some chiefs are are now here, who were then present.

BROTHERS: We did not explain ourselves to each other, and we did not rightly understand each other.

BROTHERS: We desired that we might rightly understand each other. We have thought it best, that what we had to say should be put into writing, and here (presenting a paper to the commissioners) is the meaning of our hearts.

The above speech was interpreted by Simon Girty, a British interpreter.

The commissioners received the papers, and told the deputation they would well consider the subject of it, and return an answer in writing; and give them notice when they were ready to deliver it.

The contents of the paper were as follows:

To the Commissioners of the United States:

BROTHERS: The deputies we sent to you, did not fully explain our meaning. We have therefore sent others, to meet you once more, that you may fully understand the great question we have to ask of you, and to which we expect an explicit answer in writing.

BROTHERS: You are sent here by the United States, in order to make peace with us, the confederate Indians.

BROTHERS: You know very well that the boundary line, which was run between the white people and us, at the treaty of fort Stanwix, was the river Ohio.

BROTHERS: If you seriously design to make a firm and lasting peace, you will immediately remove all your people from our side of that river.

BROTHERS: We therefore ask you, are you fully authorized by the United States to continue, and firmly fix on the Ohio river, as the boundary line, between your people and ours?

Done in general council, at the foot of the Miami rapids, 27th July, 1793, in behalf of ourselves, and the whole confederacy, and agreed to in a full council.

Wyandots—Bear,  
Delawares—Turtle,  
Shawanese—Snake,  
Miamies,  
Mingoes—Snipe,

Pattawatamies—Fish,  
Ottawas,  
Connoys—Turkey,  
Chippewas,  
Munsees.

July 31st.

At the close of the afternoon, the commissioners delivered the following answer to the deputation:

Speech of the Commissioners of the United States to the Deputies of the Confederated Indian nations, assembled at the rapids of the Miami river:

BROTHERS:

You yesterday addressed us, mentioning a former deputation, who met us at Niagara. At that meeting you said we did not come to a right understanding; that your deputies did not fully explain your meaning to us, nor we ours to them: that you desired we might rightly understand each other, and therefore thought it best that what you had to say should be put into writing. Then, handing us a paper, you said, "here is the meaning of our hearts."

BROTHERS: That paper is directed to the commissioners of the United States, and speaks to them these words, viz: [here is repeated their written address, as transcribed in the preceding pages.]

BROTHERS, the deputies here present: We have now repeated the words contained in the paper which you delivered to us; and those words are interpreted to you. We presume the interpretation agrees with your idea of the contents of the paper. It is expressed to be signed by the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Miamies, Mingoes, Pattawatamies, Ottawas, Connoys, Chippewas, and Munsees, in behalf of themselves and the whole confederacy, and agreed to in full council.

BROTHERS: We are a little surprised at the suggestion, that, in the conference at Niagara, we did not come to a right understanding, and that your deputies did not fully explain your meaning. Those deputies appeared to be men of good understanding, and when we saw them they were perfectly sober; in short, we never saw men in public council more attentive, or behave with more propriety. We could not, therefore, suppose they could mistake your meaning or ours. Certainly we were sufficiently explicit, for, in plain terms, we declared, "That, in order to establish a just and permanent peace, some concessions would be necessary, on your part as well as on ours." These words, Brothers, are a part of our speech to your deputies; and that speech, they assured us, they fully understood. What those concessions should be, on both sides, and where the boundary line should be fixed, were proper subjects of discussion, at the treaty, when we should speak face to face. This, we are certain, would be the best way to remove all difficulties. But your nations have adopted another mode, which, by keeping us at a distance, prevents our knowing each other, and keeps alive those jealousies, which are the greatest obstacles to a peace. We are, therefore, destitute of meeting your nations in full council, without more delay.

We have already waited in this province sixty days beyond the time appointed for opening the treaty.

**BROTHERS:** We have now expressed our opinion of the proper mode of settling the differences between you and the United States; but, as your nations have desired answers to certain questions, previous to our meeting, and we are disposed to act with frankness and sincerity, we will give you an explicit answer to the great question you have now proposed to us. But, before we do this, we think it necessary to look back to some former transactions, and we desire you patiently to hear us.

**BROTHERS:** We do know very well, that, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, twenty-five years ago, the river Ohio was agreed on, as the boundary line between you and the white people, of the British colonies; and we all know, that, about seven years after that boundary was fixed, a quarrel broke out between your Father the King of Great Britain, and the people of those colonies, which are now the United States. This quarrel was ended by the Treaty of Peace made with the King about ten years ago, by which the great lakes, and the waters which unite them, were, by him, declared to be the boundaries of the United States.

**BROTHERS:** Peace having been thus made, between the King of Great Britain and the United States, it remained to make peace between them and the Indian nations, who had taken part with the King; for this purpose, commissioners were appointed, who sent messages to all those Indian nations, inviting them to come and make peace. The first treaty was held about nine years ago, at fort Stanwix, with the Six Nations, which has stood firm and unviolated to this day. The next treaty was made about ninety days after, at fort M<sup>o</sup>Intosh, with the half king of the Wyandots, Captain Pipe, and other chiefs, in behalf of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, and Chippewa nations. Afterwards treaties were made with divers Indian nations, south of the Ohio river; and the next treaty was made with Kakiapilathy, here present, and other Shawanese chiefs, in behalf of the Shawanese nation, at the mouth of the Great Miami, which runs into the Ohio.

**BROTHERS:** The commissioners who conducted these treaties in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the great council of the States, who, supposing them satisfactory to the nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of large tracts of land thereby ceded, and a great number of people removed from other parts of the United States, and settled upon them; also many families of your ancient fathers, the French, came over the great water, and settled upon a part of the same lands.

**BROTHERS:** After some time, it appeared that a number of people in your nations were dissatisfied with the treaties of fort M<sup>o</sup>Intosh, and Miami; therefore, the great council of the United States appointed Governor St. Clair their commissioner, with full powers, for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy, regulating trade, and settling boundaries, between the Indian nations in the Northern department, and the United States. He accordingly sent messages, inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a council fire, which he kindled at the falls of Muskingum.

While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened at that place, and the fire was put out; so he kindled a council fire at fort Harmar, where near six hundred Indians of different nations attended. The Six Nations then renewed and confirmed the treaty of fort Stanwix, and the Wyandots and Delawares, renewed and confirmed the treaty of fort M<sup>o</sup>Intosh; some Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, and Sacs, were also parties to the treaty of fort Harmar.

**BROTHERS:** All these treaties we have here with us. We have also the speeches of many chiefs who attended them, and who voluntarily declared their satisfaction with the terms of the treaties.

**BROTHERS:** After making all these treaties, and after hearing the chiefs express freely their satisfaction with them, the United States expected to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold the lands ceded by them. Accordingly, large tracts have been sold and settled, as before mentioned. And now, brothers, we answer explicitly, that, for the reasons here stated to you, it is impossible to make the river Ohio the boundary, between your people and the people of the United States.

**BROTHERS:** You are men of understanding, and if you consider the customs of white people, the great expenses which attend their settling in a new country, the nature of their improvements, in building houses, and barns, and clearing and fencing their lands, how valuable the lands are thus rendered, and thence how dear they are to them you will see that it is now impracticable to remove our people from the northern side of the Ohio. Your brothers, the English, know the nature of white people, and they know that, under the circumstances which we have mentioned, the United States cannot make the Ohio the boundary between you and us.

**BROTHERS:** You seem to consider all the lands in dispute, on your side of the Ohio, as claimed by the United States; but suffer us to remind you, that a large tract was sold by the Wyandot and Delaware nations, to the State of Pennsylvania. This tract lies east of a line drawn from the mouth of Beaver Creek, at the Ohio, due north to lake Erie. This line is the western boundary of Pennsylvania, as claimed under the charter given by the King of England to your ancient friend, William Penn; of this sale, made by the Wyandot and Delaware nations, to the State of Pennsylvania, we have never heard any complaint.

**BROTHERS:** We are, on this occasion, obliged to make a long speech. We again desire you to hear us patiently; the business is of the highest importance, and a great many words are necessary fully to explain it: for we desire you may perfectly understand us; and there is no danger of your forgetting what we say, because we will give you our speech in writing.

**BROTHERS:** We have explicitly declared to you, that we cannot now make the Ohio river the boundary between us. This agrees with our speech to your deputies at Niagara, "that, in order to establish a just and permanent peace, some concessions would be necessary on your part as well as on ours."

**BROTHERS:** The concessions which we think necessary on your part are, that you yield up, and finally relinquish to the United States, some of the lands on your side of the river Ohio. The United States wish to have confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the treaty of fort Harmar, and also a small tract of land at the rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clarke, for the use of himself and his warriors; and, in consideration thereof, the United States would give such a large sum, in money or goods, as was never given at one time, for any quantity of Indian lands, since the white people first set their foot on this island. And because those lands did every year furnish you with skins and furs, with which you bought clothing and other necessaries, the United States will now furnish the like constant supplies; and therefore, besides the great sum to be delivered at once, they will, every year, deliver you a large quantity of such goods as are best suited to the wants of yourselves, your women, and children.

**BROTHERS:** If all the lands, before mentioned, cannot be delivered up to the United States, then we shall desire to treat and agree with you on a new boundary line; and for the quantity of land you relinquish to us within that new boundary line, we shall stipulate a generous compensation, not only for a large sum, to be paid at once, but for a yearly rent, for the benefit of yourselves and your children forever.

**BROTHERS:** Here you see one concession, which we are willing to make on the part of the United States. Now listen to another, of a claim which probably has more disturbed your minds than any other whatever.

**BROTHERS:** The commissioners of the United States have formerly set up a claim to your whole country, southward of the great lakes, as the property of the United States, grounding this claim on the treaty of peace with your father, the King of Great Britain, who declared, as we have before mentioned, the middle of those lakes and the waters which unite them, to be the boundaries of the United States.

**BROTHERS:** We are determined that our whole conduct shall be marked with openness and sincerity. We, therefore, frankly tell you, that we think those commissioners put an erroneous construction on that part of our treaty with the King. As he had not purchased the country of you, of course he could not give it away; he only relinquished to the United States his claim to it. That claim was founded on a right acquired by treaty, with other white nations, to exclude them from purchasing, or settling, in any part of your country; and it is this right which the King granted to the United States. Before that grant, the King alone had a right to purchase of the Indian nations, any of the lands between the great lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, excepting the part within the charter boundary of Pennsylvania; and the King, by the treaty of peace, having granted this right to the United States, they alone have now the right of purchasing; so that, now, neither the King, nor any of his people, have any right

to interfere with the United States, in respect to any part of those lands. All your brothers, the English, know this to be true; and it agrees with the declaration of Lord Dorchester, to your deputies, two years ago, at Quebec.

**BROTHERS:** We now concede this great point. We, by the express authority of the President of the United States, acknowledge the property, or right of soil, of the great country above described, to be in the Indian nations, so long as they desire to occupy the same. We only claim particular tracts in it, as before mentioned, and the general right granted by the King, as above stated, and which is well known to the English and Americans, and called the right of pre-emption, or the right of purchasing of the Indian nations disposed to sell their lands, to the exclusion of all other white people whatever.

**BROTHERS:** We have now opened our hearts to you. We are happy in having an opportunity of doing it; though we should have been more happy to have done it in the full council of your nations. We expect soon to have this satisfaction, and that your next deputation will take us by the hand, and lead us to the treaty. When we meet, and converse with each other freely, we may easily remove any difficulties which may come in the way of peace.

At Captain Elliot's, at the mouth of Detroit river, 31st July, 1793.

B. L. }  
B. R. } *Commissioners of the United States.*  
T. P. }

This speech was interpreted by Mr. Jones, in the Seneca tongue, which was well understood by the Wyandot chief, Sâ-wâgh-da-wunk, and divers others of the deputation, and by Simon Girty. The interpretation being finished, the commissioners handed the speech, in writing, to the deputation, with a white belt, crossed with thirteen stripes of black wampum. The deputation said it was now too late to make any reply, but they would speak to us in the morning.

*August 1st, 1793.*

In Council: Present as yesterday.

The Wyandot chief, Sâ-wâgh-da-wunk, arose and spoke: Simon Girty interpreted.

**BROTHERS:** We are all brothers you see here now.

**BROTHERS:** It is now three years since you desired to speak with us; we heard you yesterday, and understand you well—perfectly well. We have a few words to say to you.

**BROTHERS:** You mentioned the treaties of fort Stanwix, Beaver creek, and other places; those treaties were not complete. There were but a few chiefs who treated with you. You have not bought our lands; they belong to us. You tried to draw off some of us.

**BROTHERS:** Many years ago, we all know, that the Ohio was made the boundary. It was settled by Sir William Johnston. This side is ours; we look upon it as our property.

**BROTHERS:** You mentioned General Washington. He and you know you have your houses and people on our land; you say you cannot move them off; and we cannot give up our land.

**BROTHERS:** We are sorry we cannot come to an agreement; the line has been fixed long ago.

**BROTHERS:** We don't say much; there has been much mischief on both sides. We came here upon peace, and thought you did the same. We shall talk to our head warriors. You may return whence you came, and tell Washington.

The council here breaking up, Captain Elliot went to the Shawanese chief, Kakiapalathy, and told him the last part of the speech was wrong. That chief came back, and said it was wrong. Girty said he had interpreted truly what the Wyandot chief spoke. An explanation took place, and Girty added as follows:

**BROTHERS:** Instead of going home, we wish you to remain here for an answer from us. We have your speech in our breasts, and shall consult our head warriors.

The commissioners then said, that they would wait to hear again from their council at the rapids; but desired their answer might be given without delay.

*THURSDAY, 8th August.*

This evening arrived two of Captain Hendrick's men, with letters, requesting some necessaries may be sent him; and informing of the proceedings of the Indian council at the Miami, and the disposition of the Indian nations, relative to peace and war, after our speech of the 31st ultimo had been interpreted to them. By the information of the letters, and messengers, it appeared, that all the Indians were for peace, except the Shawanese, Wyandots, Miamies, and Delawares; that these had at length yielded to the opinions of the other nations, and that peace would probably be made. Captain Hendricks also expressed his opinion, that we should receive an invitation from all the confederated nations, to meet them, at or near the mouth of the Miami, this week.

*August 9th.*

Twelve Munsees and Chippewas arrived. They said they came to this side of the river on purpose to see the commissioners from the United States. They confirmed, generally, the opinion of Hendricks' men. They said they were on their way home, except a Munsee, who lives at Sandusky, (for they had worn out their clothes, and were tired of the long continuance of the treaty; and they expected, that the greatest difficulties being got over, the chiefs (some of all the nations remaining at the council) would now make peace.) Two of the eldest of them said, that when the warriors, who were going home, were about to leave the council, they enjoined it on their chiefs to make peace, that they might, without fear or interruption, return to their hunting.

Captain Bunbury (one of the British officers who accompany the commissioners) says, that one of the twelve Indians who arrived to-day, is an Ottawa; (or Tawa, as the name is often spoken) and that he said the Shawanese, and others, are strong for war, and will not abide by a peace into which they shall be dragged by the other nations.

*SUNDAY, 11th August.*

The King's vessel, called the Chippewa, arrived from Detroit. She is bound to fort Erie. Twelve Senecas, including women and children, and most of them sick, from the Indian council at the rapids of the Miami, came in her. These Senecas are well known to General Chapin, and Jones, the interpreter. One of them, an intelligent man, gave us the like information about the proceedings at the council, upon our last speech, with that received from Hendricks' men, and the Munsees, and Chippewas, only that the four nations who inclined to continue the war, remained obstinate when he departed from the council. That the Six Nation chiefs had twice addressed them, urging them to agree to a peace, were going to speak to them a third time, and, if they were still obstinate, would exceed their usual custom, and speak a fourth time; and, if without effect, they would then leave them, and go home. He says the Farmer's Brother told him, and his company, that they might expect to be overtaken by messengers to the commissioners before they (the informant and his company) reached Detroit; but if none arrived, before they got down to the commissioners' quarters, that then they might conclude that no peace would be made. This Seneca said, that (except the four nations before mentioned) the Indians were for peace. He particularly mentioned the Six Nations, and the seven nations of Canada, as strongly recommending to the hostile Indians to make peace; and that, for this purpose, Captain Bandt, and the Farmer's Brother spoke a great deal in the council. He added, that, of the four excepted nations, near one-half were disposed for peace, and that the Messasagoes, Chippewas, and Ottawas, are as strong for peace as the seven nations of Canada.

MONDAY, 12th August.

No deputation or official information from the Indian council having yet arrived, the commissioners judged it would be expedient to proceed, without more delay, to the Miami bay or river, that they might more easily and expeditiously send to, and receive an answer from them. They accordingly wrote the following letter to Capt. Ford, the commander of the vessel designed by Governor Simcoe for their accommodation.

MOUTH OF DETROIT RIVER, 12th August, 1793.

SIR:

We have been waiting here twelve days, for a reply to our last answer to the Indian nations, assembled at the rapids of the Miami. We can think of no sufficient reason for this delay, and must, therefore, take measures to obtain that reply, or to ascertain whether we ought any longer to expect it. For this purpose we judge it proper to proceed ourselves to the Miami bay or river, that the necessary communication with the Indians may be easy and expeditious; for it is time that the business of our mission be brought to an issue.

We, therefore, request you to be prepared to sail to-morrow morning, when we propose to embark.

We are, sir, &c.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

Captain HENRY FORD, *commanding the Dunmore.*

Captain Ford having read the letter, came and informed the commissioners, that he was instructed to attend the commissioners, but to receive his orders from Captain Bunbury, and desired us to speak to him. We spoke to Capt. Bunbury, told him that Governor Simcoe had assigned the Dunmore, Capt. Ford, to the use of the commissioners, and that, from what the Governor, and his Secretary, had repeatedly said, we had a right to conclude she was under our direction, to go when and where we thought proper, for the purposes of the treaty, except to Detroit. He said he had his orders from Governor Simcoe, and that by those orders he could not consent that the commissioners, or any deputation from them, should go to the Miami bay or river, until Col. McKee should give notice that the Indians were ready to receive them. But, says he, if the commissioners choose to go to Sandusky, I will order the Dunmore to proceed thither. He read some broken passages in Simcoe's letter to him. The commissioners asked if he would give an extract of the letter containing his orders. He answered, that Mr. Storer might take an extract. They retired together; Captain Bunbury read, and Mr. Storer wrote down from his mouth, the following words, as an extract of a letter from Colonel Simcoe to Captain Bunbury, dated at Navy Hall, 28th June, '93: "The directing the king's vessel to carry them (the commissioners) thither: she will anchor, therefore, as conveniently as possible to the northern shore of the river, on the banks of which they purpose to remain, until they hear from Colonel McKee. The Indians do not wish they should visit the opposite shore."

DETROIT RIVER, 12th August, 1793.

The above extract is, this day, verbally given me by Captain Bunbury, who, though desired, refuses to sign it.

CHARLES STORER.

TUESDAY, 13th August.

Being thus prevented from proceeding to the Miami bay, the commissioners concluded to send a message to the Indian nations at the rapids, and a letter to Colonel McKee. The message and letter here follow:

*To the Chiefs and Warriors of the Indian nations assembled at the foot of the rapids of the Miami river.*

BROTHERS: It is now fifteen days since we delivered our speech to your deputies at this place, in which we explicitly answered the written question, presented by them from you, and gave our reasons why we could not make the Ohio the boundary between you and the United States. We also mentioned some of the heads of the engagements we were willing to make in behalf of the United States. The particulars, together with other stipulations, for your benefit, we judged it proper to reserve, to be explained to you in full council, when we should meet face to face.

BROTHERS: The next morning your deputies spoke to us: said they would lay our speech before you, and desired us to wait here for an answer, which we desired and expected might be speedily given.

BROTHERS: We have waited fourteen days, and as yet no answer has arrived.

BROTHERS: It is time to bring the business to a conclusion. The summer has almost passed away, and we do not yet know even whether we are to have a treaty.

BROTHERS: You know that we came to treat with you of peace; we again tell you that we earnestly desire to make peace, and in the terms of peace we are disposed to do you ample justice. But if no treaty is to be held, if peace is not to be obtained, we desire immediately to know it, that we may go home.

Done at Captain Elliot's, at the mouth of Detroit river, the 14th day of August, 1793.

Signed by the commissioners.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

*Copy of a letter to Col. McKee.*

MOUTH OF DETROIT RIVER, 14th August, 1793.

SIR:

To the speech we delivered here to the deputation of the Indian nations assembled at the rapids of the Miami, we expected an early answer. We have waited fourteen days, and no answer has arrived. We have, therefore, despatched runners, with a speech to the chiefs and warriors, manifesting our wishes to begin the treaty, without more delay, and desiring to know immediately their decision on the subject. A copy of our speech is enclosed. We presume it will be in your power to forward the business. Your aid therein will be gratefully acknowledged. The mode in which the negotiations have hitherto been conducted is new, and as improper as it is new. All the questions which have been stated, might have been proposed to our faces, and have received prompt answers. We must soon close the negotiation, unless substantial reasons demand procrastination. In that case we may think ourselves justified in giving further proofs of our patience.

We again request your assistance to expedite the business which is the object of our mission, and are,

Sir, yours, &c.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

The message, accompanied with seven strings of black and white wampum, much intermixed, and the letter to Colonel McKee, were committed to the two runners, an Onondago and an Oneida, who set off this evening, and expect to reach the rapids to-morrow night.

N. B. The message and letter were, by mistake, dated the 14th.

*Instructions to the Runners.*

When you arrive at the Miami council fire, find Captain Brandt, the Farmer's Brother, the Cornplanter, the Fish Carrier, and Great Sky, and tell them you have a speech to the Indian nations, there assembled, from the commissioners of the United States, and request them to call the chiefs together; when the chiefs are met, then deliver the written speech and strings of wampum. As soon as this is done, find Colonel McKee, and deliver the letter to him.

Find Captain Hendricks, the chief of the Mohicans, and tell him you have brought a written speech to the Indians, and that you have delivered, or are going to deliver it to the chiefs. We shall be glad to have you return to us speedily, but speak to Captain Brandt, and the other chiefs of the Six Nations, and take their direction when to return. Let Colonel McKee know when you propose to come back, that you may bring an answer from him. Let Captain Hendricks know when you propose to return. On your way to the Miami, and back to us, tell nobody your business.

*August 16th, 1793, at the mouth of the Detroit river.*

In the afternoon of this day the commissioners received, by the hands of the two Wyandot runners, from the Indian council, at the rapids of the Miami, the following answer to their speech of the 31st July:

*To the Commissioners of the United States:*

**BROTHERS:** We have received your speech, dated the 31st of last month, and it has been interpreted to all the different nations; we have been long in sending you an answer, because of the great importance of the subject. But we now answer it fully, having given it all the consideration in our power.

**BROTHERS:** You tell us that, after you had made peace with the king, our father, about ten years ago, "it remained to make peace between the United States, and the Indian nations who had taken part with the king. For this purpose, commissioners were appointed, who sent messages to all those Indian nations, inviting them to come and make peace;" and, after reciting the periods, at which you say treaties were held, at fort Stanwix, fort McIntosh, and Miami, all which treaties, according to your own acknowledgment, were for the sole purpose of making peace, you then say, "Brothers, the commissioners who conducted these treaties, in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the general council of the States, who, supposing them satisfactory to the nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of the lands thereby ceded."

**BROTHERS:** This is telling us plainly, what we always understood to be the case, and it agrees with the declarations of those few who attended those treaties, viz: That they went to meet your commissioners to make peace, but, through fear, were obliged to sign any paper that was laid before them; and it has since appeared that deeds of cession were signed by them, instead of treaties of peace.

**BROTHERS:** You then say, "after some time it appears that a number of people in your nations were dissatisfied with the treaties of fort McIntosh and Miami, therefore the council of the United States appointed Governor St. Clair their commissioner, with full powers, for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy, relating to trade, and settling boundaries, between the Indian nations in the Northern department, and the United States. He accordingly sent messages, inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a council fire he kindled at the falls of Muskingum. While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened at that place, and the fire was put out, so he kindled a council fire at fort Harmar, where near six hundred Indians, of different nations, attended. The Six Nations then renewed and confirmed the treaty of fort Stanwix, and the Wyandots and Delawares renewed and confirmed the treaty of fort McIntosh; some Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, and Sacs, were also parties to the treaty of fort Harmar."

Now, Brothers, these are your words, and it is necessary for us to make a short reply to them.

**BROTHERS:** A general council of all the Indian confederacy was held, as you well know, in the fall of the year 1788, at this place: and that general council was invited by your commissioner, Governor St. Clair, to meet him for the purpose of holding a treaty, with regard to the lands mentioned by you to have been ceded by the treaties of fort Stanwix and fort McIntosh.

**BROTHERS:** We are in possession of the speeches and letters which passed on that occasion, between those deputed by the confederate Indians, and Governor St. Clair, the commissioner of the United States. These papers prove that your said commissioner, in the beginning of the year 1789, after having been informed by the general council, of the preceding fall, that no bargain or sale of any part of these Indian lands, would be considered as valid or binding, unless agreed to by a general council, nevertheless persisted in collecting together a few chiefs of two or three nations only; and with them held a treaty for the cession of an immense country, in which they were no more interested, than as a branch of the general confederacy, and who were in no manner authorized to make any grant or cession whatever.

**BROTHERS:** How then was it possible for you to expect to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold these lands, when your commissioner was informed, long before he held the treaty of fort Harmar, that the consent of a general council was absolutely necessary to convey any part of these lands to the United States?

The part of these lands which the United States now wish us to relinquish, and which you say are settled, have been sold by the United States since that time.

**BROTHERS:** You say, "the United States wish to have confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the treaty of fort Harmar, and also a small tract at the rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clarke, for the use of himself and his warriors. And in consideration thereof, the United States would give such a large sum of money or goods, as was never given, at any one time, for any quantity of Indian lands, since the white people first set their feet on this Island. And because these lands did every year furnish you with skins, and furs, with which you bought clothing, and other necessaries, the United States will now furnish the like constant supplies. And therefore, besides the great sum to be delivered at once, they will every year deliver you a large quantity of such goods as are best fitted to the wants of yourselves, your women, and children."

**BROTHERS:** Money, to us, is of no value, and to most of us unknown: and as no consideration whatever can induce us to sell the lands on which we get sustenance for our women and children, we hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your settlers may be easily removed, and peace thereby obtained.

**BROTHERS:** We know that these settlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble ever since they crossed the Ohio. Divide, therefore, this large sum of money, which you have offered to us, among these people: give to each, also, a proportion of what you say you would give to us, annually, over and above this very large sum of money: and, we are persuaded, they would most readily accept of it, in lieu of the lands you sold them. If you add, also, the great sums you must expend in raising and paying armies, with a view to force us to yield you our country, you will certainly have more than sufficient for the purposes of re-paying these settlers for all their labor and their improvements.

**BROTHERS:** You have talked to us about concessions. It appears strange that you should expect any from us, who have only been defending our just rights against your invasions. We want peace. Restore to us our country, and we shall be enemies no longer.

**BROTHERS:** You make one concession to us by offering us your money; and another by having agreed to do us justice, after having long, and injuriously, withheld it—we mean in the acknowledgment you have now made, that the King of England never did, nor ever had a right to give you our country, by the treaty of peace. And you want to make this act of common justice a great part of your concessions: and seem to expect that, because you have at last acknowledged our independence, we should, for such a favor, surrender to you our country.

**BROTHERS:** You have talked, also, a great deal about pre-emption, and your exclusive right to purchase Indian lands, as ceded to you by the King, at the treaty of peace.

**BROTHERS:** We never made any agreement with the King, nor with any other nation, that we would give to either the exclusive right of purchasing our lands; and we declare to you, that we consider ourselves free to make any bargain or cession of lands, whenever and to whomsoever we please. If the white people, as you say, made a treaty that none of them but the King should purchase of us, and that he has given that right to the United States, it is an affair which concerns you and him, and not us: we have never parted with such a power.

**BROTHERS:** At our general council, held at the Glaize last fall, we agreed to meet commissioners from the United States, for the purpose of restoring peace, provided they consented to acknowledge and confirm our boundary line to be the Ohio: and we determined not to meet you, until you gave us satisfaction on that point: that is the reason we have never met.



We desire you to consider, brothers, that our only demand is the peaceable possession of a small part of our once great country. Look back, and review the lands from whence we have been driven to this spot. We can retreat no farther, because the country behind hardly affords food for its present inhabitants; and we have therefore resolved to leave our bones in this small space to which we are now confined.

BROTHERS: We shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice, if you agree that the Ohio shall remain the boundary line between us. If you will not consent thereto, our meeting will be altogether unnecessary. This is the great point which we hoped would have been explained before you left your homes, as our message last fall was principally directed to obtain that information.

Done in general council, at the foot of the Miami Rapids, the 13th day of August, 1793.

## NATIONS.

Wyandots,  
Seven Nations of Canada,  
Delawares,  
Shawanese,  
Miamies,  
Ottawas,  
Chippewas,  
Senecas of the Glaiize,

Pattawatamies,  
Connoys,  
Munsees,  
Nantekokies,  
Mohicans,  
Messasagoes,  
Creeks,  
Cherokees.

To the foregoing answer of the Indian nations, the commissioners immediately made the following reply, and delivered it to the two Wyandot runners, who brought the answer.

To the chiefs and warriors of the Indian nations, assembled at the foot of the Miami Rapids:

BROTHERS: We have just received your answer, dated the 13th instant, to our speech of the 31st of last month, which we delivered to your deputies at this place. You say it was interpreted to all your nations, and we presume it was fully understood. We therein explicitly declared to you, that it was now impossible to make the river Ohio the boundary between your lands and the lands of the United States. Your answer amounts to a declaration, that you will agree to no other boundary than the Ohio. The negotiation is therefore at an end. We sincerely regret, that peace is not the result; but, knowing the upright and liberal views of the United States, which, as far as you gave us an opportunity, we have explained to you, we trust that impartial judges will not attribute the continuance of the war to them.

Done at Captain Elliot's, at the mouth of Detroit river, the 16th day of August, 1793.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

Commissioners of the United States.

The next morning (Saturday, August 17th) the commissioners sent, by their own runners, (being one Onondaga, and two Oneidas) the following letter, and the paper therein mentioned, to the chiefs of the Six Nations:

To the Chiefs of the Six Nations:

BROTHERS:

Two runners were sent by us, this week, with a message, dated the 14th of this month, to the Indian nations assembled at the rapids of the Miami. Our instructions to the runners were, to inform you that they had such a message from us, and to request you to assemble the chiefs of the other nations, and then deliver it to you all together. From the report of the runners, we are apprehensive that they mistook our orders, and that our message has not been communicated to you. We, therefore, now send you a copy of it, No. 1. We, at the same time, sent a letter to Colonel McKee, of which, also, we enclose a copy, No. 2.

BROTHERS: Our runners returned hither this evening; but a few hours before their arrival, two Wyandot runners arrived, with a written answer, No. 3, to our speech of the 31st of last month, insisting on the Ohio as the boundary between the Indian lands and those of the United States. As we had already explicitly declared that we could not make the Ohio the boundary, the business, of course, was at an end. However, we delivered a short speech, in writing, to the same runners, who set off this evening to return to the council at the rapids. We enclose a copy of it, No. 4.

BROTHERS: Being desirous that you should be fully informed of these transactions, we have sent you copies thereof, which you may not otherwise obtain.

BROTHERS: We came hither with the most sincere desire to make a peace that would be beneficial to the Indians, as well as to the United States; and, had such a peace been accomplished, we felt a confidence, that the justice and humanity of the United States, according to their present views of Indian affairs, would not only have continued, but extended their beneficence to the Indian nations, and, so far as it depended on them, have rendered the peace as lasting as the hills; and we should have been extremely happy in laying the foundation of so much good.

We have now only to return home, and report our proceedings to the President of the United States. We shall sail with the first fair wind for fort Erie.

MOUTH OF DETROIT RIVER, 16th August, 1793.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

Commissioners of the United States.

FRIDAY, August 23d, 1793.

This morning we arrived at fort Erie, and despatched the following letters:

Letters to Major Craig, Deputy Quartermaster, Pittsburg.

FORT ERIE, 23d August, 1793.

SIR:

Enclosed are two letters to Major General Wayne, which we desire you to send to him by two separate conveyances; one of them, with all possible despatch, the other, by the next conveyance which shall present. You can best tell in what way the first letter may, with the utmost speed and certainty, be conveyed to General Wayne, and that we desire you to adopt. No expense is to be spared to effect this.

The commanding officer at Pittsburg will, certainly, give you any aid in his power. We shall send you, at least, four other letters, for General Wayne, of the same tenor, which we desire you to forward to him, one by one, as fast as conveyances shall present. We are on our way home, the Western Indians having refused to make peace.

This packet is committed to Sylvester Ash.

If he delivers it to you with reasonable despatch, he is to receive ten dollars, which we desire you to pay him. If General Knox should have given you any orders about the conveyance of our letters to General Wayne, observe

them, only remembering the important points of certainty and speed. The enclosed letter to General Knox, you will forward by post, unless an earlier conveyance shall offer.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

Commissioners of the United States.

*To Major Craig.*

FORT ERIE, 23d August, 1793.

SIR:

We wrote you this day, and committed the letter to Sylvester Ash. The copy of our letter by him, is enclosed.

If Ash should not have arrived, then, be pleased to observe precisely, the orders expressed in our letter by him, with respect to the letters for General Wayne, sending off one, in the way which shall afford the utmost speed and certainty of conveyance.

We commit this letter to two Indian runners, to carry as far as fort Franklin, and thence the same, or others, we expect, will carry it to fort Pitt, as the commanding officer there shall think best. Whoever brings it, be pleased suitably to reward.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

*To Major Craig.*

FORT ERIE, 23d August, 1793.

SIR:

We have written to you this day, one letter, by Sylvester Ash, and another, which we expect to commit to two Indian runners, of the Six Nations. In each of those letters, we enclosed two for General Wayne, to be forwarded in the manner directed in our letter by Ash, of which we enclose a copy. We, herein, send you two more letters for General Wayne, to forward agreeably to the same directions.

This letter is committed to the care of Mr. William Wilson, of Pittsburg, who goes home by way of Genesee river. If any accident prevents his proceeding, he is to forward it by an express, whom we request you to pay.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

*Letters to Lieutenant Tinsley, or officer commanding at fort Franklin.*

AUGUST 23d, 1793—at Fort Erie.

SIR:

The bearer, Sylvester Ash, is charged with a letter from us to Major Craig, at Pittsburg. We desire you to afford him every necessary aid to expedite and secure his journey thither, furnishing him, if you think them necessary, such a guard of soldiers, as you deem sufficient. The business requires the utmost despatch.

The Western Indians have refused to make peace. You will, doubtless, communicate this information to all persons within your reach, lest, from an expectation of peace, they should abate of the vigilance necessary on an exposed frontier.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

*To Lieutenant Tinsley, &c.*

FORT ERIE, 23d August, 1793.

SIR:

We have this day delivered to Sylvester Ash, a letter for Major Craig, at Pittsburg; he will call on you for information and assistance. We enclose a copy of our letter to you, by him; this letter we propose to commit to two Indian runners, who are to be engaged to carry it to you, and if necessary to Pittsburg. But, probably you may have some of the Alleghany Indians with you, whom you know, and can trust, and who are well acquainted with the path to Pittsburg, and will cheerfully undertake to carry the letter to Major Craig. We desire to leave this to your prudence. We suppose the passage by water more safe than the route by land; if so, it may be best for Ash to go by water, you sending with him one or two good canoe-men; then, the Indian runners can proceed by land, which we presume they may do with perfect safety. In this matter also we wish you to exercise a prudent discretion, governed by circumstances with which we are unacquainted; only we suppose it cannot admit of a doubt, that it will be best to send one letter by water, and the other by land.

We are, sir, your friends and humble servants,

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

*Instructions to Mr. William Wilson.*

FORT ERIE, 23d August, 1793.

SIR:

As you propose to return to Pittsburg, by the way of Genesee river, we commit to your care two letters for General Wayne, under cover to Major Craig, at Pittsburg. We desire you to proceed with all practicable despatch, the letters to General Wayne being of very great importance; if any accident unavoidably detains you, forward the letters by an express.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

*Letter to Colonel Clarke, or officer commanding at Pittsburg.*

FORT ERIE, 23d August, 1793.

SIR:

Pursuant to our instructions from the Secretary of War, we are sending letters to General Wayne, to be forwarded to him from Pittsburg. The business being directly in the Quartermaster's department, we shall enclose them to Major Craig; but the aid of troops may be requisite for their conveyance; and this aid we request you to furnish, especially in conveying the first letter to General Wayne, which should go with the utmost speed and certainty. The Western Indians refuse to make peace.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

N. B. A duplicate was sent in the packet, committed to the Indian runners.

*Letter to Major General Wayne, Fort Washington.*

FORT ERIE, 23d August, 1793.

SIR:

We are on our return home from the mouth of Detroit river, where we lay four weeks, waiting for the Indians to close their private councils at the Rapids of the Miami, that we might all remove to Sandusky, and open the treaty. But, after sending repeated deputations to us, to obtain answers to particular questions, they finally determined not to treat at all. This final answer we received on the 16th instant, when we immediately began to embark to recross Lake Erie.

*Although we did not effect a peace, yet we hope that good may hereafter arise from the mission.*

*The tranquillity of the country Northwest of the Ohio, during the (supposed) continuance of the treaty, evinced your care of our safety, and we could not leave this quarter, without returning you our unfeigned thanks.*

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.  
B. R.  
T. P.

*Letter to General Knox.*

ON LAKE ERIE, 21st August, 1793.

SIR:

The Indians have refused to make peace. We have not been admitted to an interview with them, except by their deputations. The transactions with the first deputation at Niagara have been transmitted to you. Immediately afterwards we returned to fort Erie, and embarked for the mouth of Detroit river, where we arrived on the 21st July, and expected in a few days to receive notice from the Indians that they were ready to meet us at Sandusky. Captain Matthew Elliot, Colonel McKee's assistant, at whose house we were furnished with quarters, was at home, waiting for a wind to sail to the Miami. He departed the next morning, taking a letter from us to Colonel McKee, advising him of our arrival, and requesting that our meeting with the Indians might be hastened.

On the 29th, Elliot returned with another deputation of Indians, at the head of which were Packonchehelas, head warrior of the Delawares, Kakiapalathy, head warrior of the Shawanese, and Sä-wagh-dä-wunk, who is said to be the head-man of the Wyandots. The next day, they presented a written message, in the name of the confederacy, demanding an explicit answer to this question: "Are you fully authorized by the United States, to continue and firmly to fix on the Ohio river, as the boundary between your people and ours?" The next day we answered the question explicitly; previously stating the reasons why the United States could not now make the Ohio the boundary. We also mentioned the principal concessions, and the ample compensations we were ready to make, and stipulate, expressing the prompt and annual compensations, not in precise sums, but in terms which we thought would forcibly strike them with ideas of their magnitude. The next morning they met us, and after making some observations on the subject, said they would lay our speech before their warriors. The speaker indeed told us we might go home; but this seemed to be a mistake, and contrary to what our interpreters heard other chiefs say, as they sat in this council. As soon as the speaker had done, Captain Elliot spoke to the Shawanese chief, mentioning the mistake; an explanation took place, and we were desired to remain where we were for an answer; this we requested to have forwarded without delay.

On the 8th of August, two of Captain Hendricks' men arrived to obtain some necessities; by their information there seemed to be a fair prospect of peace. Some Munsees and Chippewas, who arrived the 9th, confirmed their account. On the 11th some Senecas arrived; they had come from the council by the way of Detroit, in order to go home, most of them being sick; their information corresponded with the former, in respect to all the nations, except the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, and Miamies, who remained obstinate; yet, they said, that even of these nations, near one half were for peace. They said, also, that the Six Nations, including Captain Brandt and his Mohawks, *held fast together*, and strongly urged the hostile nations to make peace.

We find that our speech of July 31st was well understood, having been interpreted to the Shawanese, &c. by Colonel McKee, to the Six Nations, by Captain Brandt, and to the Delawares, &c. by Captain Hendricks.

Having waited till the 12th of August without receiving an answer, we proposed going, in the vessel assigned for our use, to the Miami Bay, or to the mouth of Miami river, that we might, with more ease and expedition, communicate with the Indian council; but this we were not permitted to do. So, the next day, we sent two runners, of the Six Nations, (a few being with us) with a letter to Colonel McKee, a written message to the Indian council, and verbal messages to Captain Brandt and Captain Hendricks, to advise them of the written one. The object of the letter and messages was to obtain a decisive answer from the Indian council, whether a treaty was to be held or not, and to bring the business to a speedy issue.

On Friday, the 16th, in the afternoon, two Wyandot runners arrived, with a final answer from the Indian council. We made, immediately a short reply, and began to embark our effects. On Saturday morning, we completed the embarkation of our stores and baggage, and in the afternoon sailed for fort Erie.

On Friday evening our own two runners returned. According to their information, the Six Nations knew nothing of the contents of the final answer of the Indian council. Their names are not subscribed to it. They had heard, indeed, of an answer, but were told it was to invite the commissioners to meet the Indian nations on the Miamies (instead of Sandusky) about five miles below the Rapids, to which place the Six Nations proposed to remove, the day or the day after our runners left them. From the same information, it seemed probable that the Six Nations were not made acquainted with our written message of the 15th, nor the letter to Colonel McKee; so we made out copies of them, of the final answer of the Indians, and of our last reply, and on Saturday morning sent them off by our runners, with directions to deliver them to Captain Brandt, and to inform the other Six Nation chiefs thereof. A letter was also written to Hendricks, referring him, for information, to those copies. We verbally directed the runners to tell those chiefs to be of good heart, and to assure them of the strong and unalterable friendship of the United States for the Six Nations.

We had thought it a matter of no small moment, that the chiefs of the Six Nations should be seen and consulted, on their return from the Miami; and our runners told us that the chiefs wished us to stay for them at Buffalo creek. This did not seem expedient; but we directed the runners to tell them, that, on their return, General Chapin would meet them at any place which they should appoint, and, without delay, transmit their information, and the result of their deliberations, to the President.

Enclosed is a copy of our letter to General Wayne; we shall send the same to him by other conveyances, and all by the way of Fort Pitt. We have written to the commanding officer there, desiring him to give Major Craig, to whose care we shall send all the letters for General Wayne, every requisite aid in forwarding them, and we have also written to the commanding officer at Fort Franklin to afford his aid in conveying them, by land and by water, to Major Craig. In all these intermediate letters, we have mentioned the fact, simply, "that the Western Indians refused to make peace." We have desired Major Craig to forward the first letter to General Wayne, in that way which shall promise the utmost speed and certainty, sparing no expense to effect it, and the others in succession, one by one, as fast as conveyances shall present; but, we added, that, if you should have given any orders about the conveyance of our letters to General Wayne, he was to observe them.

If the wind had permitted, we should have set Sylvester Ash ashore at Presqu' Isle, and prepared letters accordingly to go by him. He will now proceed from Buffalo creek. We expect General Chapin will procure two Seneca runners, to go with him as far as Fort Franklin: from thence he will proceed, by land or by water, as he and the commanding officer shall think best. But, whichever route he pursues, we have desired the commanding officer to send some trusty Indians by the other, to afford the greater certainty of conveyance. We enclose him duplicate letters for Major Craig and General Wayne, for that purpose.

Mr. Wilson proposes to go as far as Genesee river, and thence proceed to the Susquehannah, and thence to Pittsburg; by him we shall send the third set of letters for General Wayne.

FORT ERIE, 23d August.

We arrived here between twelve and one o'clock this morning, and, our letters having been prepared on the voyage, we shall be enabled to send them off, as soon as General Chapin and Mr. Jones can cross the river. They will go to Buffalo creek, and procure two Indian runners to accompany Ash, and two more to carry this letter to Canandaigua, where General Chapin's son is instantly to procure an express to carry it to Philadelphia.

B. L. }  
B. R. } Commissioners of the United States.  
T. P. }

P. S. We could get no account of the numbers of the Indians at the Rapids, except from the British agents, who told us there were about fifteen hundred men. We have noted them accordingly; but suppose they were rather likely to be less than more.

*Letter to Captain Israel Chapin, Canandaigua.*

FORT ERIE, 23d August, 1793.

SIR: The enclosed letter to General Knox, we desire you to forward by faithful express, whom we desire you to send off with the utmost despatch. Let him change horses to make the better speed. Nothing must prevent the prompt execution of our request. The Western Indians refuse to make peace.  
We are, sir, yours, &c.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN,  
BEVERLEY RANDOLPH,  
TIMOTHY PICKERING,  
Commissioners of the United States.

The foregoing pages contain a just account of our transactions, in attempting to negotiate a peace with the Western Indians, now in hostility against the United States.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN,  
BEVERLEY RANDOLPH,  
TIMOTHY PICKERING,  
Commissioners.

FORT ERIE, in the province of Upper Canada, August 24th, 1793.

Attest, CHARLES STORER, Secretary to the Commissioners.

*Statement of the non-commissioned officers and privates in the service of the United States.*

Under the immediate command of Major General Wayne, including the garrisons, of fort Washington, fort Hamilton,* fort St. Clair, and fort Jefferson, - - - - -	3,229
At forts Knox and Steuben, - - - - -	104
On the upper parts of the Ohio, - - - - -	113
Recruits on their march to Pittsburg, - - - - -	95
Recruits at the several rendezvous, - - - - -	53
At West Point, - - - - -	31
In the Southwestern Territory, - - - - -	79
In Georgia, - - - - -	157
	<hr/>
	3,861
Deficient, - - - - -	1,259
	<hr/>
Establishment, - - - - -	5,120
	<hr/>

\* Major General Wayne, in his letter of the 5th October, states, that his effective force for the expedition, independent of sick and garrisons, will not, officers included, amount to more than

Effective mounted volunteers, officers included, under General Scott, as per return, 23d Oct.	2,600
	1,029
	<hr/>
	3,629
	<hr/>

H. KNOX, Secretary of War.

WAR DEPARTMENT, December 4, 1793.

*Extract of a letter from Major General Wayne to the Secretary of War, dated*

HEAD QUARTERS, HOBSON'S CHOICE, NEAR FORT WASHINGTON, 5th October, 1793.

Agreeably to the authority vested in me by your letter of the 17th of May, 1793, I have used every means in my power to bring forward the mounted volunteers from Kentucky, as you will observe by the enclosed correspondence with his Excellency Governor Shelby, and Major General Scott, upon this interesting occasion.

I have even adopted their own proposition by ordering a draught of the militia, which I consider as the dernier resort, and from which I must acknowledge that I have but little hopes of success!

Add to this, that we have a considerable number of officers and men sick and debilitated, from fevers and other disorders incident to all armies. But this is not all; we have recently been visited by a malady called the *influenza*, which has pervaded the whole line in a most alarming and rapid degree. Fortunately this complaint has not been fatal, except in a few instances, and I have now the pleasure of informing you, that we are generally recovered, or in a fair way; but our effective force will be much reduced, as you will observe by the scale at the bottom of the general return of the legion, which I have the honor to transmit by this conveyance, so that, after leaving the necessary garrisons at the several posts, (which will generally be composed of the sick and invalids) I shall not be able to advance beyond fort Jefferson with more than *twenty-six hundred* regular effectives, officers included.

What auxiliary force we shall have is yet to be determined. At present their numbers are only *thirty-six* guides and spies, and *three hundred and sixty* mounted volunteers. This is not a pleasant picture, but something must be done immediately, to save the frontiers from impending savage fury.

I will, therefore, advance to-morrow with the force I have, in order to gain a strong position about six miles in front of fort Jefferson, so as to keep the enemy in check (by exciting a jealousy and apprehension for the safety of their own women and children) until some favorable circumstance or opportunity may present to strike with effect.

The present apparent tranquillity on the frontiers, and at the head of the line, is a convincing proof to me, that the enemy are collected or collecting in force, to oppose the legion, either on its march, or in some unfavorable position for the cavalry to act in. Disappoint them in this favorite plan or manœuvre, they may probably be tempted to attack our lines. In this case I trust they will not have much reason to triumph from the encounter.

They cannot continue long embodied for want of provision, and at their breaking up, they will most certainly make some desperate effort upon some quarter or other; should the mounted volunteers advance in force, we might yet compel those haughty savages to sue for peace before the *next opening of the leaves*. Be that as it may, I pray you not to permit present appearances to cause too much anxiety either in the mind of the President, or yourself, on account of this army. Knowing the critical situation of our infant nation, and feeling for the honor and reputation of Government, (which I will support with my latest breath) you may rest assured that I will not commit the legion unnecessarily; and unless more powerfully supported than I at present have reason to expect, I will content myself by taking a strong position advanced of Jefferson, and by exerting every power, endeavor to protect the frontiers, and to secure the posts and army during the winter, or until I am honored with your further orders.

*Extract of a letter from Major General Wayne to the Secretary of War, dated Camp, S. W. Branch of the Miami, six miles advanced of Fort Jefferson, October 23d, 1798.*

I have the honor to inform you, that the legion took up its line of March from Hobson's Choice, on the 7th instant, and arrived at this place in perfect order, and without a single accident, at 10 o'clock in the morning of the 13th, when I found myself arrested for want of provision.

Notwithstanding this defect, I do not despair of supporting the troops in our present position, or rather at a place called *Still Water*, at an intermediate distance between the field of battle and fort Jefferson, and for which I shall make the necessary arrangements, in obedience to the instructions contained in your orders of the 25th of May, 1798.

The safety of the Western frontiers, the reputation of the legion, the dignity and interest of the nation, all forbid a retrograde manœuvre, or giving up one inch of ground we now possess, until the enemy are compelled to sue for peace.

The greatest difficulty which at present presents, is that of furnishing a sufficient escort to secure our convoys of provision, and other supplies, from insult and disaster; and, at the same time, to retain a sufficient force in camp, to sustain and repel the attacks of the enemy, who appear to be desperate and determined.

We have recently experienced a little check to one of our convoys, which may probably be exaggerated into something serious by the tongue of fame, before this reaches you; the following is, however, the fact, viz:

Lieutenant Lowry, of the 2d sub-legion, and Ensign Boyd, of the 1st, with a command consisting of ninety non-commissioned officers and privates, having in charge twenty wagons, belonging to the quartermaster general's department, loaded with grain, and one of the contractor's loaded with stores, were attacked early in the morning of the 17th instant, about seven miles advanced of fort St. Clair, by a party of Indians; those two gallant young gentlemen (who promised at a future day to be ornaments to their profession) together with thirteen non-commissioned officers and privates, bravely fell, after an obstinate resistance against superior numbers, being abandoned by the greater part of the escort upon the first discharge.

The savages killed, or carried off, about *seventy* horses, leaving the wagons and stores standing in the road, which have been all brought to this camp without any other loss or damage except some trifling articles.

One company of light infantry, and one troop of dragoons, have been detached this morning to reinforce four other companies of infantry, commanded by Colonel Hamtramck, as an escort to the quartermaster general's and contractor's wagons and pack-horses.

I have this moment received the return of the mounted volunteers under General Scott, recently arrived and encamped in the vicinity of fort Jefferson; I shall immediately order a strong detachment of those volunteers as a further reinforcement to Colonel Hamtramck.

I fear that the season is too far advanced to derive that essential service, which, otherwise, might be expected from them; whether they can act with effect, or not, is yet eventual.

It is reported, that the Indians at Au Glaize have sent their women and children into some secret recess or recesses, from their towns; and that the whole of the warriors are collected or collecting in force.

The savages, however, can't continue long embodied for want of provisions; on the contrary, we have, by great exertions, secured in this camp seventy thousand rations. I expect 120,000 in addition, by the return of the present convoy, unless they meet with a disaster—a thing that can scarcely happen, should my orders be duly executed, which I have no cause to doubt, from the character, vigilance, and experience, of the commanding officer.

A great number of men, as well as officers, have been left sick and debilitated at the respective garrisons, from a malady called the influenza; among others, General Wilkinson has been dangerously ill; he is now at fort Jefferson, and on the recovery. I hope he will soon be sufficiently restored to take his command in the legion.

I anxiously wait the safe return of the escort and convoy, when we shall endeavor to take new ground, which will probably be disputed; be that as it may, the legion will not be too far committed.

[3d CONGRESS.]

No. 41.

[1st SESSION.]

### THE CREEKS, CHEROKEES, AND OTHERS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 16, 1798.

WAR DEPARTMENT, December 16th, 1798.

SIR:

I have the honor to submit a variety of papers giving a view of the Southwestern frontiers, as connected with the Creeks and the State of Georgia, and the Southwestern territory of the United States and the Cherokees.

I have the honor to be, &c.

H. KNOX, Secretary of War.

The VICE PRESIDENT of the United States.

The Secretary of War respectfully submits to the President of the United States, the following statement, relatively to the Southwestern frontiers of the United States, as connected with the State of Georgia and the Creek Indians, and the territory of the United States South of the Ohio and the Cherokee Indians:

That, in the month of November, 1792, James Seagrove, a temporary agent, held a conference with the Lower Creeks, at which were present upwards of one thousand men, women, and children. That the objects of this conference were to confirm the treaty, which had been made with them at New York, and by administering to their necessities, they being greatly in want of corn and clothing, to attach them more firmly to the interest of the United States.

That, as the said Indians expressed themselves with great gratitude for the kindness they received, a hope was indulged that beneficial consequences would flow from the measure, especially as it was directed that the said agent should repair both to the Lower, and Upper Creek towns, in order to tranquillize their minds upon past, and prevent any misconceptions respecting the future conduct of the United States.

But, on the 11th day of March, these prospects were clouded by a party of about thirty of the Seminoles (some of them living to the southward of the territory of the United States) who plundered a store upon the St. Mary's river of a large quantity of goods, and killed several persons.

This outrage being followed by some others, excited a general alarm on the frontiers of Georgia. The Governor of that State called into service considerable bodies of militia, horse and foot, for the protection of the exposed inhabitants.

That, upon the receiving information of the aforesaid event, the President, on the 30th of May, directed that the Governor of Georgia should be informed, that, from considerations of policy at this critical period, relative to foreign Powers, and during the pending treaty with the Northern Indians, it was deemed advisable for the present to avoid offensive expeditions into the Creek country. But that, from the circumstances of the recent depredations on the frontiers of Georgia, it was thought expedient to increase the force in that quarter, for defensive purposes, and, therefore, the Governor was authorized to call into service, in aid of the continental troops, one hundred horse, and one hundred foot, of the militia of the said State.

That, as it did not appear that the whole of the Creek nation were disposed for, or engaged in hostility, it was considered that the above force was sufficient for the purposes designated.

That the case of a serious invasion of Georgia, by large bodies of Indians, must be referred to the provisions of the constitution.

That, on the 10th of June, the Governor of South Carolina was requested to afford aid to Georgia, in case that it should be seriously invaded by large bodies of Indians.

That a magazine of two thousand arms, and a proportionable quantity of ammunition, and some other military stores, have been established in Georgia, as a provisional measure, in case the said State should be invaded—the said articles, in that event, being subject to the order of the Governor.

That, on the 12th of June, the Governor transmitted information of an intended expedition into the Creek country, to consist of a body of about seven hundred volunteers; and on the 18th of the same month, he transmitted the result thereof, by which it appeared that the said volunteers, commanded by General Twiggs, proceeded to the Oakmulgee, about forty miles distant from the Oconee, and from circumstances of their provisions being nearly exhausted, many horses tired, and other adverse events, they returned on the 12th of the month.

That, on the 13th of August, the Governor transmitted information that he had convened a council of general officers, on the subject of reducing the five inimical towns in the Creek nation; the propositions to, with the answers of the council, he transmitted for the purpose of being laid before the President of the United States. That, in an answer to the said letter, dated the 5th of September, the Governor was informed, that, as an offensive expedition against the Creeks, of the nature, and under the circumstances mentioned, was a subject of great and complicated importance to the United States, it had engaged the serious consideration of the President, and, as the deliberate result thereof, he utterly disapproved the measure at that time, as being unauthorized by law, as contrary to the present state of affairs, and as contrary to the instructions heretofore given upon the subject.

That, on the 2d of October, the Governor transmitted the information of two officers who commanded an expedition against a Creek town, which they surprized on the 21st of September, and killed six warriors, and took eight women and children prisoners.

That it appears, from the representations of James Seagrove, that the Indian town which was surprized as before mentioned, on the 21st of September, was situated on the Chatahoochee river, and called "the Little Oakfuskee;" that the people belonging to it were among the most friendly of the Creeks, and no way concerned in stealing of horses, they being under the direction of the White Lieutenant.

That it has been the opinion of James Seagrove, communicated in his various despatches, that, notwithstanding the outrage of the 11th of March last, and the subsequent conduct of some of the banditti, the main body of the Creek nation are desirous of remaining at peace with the United States. That, in pursuance of his directions from the President of the United States, and his own opinion, he had been endeavoring for some months past to make arrangements to go into the Creek nation, for the purpose of obtaining the punishment of the banditti Indians, who have committed the outrages aforesaid, and of more closely attaching the Creeks to the United States.

That he had made an agreement to meet a number of friendly Indians on the Oakmulgee river, about the 30th of September, and with them to proceed into the Indian towns for the purposes aforesaid. But, the expedition of the 21st of September, and the violent threats of a number of lawless whites on the frontiers of Georgia, had prevented him. Some of these people appear to oppose every effort for peace, and ardently desire a war.

That, by his letter of the 21st of October, it appears that two parties were preparing to go to war against the Creeks, the result of which has not yet been known.

That the information of the Governor of Georgia to James Seagrove, dated the 26th of August last, to wit: "that, under the law of the United States, as well as for the security of this State, the Government of Georgia cannot recognise the establishment of peace without having commissioners at the treaty," is a matter which requires serious notice.

It is to be observed that the Governor of Georgia has not organized the hundred horse, and hundred militia foot, which he was authorized to do by the President, on the 30th of May last; but, instead thereof, he has kept up considerable bodies of mounted volunteers of the militia, of which no returns have been received, but which, perhaps, may be nearly, or quite, five hundred men. The payment of these troops will probably amount to a very large sum of money, and it may become a question of importance, whether the United States are responsible for their payment, the circumstances of the case being duly considered.

It is suggested in the papers which accompany this statement, that it is highly probable that it is owing to some of these troops, that Mr. Seagrove has been hitherto restrained from adjusting amicably the causes of difference with the Creek nation, and also, probably, that it was a part of them who surprized the Little Oakfuskee town.

From a review of the representations, contained in the letters of James Seagrove, Major Gaither, (the commanding officer) and Constant Freeman, herewith submitted, it will appear that the Creeks are generally disposed for peace, but that there is too much reason to apprehend, that the unjustifiable conduct of certain lawless whites, on the frontiers of Georgia, will prevent that desirable event from being realized.

The present state of this part of the frontier involves national considerations of great magnitude, whether viewed as relative to the expense which has been incurred during the past summer, of which payment will most probably be demanded of the United States, whether with regard to the claims of the Governor of Georgia, of a right of interference in any treaty with the Creeks, which is presumed to be contrary to the constitution of the United States, or whether with regard to a war with the powerful tribes of the Creeks, with the long and almost unlimited train of collateral and consequent evils attendant thereon, a measure which perhaps may be avoided, if means could be devised to keep the bold and turbulent of both sides in order.

*Of the territory of the United States Southwest of the Ohio, and the Cherokees.*

That it will appear, from the papers relative to the Cherokees, on the files of Congress, that, in the year 1792, a partial disposition for war existed among the Cherokees, being chiefly confined to the five Lower towns, so called, embracing, to the utmost, one-third of that nation, or six hundred and fifty warriors.

That, however, by the abilities and assiduity of Governor Blount, this disposition, in the commencement of the year, was greatly changed, and the said five towns were supposed to be desirous of an accommodation.

That, while this business was negotiating, a party of armed men, under Captain John Beard, who had been called into service by Governor Blount, with a view of protecting the settlers, did, on the 12th of June, in defiance of their orders, cross the Tennessee, and surprise and kill a number of our best friends among the Indians, at the moment Governor Blount's messengers were among them.

This violent outrage, so disgraceful to the United States, has been followed by several others, and the Southwestern territory is involved in a war with the Cherokees; which, as it relates to the above event, must be considered as highly unjust. It is to be apprehended and regretted, that, from the prejudice against Indians on the frontiers, it is but too probable that the perpetrators of these violences will escape unpunished. Such measures as the laws authorize have been directed, but, as yet, no result has been transmitted.

Great bodies of militia have been brought into service on this occasion, in order to guard against the effects of savage retaliation. Much expense has been already incurred, nor is it yet terminated: for, however hostilities shall be restrained by the severity of the winter, yet they may be expected to break out with renewed violence in the spring.

The evil seems to require a remedy; but no Indian peace will be permanent, unless an effectual mode can be devised to punish the violators of it on both sides. It will be with an ill grace that the United States demand the punishment of banditti Indians, when, at the same time, the guilty whites escape with impunity.

All which is respectfully submitted.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *December 13th, 1793.*

*Letters from the Secretary of War to his Excellency the Governor of Georgia.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *9th March, 1793.*

SIR:

Several of the delegates of the State of Georgia have made application to the President of the United States to establish magazines of arms, ammunition, and provisions, in Georgia, and, also, to make a provisional arrangement for calling out the militia of the neighboring States, on the apprehension of danger from the Cherokees.

Although it is to be expected, from the measures taken to secure peace with the Cherokees, that these arrangements, to the extent required, may not be indispensably necessary, at this time, yet the President of the United States, desirous, as far as may be, to avert any apprehensions which might arise from a want of arms and ammunition, in case of need, has directed me to form a small magazine, at Augusta, of one thousand stand of arms, and a proportionable quantity of ammunition. These articles are, accordingly, in a train of preparation, and will be shipped with all convenient speed.

They will be deposited, for the present, under the charge of Major Robert Forsyth, at Augusta, who will be instructed, in case of an invasion, to issue such of them to your order as you may require, or to serve such other purposes as may be requisite for the interest of the United States. The arms which shall be issued to the militia of Georgia, and not returned, will be charged to the State, in an account with the United States.

The prospect of peace, with the Cherokees and Creeks, would render it inexpedient to take any immediate order on the subject of forming magazines of provisions, at present.

Letters were written some time ago to the Governors of South Carolina and North Carolina, relative to any irruption of Indian parties upon the frontiers.

I have the honor to be, &c.

His Excellency Governor TELFAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *29th April, 1793.*

SIR:

Your two favors of the third and eighth instant have been received and submitted to the President of the United States.

Information has also been recently received from Governor Blount, relatively to the hostile dispositions of some of the Upper Creeks, and the mass of the Lower Cherokees, and that a war exists between the Chickasaws and Upper Creeks.

Governor Blount, alarmed at the posture of affairs, has set out for this city, in order to concert with the Executive of the United States the measures which shall be advisable.

As the business which he will have to transact will be blended with the state of affairs related by your Excellency, the President of the United States is desirous that some general principles should be adopted which shall be applicable (as far as circumstances will admit) to the general state of the Southern frontiers, the result of which shall be transmitted to you.

In the mean time, however, the arms and ammunition, which were mentioned in my letter of the ninth of March, are now shipped on board the schooner Peggy, Captain Skelly, agreeably to the enclosed invoice.

A letter has been written to Mr. Habersham, to have them immediately transported to Augusta.

I have the honor to be, &c.

GOVERNOR TELFAIR.

[ENCLOSURE.]

*Invoice of military stores, shipped on board the schooner Peggy, Thomas Skelly, master, to the address of Major John Habersham, Savannah:*

40 chests, containing—  
 1,000 stand of arms,  
 1,000 bayonets,  
 1,000 scabbards,  
 1,000 gun worms,  
 400 brushes and wires.  
 25 barrels gun powder, containing 100 lbs. each,  
 5,000 lbs. lead, in bars and balls,  
 5,000 flints.

N. B.—Powder-horns will be sent by the first opportunity.



WAR DEPARTMENT, 30th May, 1793.

SIR:

The duplicates of your two letters, dated at Savannah, on the 22d and 29th ultimo, were received on the 28th instant, and submitted to the President of the United States, who, after having seriously considered their contents, has directed me to make the following reply to your Excellency:

That, from considerations of policy, at this critical period, relative to foreign Powers, and the pending treaty with the Northern Indians, it is deemed advisable to avoid, for the present, offensive expeditions into the Creek country; but, from the circumstances of the late depredations on the frontiers of Georgia, it is thought expedient to increase the force in that quarter, for defensive purposes. The President, therefore, authorizes your Excellency to call into, and keep in, service, in addition to the regular force stationed in Georgia, one hundred horse, and one hundred militia foot, to be employed under the orders of Lieutenant Colonel Gaither, in repelling inroads, as circumstances shall require.

You will please to nominate and appoint the commissioned officers to the above corps of horse, to consist of one captain, two lieutenants, and two cornets; the non-commissioned and privates, to consist of six sergeants, six corporals, one trumpeter, and one farrier, and eighty-six dragoons.

In order that the corps shall be well equipped, the public will find the caps, swords, pistols, saddles, bridles, and carbines, all of which, however, will be deducted, at their prime cost and charges, from the pay of each individual, which, you will perceive, by the enclosed schedule, is very liberal. This corps of horse to be engaged of proper characters, to serve until the first day of May or June next, *unless sooner discharged*, which the Government must hold the right of doing, if it should think fit. If the non-commissioned and privates cannot be engaged for the above period, it must be left to your discretion to engage them for as long a time as possible.

The authority, for the above purpose, is specially vested, by law, in the President of the United States; but the infantry, or foot militia, must be called into service according to the general course of the militia law, to which you will please to advert. The pay of the infantry will be the same as the troops of the United States, agreeably to the schedule No. 2.

It will, however, be important, that proper endeavors be used to engage them for as long a period as the cavalry. The commissioned and non-commissioned officers, for the infantry, to be the same as for the continental troops, to wit: one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, six sergeants, six corporals, one drum, one fife, and eighty-six privates.

An additional thousand stand of arms and accoutrements, fifty barrels of powder, and a proportional quantity of lead and flints, will be forwarded to Major Habersham, with all expedition, to be by him forwarded to Augusta, to the care of Major Forsyth, under the provisions of the former quantity.

As it does not yet appear that the whole force of the Creek nation is disposed for, or engaged in, hostility, it is considered that the above force will be sufficient for the object designated.

As it is to be apprehended the objects of the Western frontiers may, notwithstanding the treaty, require the energy of all the regular troops in that quarter, and, also, of the recruits, who are marching that way, it has been considered that no part of them could be sent to Georgia, in the present instance. But, if the treaty should be successful, or, if the troops should be victorious, it may be otherwise in future.

The case of a serious invasion of Georgia, by large bodies of Indians, must be referred to the provisions of the constitution. But the proceeding with efficacy, in future, (the necessity of which appears but too probable) requires, absolutely, that no unnecessary expense shall be incurred in the mean time.

It has been heretofore considered that block houses afford but a very imperfect security to a frontier, and nothing has occurred lately to induce a contrary impression. They serve to cover little more than the persons who are actually within them. The garrisons are, necessarily, too small to afford any considerable party to sally out; and the experience of Indian warfare evinces that the savages soon learn the force within, and either despise or avoid it. It has been found, by practice, in Kentucky, and along the whole Western frontiers, that a few scouts, or spies, who are formed of the hardiest and best hunters, and who shall be advanced a few miles of the settlements, traversing incessantly, at right angles, the paths most used by the Indians, are better calculated to give the alarm to the settlers, and secure them from danger, than any other species of troops whatever. And, in order that nothing on the part of the Government should be wanting, to induce the best frontier citizen to undertake this service, the high rate of five-sixths of a dollar, per day, has been allowed to each scout. Two men, or scouts, will cover an extent of ten or twelve miles. They are to be mustered upon oath, at the time of their entering and leaving the service: this is essential, in order to prevent abuse.

Indeed, it is indispensable that all troops who are to be paid by the General Government, should be mustered in the same manner, by some respectable magistrate, or high officer of the militia.

If your Excellency should have any map, which may be depended upon, of the Creek country, a copy of it will be of service.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

GOVERNOR TELFAIR.

[NOTE.—The enclosures in the preceeding letter of the 30th of May, were, a *schedule* of the pay, established by law, for the troops in the service of the United States, and an extract of an act, entitled "An act for making farther and more effectual provision for the protection of the frontiers of the United States," passed the 5th day of March, 1792.]

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 10th, 1793.

SIR:

Your letter of the 8th of May has been received, and submitted to the President of the United States. The State of Georgia being invaded, or in imminent danger thereof, the measures taken by your Excellency may be considered as indispensable. You are the judge of the degree of danger, and of its duration, and will undoubtedly proportion the defence to exigencies. The President, however, expresses his confidence that, as soon as the danger, which has induced you to call out so large a body of troops, shall have subsided, you will reduce the troops to the existing state of things; indeed, to the number mentioned in my letter of the 30th ultimo, duplicates of which have been forwarded, provided the safety of the frontiers will admit the measure.

The articles mentioned in the enclosed invoice have been shipped this day, on board of the schooner Peggy, Captain Skelly, consigned to John Habersham, of Savannah, who has been directed to take your orders as to their further disposition. The remainder will be forwarded as soon as prepared, so as to complete the number and quantity mentioned in my letter of the 30th ultimo.

As a general and open Creek war, in the present crisis of European affairs, would be a complicated evil of great magnitude, the President of the United States is anxiously desirous of avoiding such an event: for this purpose, he has again directed Mr. Seagrove to repair to the heart of the Creek country, provided the measure can be attempted with any reasonable degree of safety. If a few of the most violent of the depredators, could be put to death, it ought, in the present conjuncture, to be considered as satisfactory. I enclose you a copy of the letter which has been written to Mr. Seagrove on this occasion.

I also enclose you a copy of a letter to the Governor of South Carolina, in case circumstances should require you to call for aid from that State.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

GOVERNOR TELFAIR.



*Letters from the Secretary of War to his Excellency the Governor of South Carolina.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 10th June, 1793.

SIR:

The President of the United States has received authentic information from Georgia of the unprovoked and cruel outrage of parties of Creeks upon the frontiers of that State; and, as it is at present uncertain to what degree the evils complained of may be extended, the President has directed me to request your Excellency, that, in case the frontiers of Georgia should be seriously invaded by large bodies of hostile Indians, you would, upon the request of the Governor of the said State, direct such parties of the militia of the State of South Carolina to march to the assistance of Georgia, as the case may require, for the expenses of which the United States will be responsible. The militia to provide themselves with provisions to the places of rendezvous, which shall be appointed by the Governor of Georgia, where arrangements for further supply will be made by the contractors for the continental troops.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

GOVERNOR MOULTRIE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 5th, 1793.

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency the copy of a letter from the Governor of Georgia of the 13th ultimo, enclosing a copy of the proceedings of a council of war of the general officers of the militia of said State, and also an answer to the said letter, of this date.

The letter which was addressed to you on the 10th of the month of June (a triplicate of which is enclosed) was of so very different a nature from requesting assistance to invade the Creeks, that the President of the United States is persuaded that you would not consider it, in any degree, as sanctioning such a measure, and, therefore, that you will refrain, at this time, from affording the assistance of South Carolina to the proposed expedition.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

GOVERNOR MOULTRIE.

*Letters from the Secretary of War to James Seagrove, temporary agent to the Creek Nation.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 30th April, 1793.

SIR:

Your letters to the President of the United States and myself, of the 17th and 21st ultimo, have been received. The information therein contained was very unexpected indeed, considering the purport of your former communications. If, after heavy expenses are incurred by conferences, the consequences are hostilities, instead of tranquillity, the propriety of such conferences will be justly questioned.

It is conceived, that a residence within the nation is the only solid principle of conciliation. On this ground, and your consent to go into the nation, it is expected that you will, if the measure can, with any safety, be adopted, repair to the Upper as well as to the Lower Creeks.

The former still permit the depredations of their young people against the Cumberland settlements; perhaps, as the Chickasaws are now at war with them, they will find other employment for their young men. Governor Blount has transmitted us recent information of this event.

All your letters which have been received, from time to time, have been laid before the President of the United States, and certain parts, relative to your conference, were laid before the Legislature.

From the complexion of the robbery at your brother's store, it would appear, at this distance, to have been the work of a predatory party, rather than any fixed plan of the nation, and the more so, as no information of any depredations have been received from the Oconee, or in that quarter.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

TO JAMES SEAGROVE, Esq.

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 10th, 1793.

SIR:

The last letters from you were dated the 17th and 21st March last, which were acknowledged on the 30th April, since which we have been extremely alarmed, by information from other quarters, at the depredations of the Creeks.

It is of the highest importance that some person should repair into the heart of the country, as well among the Upper as Lower Creeks, and, as your previous knowledge of their characters, as well as your station, render you the most proper person, it is the positive orders of the President of the United States that you forthwith perform this business, having made previous arrangements for your safety.

It is understood that the White Lieutenant and the Mad Dog, of the Upper Creeks, and the White Bird king of the Cussetahs, are highly desirous for peace. It is, therefore, probable that you could make an appointment so as to meet them at some place not far from the Rock Landing, so as to escort you into the country.

The justice and moderation of the United States are so conspicuous towards the Creeks, that arguments may be multiplied without end to prove that our interest is reciprocal, and that the existence of the Creeks, as a nation, must depend upon their being at peace with us.

That, in order to this, the most notorious of the late depredators ought to be given up to us, put to death by themselves, or driven out of the nation. The latter idea is mentioned merely in case the others cannot be complied with, and as a substitute for more energetic justice.

The state of European politics renders it of high importance that the United States should be at peace with the Creeks. Exert yourself, therefore, to the utmost to this effect, always being assured that your conduct in pursuit thereof will be highly acceptable to the President of the United States, by whose special commands I write this letter.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

JAMES SEAGROVE, Esq.

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 16th, 1793.

SIR:

Your several letters of the 19th and 30th of April, 24th May, 14th June, 6th and 31st July, and 4th, 6th, 13th, and 17th August last, with their several enclosures, have been received, and submitted to the President of the United States.

As far as has been discovered, no zeal has been wanting on your part to quiet the Indians. The defect is the external instead of the internal application which has been practised. The orders, however, have been so explicit on this head, that much more need not be urged, especially as you seem impressed with the necessity of the measure, and are about to execute it.

I can, however, say, with entire truth, that, if you do go into the nation, and bring it to a just sense of the friendship and kindness of the United States, you will do an essential service to your country, and which will be highly acceptable to the President of the United States. Perhaps the expedient would be a good one, if you could obtain about a dozen of the real chiefs of the Upper and of the Lower Creeks to come on this winter to see the President and Congress, in order to brighten the chain of friendship. If this idea should succeed, it ought, if possible,

to be avoided bringing the same people who were here in the year 1790. They ought to be the most eminent, such as the White Lieutenant, the Mad Dog, and other great chiefs. But this arrangement ought to be made within the heart of the nation. If they should agree to the proposition, it would have a good effect to avert the impending storm.

I have written a letter to the Governor of Georgia, expressing, in the most unequivocal manner, the President's disapprobation of all offensive expeditions against the Creeks, as being unauthorized by law, contrary to the present state of affairs, and contrary to the instructions heretofore given.

*Letters from the Secretary of War to Major Henry Gaither, commanding the troops of the United States in the State of Georgia.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 29th April, 1793.

SIR:

From the representations of his Excellency the Governor of Georgia, founded upon the information of Mr. Seagrove, and others, it would appear that the Creeks had recently committed depredations upon the frontiers, and were disposed for war.

As to the affair at Trader's Hill, it would appear at this distance rather the robbery of some marauders, than the result of any design of the Creeks generally; at the same time it is confessed that this view may be dictated partly by the hope that the fact was so. The peaceable Creeks who were at or near Colerain, would certainly give it this complexion.

But, in case of real danger, the country ought to be protected by the militia. The propriety of the custom of calling out cavalry or horsemen, may justly be questioned. The expense would probably far exceed the value of the services between them and the foot militia.

The Western frontiers experience great benefit, and have great confidence in a species of rangers called *scouts*. These are the most expert and hardy woodsmen, and upon whose judgment reliance may be placed. They are generally two of them together, and they traverse the country at right angles to the paths used by the Indians. Upon discovery of Indian tracks, they alarm the neighboring country, and, by their vigilance, predatory parties of Indians are made to suffer severely for their mischief.

Would it not be proper to adopt the patrols? Six of them would be equal to the watching an extent of twenty miles of frontier. They have been allowed, in order to induce the service of the best hunters, the high sum of five-sixths of a dollar per day. If you should order any of these into the service, they must be mustered upon their entering and quitting the service.

The pay rolls of the militia horse, ordered into service by Major Call, and which you transmitted to this office some time ago, are not supported by any muster rolls. These are essential to the adjustment of the accounts. No species of troops are to be in service at the expense of the United States, but those which shall have been mustered upon oath on entering and quitting the service.

But more information is required as to the reason of the said companies having been ordered out. It is necessary to know by whose requisition, and upon what occasion, and the cause of their continuance. I request that you will minutely inquire into this business, and state the result, at large, of your investigation.

Your letters of the 13th January, and 10th February, have been received.

If the State of Georgia should be invaded, the Government will, of course, order the militia out to repel it. In circumstances of danger should, upon mature reflection, induce you to request of the Governor that some of the militia should be ordered into service for the security of the frontiers, you will do it accordingly, taking care always that the numbers so requested are not more than the nature of the case may require, and that they are again dismissed as soon as the danger is over.

But you cannot do a more acceptable service than to endeavor, to the utmost of your power, to induce the Indians to continue the peace, and to calm every attempt to raise a storm. Let this idea govern all your conduct.

Let me know constantly of every transaction of importance.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Major GAITHER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 10th, 1793.

SIR:

Your letters of the 17th and 19th April, and the 6th of May, have been received, with their several enclosures, and submitted to the President of the United States.

The information which has been received of the depredations of the Creeks, is extremely mortifying, no just cause for this conduct being known to the Government.

It would appear, from a letter of the Governor of Georgia, that he has called into service a considerable body of militia, and encamped them at Shoulderbone. It is, however, sincerely to be hoped that the necessity for this measure will be of short continuance. But the Governor has been authorized, on behalf of the President of the United States, to call into service, in addition to the regular troops, one hundred horse, and one hundred militia, with the following officers: the horse, one captain, two lieutenants, two cornets, six sergeants, six corporals, one farrier, one trumpeter, and eighty-six dragoons; and the infantry, one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, six sergeants, six corporals, one drum, one fife, and eighty-six privates; to be engaged to serve until the first of June, 1794, and to act under your orders.

The pay of your detachment will be remitted by Captain Constant Freeman, who will go to Georgia in the capacity of public agent. This money will be issued agreeably to the regulations pointed out by the accountant of this Department.

The clothing of your detachment for the present year shall be shortly forwarded to Savannah.

You will still continue to be governed by the principles of moderation in calling militia into service, as heretofore, in case circumstances should authorize you to call into service an additional number, to the before mentioned one hundred horse and one hundred foot.

I have the honor, &c.

Major GAITHER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 17th, 1793.

SIR:

The bearer, Captain Constant Freeman, has been appointed an agent of the War Department for the troops in Georgia. The particular duties assigned him are contained in his instructions, a copy of which is enclosed.

You are hereby requested to afford Captain Freeman all the assistance in your power he may need, in the exercise of his duty.

It is of the utmost importance that every part of the administration of the public interests should be conducted with a truly republican economy.

I request that you keep up a constant correspondence with this office of all things relatively to your command.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Major GAITHER.

*Letters from the Governor of Georgia to the Secretary of War.*

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 3d April, 1793.

SIR:

I have received intelligence, of a very disagreeable nature, from James Seagrove, Esquire, agent of Indian affairs S. D. U. S. The following are extracts of his letter, dated St. Mary's, 17th March, 1793:

"A party of Creek Indians, in number about thirty, from the lower part of Flint river, entered the store of Robert Seagrove, at Trader's Hill, on this river, on the evening of the eleventh instant, and, in the most brutal and savage manner, murdered Mr. John Fleming, the store-keeper, and Mr. Daniel Moffet; a man of the name of Upton is missing, supposed to be taken off a prisoner." "Thursday, the 14th, I received advice that some people had been killed the day before, about six miles from that place. There being now twenty two volunteers, well mounted, we proceeded, without a moment's delay, and, in less than an hour, came where we found three men, and a little girl, murdered, and one of the men scalped. These unfortunate people appear to have been coming in to settle in this country; they had a wagon with their property—the horses carried off by the murderers; and it is thought a woman and child, who are missing, are prisoners. From the defenceless situation of the Southern frontier, the inhabitants of the counties of Glynn and Camden, must remove from their settlements, if speedy and sufficient aid be not afforded."

I have made a temporary arrangement, until the President may make such dispositions as he shall judge adequate to the emergency.

Whilst I thus point out the situation of those counties, I must further remark, that every quarter of the extended frontier of this State is open to similar outrages. I mention this in order that the President may take the general defence of the said frontier under consideration. The militia remaining subject to the call of the commandant of the Federal troops, and not being drawn into service, upon pressing occasions, has abated the confidence of the people in Government; and, should a general pressure take place, (which, from the present aspect of affairs, I have reason to apprehend) I must, in a short period, be reduced to the dangerous expedient of impressing, and this, in my opinion, is to be avoided, as much as possible, by every Government.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

EDWARD TELFAIR.

*The Secretary of War.*

STATE HOUSE, Augusta, 9th April, 1793.

SIR:

Your communication of the 9th March last, I have had the pleasure of receiving, and feel a peculiar satisfaction in contemplating the prospect of aid, both with respect to the establishment of a magazine of arms, and, also, the arrangements for calling in the militia of the neighboring States, in the event of general hostility; and I hope that a farther relief, by the establishment of magazines of provisions, will also take place. You have, enclosed, extracts of the information come to hand, since my last letter to you, from which, you will readily perceive that the depredations of the Creeks are of a very serious nature.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

EDWARD TELFAIR.

*The Secretary of War.**Extract from a deposition by eleven inhabitants of Glynn county, dated 11th March, 1793.*

The inhabitants of Glynn county have been robbed and plundered very considerably, by the Creek Indians, who are, at this time, in a state of actual hostility against said inhabitants, committing daily the most horrid robberies on them; insomuch, that, at this moment, they conceive almost all the cattle and horses of said county, being a very great number, to be in the possession of said Creek Indians.

The Creek Indians have been treated kindly and hospitably by the inhabitants of said county, and in no wise injured by said inhabitants.

From the files of the Executive Department.

W. URQUHART, S. E. D.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Cooke to the Honorable Judge Houston, dated*

WILLIAMSBURG, 21st March, 1793.

The settlers on this side the river are not rich; notwithstanding, the number of cattle taken already, as far as we can ascertain, is nearly two thousand head.

From the files of the Executive Department.

W. URQUHART, S. E. D.

SAVANNAH, 22d April, 1793.

SIR:

Some late accounts received from the southward, regarding the Creek Indians, would appear somewhat flattering, were it not well understood that the policy of those people is to disavow, as a nation, all murders and depredations. Mr. Seagrove has communicated that a promise has been made, by some of the head-men, to surrender the murderers, and return the captured property; those are measures not to be expected; perhaps, some part of the property may be returned; and, if so, it will extend to my most sanguine expectations.

The President will, no doubt, take a serious review of the situation of the frontier inhabitants of this State, and afford a speedy relief, either by the adoption of measures for negotiation, or by coercive ones, to compel them to a due observance of amity; and such is the aspect of European affairs, that it may perhaps be necessary to have reference to them, in regulating the immediate system of policy with the savages: be the result what it may, a due observance of the sense of the President, on the subject of peace or war, shall be attended to on my part.

The arms and ammunition mentioned in your last are not yet arrived. It is my very earnest desire that two thousand stand of arms, in addition to those expected, with a proportionable quantity of ammunition, be forwarded as early as possible.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

EDWARD TELFAIR.

*The Secretary of War.*

SAVANNAH, April 29, 1793.

SIR:

Since my last to you, dated the 22d instant, I have received the intelligence contained in the enclosed extracts, viz:

From the deposition of Benjamin Harrison and Francis Pugh, and from the information of Joseph Dabbs, there is little expectation of avoiding a general war with the Creeks and Cherokees. Blood has been spilt in every direction on the extended frontier of this State, and one man killed in the State of South Carolina. I have directed fourteen block-houses to be erected, each to be garrisoned by one commissioned officer, two sergeants, and seventeen

privates. Those stations extend from St. Mary's river to the river Tugulo; which, with the federal stations, may serve as a temporary defence, adding thereto troops of horse, to act on the spur of the occasion. I shall follow this plan of operation until measures be taken by the President for the better protection of the unfortunate settlers on this exposed frontier. If I find the pressure become great, the opposition must keep pace with the several emergencies. I shall make the necessary communications to the Governor of the State of South Carolina, in order to obtain aid, as I have every reason to hope that provident measures have been taken to that effect. Should general hostilities continue, it will be well to give Governor Blount the needful instructions, to cause a co-operation on his part.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

EDWARD TELFAIR.

*The Secretary of War.*

*Extracts from the deposition of Benjamin Harrison and Francis Pugh, of Washington county.*

"On the 18th April the Indians killed William, the son of Col. Pugh, and had taken Dick, a negro man of Col. Pugh's, and shot said William Pugh through the body, and two scalps were taken off his head." "There are four horses missing."

*Extracts from the information of Joseph Dabbs, of Franklin county.*

"That, on Tuesday, the 22d April, he saw General Clarke at the town of Washington, Wilkes county, who informed him that six persons were murdered by a party of Indians, at or near the Skull Shoals of Oconee, in Greene county, on Monday last, about 10 o'clock in the morning."

Taken from the files of the Executive, this 29th April, 1793.

Attest. W. URQUHART, S. E. D.

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, May 8, 1793.

Sir:

Such is the havoc and carnage making by the savages, in every direction on our frontier, that retaliation by open war becomes the only resort. The horrid barbarities committed (some recitals of which the enclosures contain) have impelled me to cause the additional aid of six troops of horse to be drawn into service, to range on the frontiers, and also to establish a camp at Shoulderbone, to consist of three battalion companies; and I have directed a general officer to repair to the said camp, to be reinforced as circumstances may require. The late respite is only to be attributed to the height of the waters, and, so soon as they subside, I have nothing to expect but an immediate renewal of the like barbarities. Every measure in my power to repel and annoy shall be taken, and, as far as means will extend, shall be carried into effect. Let no idea of peace so far amuse as to divert the necessary and immediate preparations for war. Every information you may receive tending thereto must proceed from ignorance or design. The field is now taken; the people must be protected, and a failure, in this juncture, will affect the operations of Government in a serious degree. The agent for supplies has afforded much relief by furnishing the men called into service, and, on a continuation of such supplies, will depend the fate of Georgia.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

EDWARD TELFAIR.

*The Secretary of War.*

*Extracts from the deposition of Michael Cupps and Nancy Smith, taken by Elishu Lyman, Esquire, one of the justices of the peace for the county of Greene, dated 23d April, 1793.*

"Michael Cupps was near the Oconee river, on Monday, the 22d instant, and heard a gun fired, and saw about thirty Indians firing upon and massacreing Richard Thresher, two children, and a negro wench; and at the same time the wife of the deceased, with an infant, ran and leaped into the river, the Indians firing upon her as she fled. The woman was found alive, scalped, wounded in both her thighs, and her right breast with balls, and stabbed in her left breast with a knife, her left arm cut nearly off, as is supposed with a tomahawk, of which wounds she died in about twenty-four hours. The infant was found drowned, without any marks of violence upon it. Nancy Smith deposed, the number of Indians was, in her opinion, nearly one hundred."

Taken from the files of the Executive.

Attest, W. URQUHART, S. E. D.

*Extract of a letter from Andrew Pickens, Esquire, to General Clarke.*

HOPWELL, April 28, 1793.

I received this morning, by express, from a friend, that the whole of the Creek nation, except the Cussetahs, had declared war against the United States. That John Galphin, with five hundred warriors, had set out, about sixteen days ago, to join the Seminoles, and was to fall on the southern parts of Georgia; but my information leads me to believe that they intend to make a blow all along the frontiers of Georgia and this State.

Taken from the files of the Executive Department.

Attest, W. URQUHART, S. E. D.

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, June 12, 1793.

Sir:

Our frontier settlers still continue in a state of alarm: for, notwithstanding the waters still remain high, the cessations from Indian murders, and depredations of every kind, are of so short duration, that the inhabitants have not a moment's security. The number of militia drawn into actual service, in consequence of the harassed situation of the said settlers, is, by much, greater than I expected; but there is no appearance of my being able to relax: on the contrary, I shall be under the necessity to order additional reinforcements.

I have just received a letter from General Twiggs, dated west side of the Oconee, the 8th inst. which mentions that a detachment of about seven hundred volunteers will move some distance into the enemy's country. The result of this will be transmitted, for the information of the President of the United States.

There will be a necessity for additional supplies of arms: a thousand swords and two hundred and fifty pairs of pistols would be a most seasonable supply.

I shall be very happy to have communicated to me the general system that may be adopted by the President of the United States, as early as the nature of the case will, by any means, admit.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

EDWARD TELFAIR.

*The Secretary of War.*

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, June 18, 1793.

Sir:

Agreeably to my letter to you of the 12th inst. the result of the going out of a detachment of volunteers I have now to communicate. They proceeded on to the Oakmulgee, about forty miles distant from the Oconee, and, from

the circumstances of their provisions being nearly exhausted, many horses tired, and other adverse events, they returned on the 12th. The conduct and prudence exercised by General Twiggs, who commanded, as well as some objects which he had in view, will appear by the extracts herewith transmitted.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

EDW. TELFAIR.

*The Secretary of War.*

*Extracts of a letter from General Twiggs, dated 13th June, 1793.*

“On the morning of the 11th instant, an additional reason was given why the troops could not proceed, to wit: that there was not one day’s provision on hand.

“If we had gone on, in all human probability some of our troops would have come up with and killed some of the Cussetah nation, hunting in small parties: such a proceeding would have united the towns, who are now friendly disposed, and produced very evil consequences.”

From the files of the Executive.

Attest,

W. URQUHART, *Secretary E. D.*

*Extract of an after-order of the 11th June, by General Twiggs.*

“That the detachment of cavalry ordered this morning to be in readiness, to march without delay, under the command of Brigadier General Irwin, to the place where Tom’s path crosses Flint river, near the Buzzard Roost, from thence to the little village, known by the name of the Uchees, twelve miles below, and take, if possible, the head-men of that town, and bring them safe to camp; and to be cautious that no damage is done to any of the persons, or property of the Indians of that town; and to give them every assurance of our peaceable disposition towards them.

From the files of the Executive.

Attest,

W. URQUHART, *Secretary E. D.*

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 24th July, 1793.

SIR:

Immediately on the return of the volunteers, General Twiggs forwarded a letter to Mr. Barnard, who resides on Flint river, explanatory of his designs when he entered the Creek nation. The messenger was a sensible half breed, who remained some time in the said nation, as well to receive Mr. Barnard’s answer, as to gain every information in his power. From the general conduct of the Creek Indians, it would appear that they are not confident in their own strength, nor generally, at this period, disposed to war: that part of the nation who profess amity, still adhere to their former application for our people to go forward, in force, to destroy the five inimical towns, who have committed murders and outrages. My former opinion, on this subject, admits of no change. By a sudden stroke at those hostile towns, we will, in all probability, effect a restoration of property, as well as the liberation of unfortunate captives from among us, now in that nation. To destroy their towns and crops, and possess ourselves of prisoners, will ensure peace on a solid basis; and no other principle can be of any duration.

A half-breed, named Cornell, going with some despatches to Mr. Seagrove, was unfortunately killed by a detachment of horse, that was out in Camden county: the particulars I have not, as yet, been satisfactorily informed of. In order to guard against future violences of this nature, I have directed all despatches by flags, from the nation, to be transmitted to me.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

EDWARD TELFAIR.

*The Secretary of War.*

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 30th July, 1793.

SIR:

Your communication of the 10th ultimo, with its enclosures, came to hand on the 25th instant, in consequence whereof some measures have been taken towards effecting the objects therein contained. The President shall be advised of any movements that may take place, in the event of the necessary resources being obtained. I flatter myself that the system to be pursued will, in the end, prove a saving to the United States, as well as bring about a peace on permanent principles.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

EDWARD TELFAIR.

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 13th August, 1793.

SIR:

Since my last letter to you, dated the 30th ultimo, I have had convened a council of general officers, upon the subject of reducing the five inimical towns in the Creek nation. The propositions, with their answers, I do myself the honor of transmitting, for the purpose of being laid before the President of the United States. If the agent for supplies can draw forth resources, I flatter myself the objects may be accomplished, on a scale more circumscribed. (A map of the Creek nation, furnished by the Surveyor-general of this State, is also enclosed.)

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

EDWARD TELFAIR,

*The Secretary of War.*

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, AUGUSTA, Thursday, 8th August, 1793.

In conformity to notification, the general officers attended.

At a council of war, held by order of the Commander-in-Chief, in Augusta, on the 8th August, 1793.

Present. The Commander-in-Chief.

Major Generals, Twiggs, Jackson, Clarke.

Brigadier Generals, Glascock, Morrison, Clarke, Irwin, Gunn.

His Excellency the Governor, having considered it necessary, for the safety and protection of the citizens of this State, to undertake, on the part of the United States, an expedition against the hostile towns of the Creek nation, proposed the following questions:

*Question.* What season will be most proper to carry this expedition into execution, and what time shall the draughts from the different brigades be ordered to rendezvous at camp?

*Answer.* The fall: on the 15th October.

*Ques.* Where will be the most eligible spot to draw the army to a point?

*Ans.* At or near the Oconee river, where Tom’s path crosses the same.

*Ques.* What number of foot and horse ought to be ordered to camp, for the objects that may arise in the intended expedition?



*Ans.* At least two thousand horse, and three thousand foot.

*Ques.* Shall the militia be draughted into two divisions: and what time shall they serve, after their arrival in camp?

*Ans.* Yes: a term not exceeding sixty days.

*Ques.* Are you of opinion that it will be requisite to direct the Federal troops, now in this State, to be held in readiness, to form a junction with the militia, intended to be called out, if necessary?

*Ans.* Yes.

*Ques.* Will it be expedient to notify the Governor of South Carolina to hold in readiness such a number of horse and foot, as the Governor of this State may think requisite; and to march, so as to be at camp in Georgia, at such time, and place, as may appear necessary and proper?

*Ans.* Yes.

*Ques.* Are you of opinion that the object of the forces, that may be drawn into actual service, ought to be directed against the inimical towns only?

*Ans.* Yes.

*Ques.* Will it be advisable to direct the officers and men to provide themselves with provisions, until they arrive at their respective brigade parades?

*Ans.* Yes.

*Ques.* Will it be advisable to cause volunteer cavalry, only, to be drawn to camp, from the counties of Camden, Glynn, and Liberty, and the draught of the infantry in said counties be held in readiness, to march to such posts or places as the emergency of the case may require?

*Ans.* Yes.

*Ques.* Will it be requisite to give assurances to the officers and men that do embody, and perform their tour of duty, on the intended expedition, that the Governor will use his influence with the General Assembly, at their next meeting, to make a compensation, in addition to the pay allowed by the General Government?

*Ans.* Yes.

Attest,

J. MERIWETHER, *A. D. E.*

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 6th September, 1793.

SIR:

Your letter of the 19th July was handed me by Captain Freeman; its import is of great concern to this republic, and ought to have met with no impediment in coming to hand. In consequence of the contractor having bonded, with security, to furnish supplies for the militia, to act against the hostile Creek towns, a few days since I transmitted to the agent for supplies, a copy of the bond, with instructions to place in the hands of the contractor any funds he could apply towards the intended operations. So far I have progressed, and am now compelled to desist from pursuing the only measure, in my opinion, that can give ease and security to the persons and property of the unfortunate settlers in this extended frontier. It will appear, from the talk of John Galphin, and the affidavit of William Jones, herewith transmitted, together with taking into view the recent circumstances of Harrison's fort being fired upon, and depredations being committed in the neighborhood of the fort at St. Sevilla, that hostilities have not subsided, nor can it be expected that they will soon cease. Were the superintendent even in the nation, the United States can have no representation there, until the savages are brought to understand that the arms of the Union are to be directed against them. Where is the channel through which they can "be brought to a sense of their crimes, and be prevailed upon to give up at least some of the authors thereof?" How are the unfortunate captives, now among them, to be restored? and by what means will the vast amount of plunder taken from our citizens be recovered—even admitting that the feelings of humanity were not awake in the breasts of the near connexions of the women and children who have been butchered by savage brutality? I say, when I draw these gloomy reflections into view, the hope of peace and safety to the inhabitants of Georgia is very distant. The people have an indubitable claim on Government for protection, and the establishment of a paper peace can be of no duration, and, it is such, as the people of this country can have no dependence upon, without previous measures being taken to compel a due observance thereof.

The present system of defence is deemed not more than adequate for the frontier settlements; and, should the proposed alteration take place, I have little doubt but the three southern counties, viz. Liberty, Glynn, and Camden, will be entirely depopulated by a total removal of their inhabitants.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

EDWARD TELFAIR.

*The Secretary of War.*

*John Galphin to General Irwin.*

IN COUNCIL, *Cowetas*, 21st August, 1793.

SIR:

Feeling with the greatest concern the hostilities and bloodshed which has been produced by the differences subsisting between us in all parts of our borders; we now offer, in behalf of our nation, towards terminating the present war, and adjusting such terms as may decide forever the matters now in dispute. You well know, the cause of the discontent with us has ever been, the limits of our country; consider that we have retreated from the plains to the woods, from thence to the mountains; but no limits, established by nature or by compact, have stayed the ambitious, or satisfied your people. It is our determination to adhere to a line fairly agreed on, but such agreement must be by the legislative body of the nation, and not a clandestine bargain, with a few chiefs, that have no manner of right to dispose of any lands; such transactions only regenerate in fraud—always lead to animosities and bloodshed. You well know that no sovereignty was ceded to you at the peace of 1763, except such lands as was purchased by his Majesty's subjects by solemn treaty.

And we are now, as we always have been, an independent and free people; knowing this, and our abilities to maintain our independence, we view with astonishment the steps taken by the United States to rob us of our rights.

We actually see our whole country laid out into districts, without considering us to have any kind of claim or right, which nature has bestowed on us, and of which oppression or prejudice alone can attempt to rob us.

Consider well, now, the business on hand, and let us know your intention as soon as possible. I have given strict orders to our warriors, to commit no hostilities on the other side of the Oconee; and shall expect that you will give out the same to your people; but, should your intentions be dishonest, know that we have still warriors sufficient to stain your land with blood, and that it is our determination to sell our lives with our country.

Peace is best for all men, therefore we desire you will let us know, as soon as possible, at the *Cowetas*; where all public business will be transacted as soon as may be.

We see that numbers of people wish to get possession of our lands, and are framing plans for that purpose. This we see plainly, by a treaty held with a James Seagrove, at St. Mary's, last November, who called himself agent appointed by Congress; if so, why did he not come into the nation, where matters might have been long settled, and we might have been in peace and friendship? But no, he sent to Timothy Barnard, who made him believe he had great influence in this country. Our chiefs are too well acquainted with that man, Barnard, to adhere to any thing he may say. He cannot, nor any trader dare, give out any talks in our council, nor should it be supposed that we should put any confidence in such men; and am, sir, &c.

A true copy, drawn August 26th, 1793.

JARED IRWIN.

Taken from the files of the Executive.

Attest, W. URQUHART, *S. E. D.*

STATE OF GEORGIA, *Washington county:*

Personally appeared before me, William Jones, who, being sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, saith, that he hath, for some months past, resided among the Upper Creeks; that, generally speaking, the majority of them seemed inclinable to peace until the death of Cornell, which circumstance has exasperated his family, in particular, who are determined, if desired satisfaction is not obtained, to take it themselves. There is a great probability, should that be the case, that many more will join them; and further the deponent saith not.

WILLIAM <sup>his</sup> × JONES.  
mark.

Sworn before me, this 16th day of August, 1793.

JARED IRWIN, J. P.

Taken from the Executive files.

Attest, W. URQUHART, S. E. D.

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 9th September, 1793.

SIR:

Since writing you on the 6th instant, I have received, by express, the information contained in the enclosed copy of a deposition of Henry Carrell, dated the 6th instant, together with what is contained in the extract (also enclosed) of a letter from General Twiggs, both of which are on the subject of recent depredations by Creek Indians.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

*The Secretary of War.*

EDWARD TELFAIR.

GEORGIA, *Washington county:*

Personally appeared before me, Henry Carrell, and being duly sworn, saith, that, on the evening of the 1st instant, there were two horses stolen from Captain Stokes' volunteer troop, stationed at the Long Bluff. On the second, the captain, with thirteen men, (this deponent being one) crossed the Oconee river, and pursued on the trail of the horses; and, by the appearance of the signs, there were four persons. We came up with them on the bank of the Oakmulgee, and discovered three Indians; fired on them; the fire was returned. Captain Stokes rushed upon them, and took the ground immediately. By the appearance of blood, two were mortally wounded, and one certainly killed in the river. We recovered our own two horses and one other, three rifles, and one smooth bore gun, with sundry other articles, and returned to our station without damage, except hunger and fatigue.

HENRY CARRELL.  
JARED IRWIN, J. P.

Sworn before me, September 6th, 1793.

*Extract of a letter from General Twiggs, dated the 8th instant.*

"The Indians came to a Mr. Crib's, in Greene county, and plundered his house of a number of articles; and to a Mr. Hill's, and took and destroyed every thing in his house; and took off, out of the neighborhood, ten head of horses.

"Colonel Melton pursued them over the Oakmulgees; the waters being so very high, made it difficult to follow any further. The inhabitants below Carr's bluff, near Colonel Pugh's, don't think themselves secure without a block-house, and a guard established there."

Taken from the files of the Executive.

Attest, W. URQUHART, S. E. D.

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 2d October, 1793.

SIR:

The enclosed documents will give the needful information respecting one of the inimical Creek towns. It will be without success to use any efforts to prevent the citizens from going in quest of their property. I am hopeful of having it in my power to give you a more minute detail of this event. The prisoners are directed to this place, where they shall be treated with humanity, and await the result of a treaty and exchange for our unfortunate captives now in that nation. I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

*Secretary of War.*

EDW. TELFAIR.

*To the Head-men and Warriors of Donally's town, Flint river.*

September 22, 1793.

WARRIORS: Your continued depredations upon the property and persons of the settlement where I command, has forced me at last to follow your latest trail up to your own hunting grounds and habitations. I could no longer remain idle and see the people under my care suffer moony losses of property and relations.

WARRIORS: You do love to war with us, at the same time that you deceive our Father at New York with peace talks; and you give your hand up to the elbow to his emissaries, whilst you keep the hatchet lifted over the heads of those of his children who are your neighbors.

WARRIORS: How shall we any longer repose any confidence in your protestations of friendship and peaceful disposition towards us? Whilst a part of your nation have been making treaties of peace with us, the other was ever busy in shedding our blood, on our land.

WARRIORS: Our Father of New York has been very good to you, and, in the time of your need, supplied you with bread, clothing, and tools to work your land; and at the same time you were lurking about our farms, carrying away all you could steal from his children, and afterwards killed and scalped all you could of them.

WARRIORS: I am proud to think you mistake our Father of New York's bounty to you, for the fear of your fighting his children, and that you think the more mischief you do them the more wide his hands will be opened to you.

WARRIORS: Ever since the English war, our Father of New York has kept our hands tied up, to keep us from ever retaliating the many wrongs we suffered from you every spring, and you know no father that will do the same with you on our behalf.

WARRIORS: Our Father of New York, and his children, always pitied, they never were afraid of you. If he choose to loosen the arm of the beloved man and head warrior of Georgia, up to the elbow, we can disturb the peace of your hunting grounds, as you disturb that of our farms; and if he choose to loosen our head warriors's arms up to the shoulders, we can go to your towns and meet you there.

WARRIORS: I am now returning from your town, and you have witnessed from the swamps and cane creeks, where you hid yourselves, the consequence of my visit to you. Your future behavior will determine my conduct towards you henceforward.

WARRIORS: I have taken with me eight of your women and children prisoners; but as they are innocent of your wrongs towards us, and that they are in our power, you may rely on their being treated with the care and attention their ages, sex, and situation, entitle them to, till I deliver them into the hands of the beloved man, once head warrior of Georgia, who, I am sure, will give you, in them, a new lesson of humanity.

WILLIAM MELTON,

*Lieut. Colonel, 1st Regiment, Greene County.*

Taken from the files of the Executive.

Attest, J. MERIWETHER, S. E. D.

*A copy of a letter from Colonel Melton, Greene county.*

*To his Excellency Edward Telfair, Esq. Governor and Commander-in-chief, &c.*

*Greene county, September 26th, 1793.*

I have this day returned from a tour to the Creek nation, have burnt the huts of one town, killed six warriors, the number wounded is uncertain, and took eight prisoners, which I now have at the town of Greensborough.

I now wait the result of your Excellency respecting the prisoners, and request that they may be kept at some interior place, as the prejudices of the people on the frontier may operate materially against them. The want of arms, ammunition, &c. may, (and I believe will) unless soon remedied, be the cause of the frontier in this quarter being evacuated. You will receive the particulars from Brigadier General Jared Irwin.

I am, with respect, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WM. MELTON, *Lieut. Col. 1st Regt. Greene county.*

Taken from the files of the Executive.

Attest,

W. URQUHART, *S. E. D.*

*Extract of a letter from Captain Jonas Fauche, dated September 28th, 1793.*

The 7th instant the Indians stole some horses, and shot at the owners as they were following the trail, and killed one of their horses. We started from the Oakmulgee the 17th inst. and the 21st, by 2 o'clock in the morning, we discovered that the trail had led us to a town, covered by a large river, at least 500 yards wide.

We killed but six warriors, and we know nothing about the wounded, as it was not quite light. We took eight women and children prisoners, which were found chiefly in the two houses first taken. We found four scalps in the town house, and the prisoners declare they were taken last summer upon the Oconee and St. Mary's rivers. The prisoners say also, great many warriors are gone to Cumberland; and that one hundred and three of them were in the town when we stormed it.

Taken from the files of the Executive.

Attest,

W. URQUHART, *S. E. D.*

*Letters from James Seagrove to the Secretary of War.*

*SAVANNAH, IN GEORGIA, 3d January, 1793.*

SIR:

Since I had the honor of writing you on the 12th ultimo, I have made a journey with Major Gaither to fort Telfair, on the Altamaha.

I have the pleasure to inform you, that I found all things peaceable and in good order on that frontier. I met at that place several families of Creek Indians, who were hunting in the neighborhood of that post, and who came there to supply their wants (which appeared great) with bread kind. There not being any to spare at that place, I brought eight of the Indians, with horses, into the settlements, and gave them 750 lbs. of rice, with which they were greatly pleased. Those little attentions to their wants, wherever I meet them, I am convinced will have a good effect.

Every thing in my department, continues equally favorable as when I last wrote. I shall leave this on the 7th instant for St. Mary's, and on the 10th of April I intend setting off from thence for the Creek nation, so as to be in the Cussetahs by the first of May.

*James Seagrove to the Secretary of War, dated*

*ST. MARY'S, 17th March, 1793.*

SIR:

Since I had the honor of writing you from Savannah, on the 3d of January last, I have been on this frontier, where every thing in my department appeared in perfect tranquillity, and all my advices from the Creek nation promised a continuance of peace and friendship, until the 11th instant, when I received information from a friendly Indian, of a party of about thirty of the Lower Creeks being on our frontier, near Trader's Hill, on the river St. Mary's, and that, from what he could discover, they were bent on doing mischief. I could scarcely give the least credit to this information, but as it came so direct, and from an Indian who I knew to be friendly, I thought it would be wrong to totally disregard it. I, therefore, called on my neighbors, and in two hours from my receiving the information, I set off with nine gentlemen, volunteers, well mounted. It being then 9 o'clock, on the 12th, we proceeded to Colerain, where we arrived by dawn of day. There we received the truly alarming and melancholy account of the Indians having, on the night of the 11th, broke into the store of Robert Seagrove, and killed Mr. John Fleming, the store-keeper, and Mr. Daniel Moffit, a gentleman who came there on business, and that another man was missing. I proceeded, without a moment's delay, with my small party, to the place where the murder was committed, in hopes of coming up with the murderers, but found that they were fled; having robbed the store of upwards of two thousand pounds sterling in goods. I was preparing to follow them, when the Indian who gave the first information came in, and informed me that he had followed them upwards of thirty miles on their way to the nation; that they were well provided with horses, and travelled with all possible haste. I, therefore, concluded it would not answer any good purpose to follow them, so returned to Colerain, to cover the public stores at that place, not knowing but that other parties might be out. I remained there on the night of the 13th, and on the morning of the 14th received information that a party of Indians had killed some people on the 13th, about six miles from us; I then mustered twenty-three volunteers, and immediately pursued, and within one mile of a place called the Burnt fort, on Great Setilla, found three men and a girl most inhumanly butchered by the savages. We took their trail, and pursued them upwards of forty miles, but could not overtake them. Our horses being much tired, and not having any provisions for two days, we returned on the afternoon of the 15th to where the last mentioned people were killed. I had them buried, and returned to Colerain, which place I am putting in a state of defence. In a few days I hope to have it in such a situation as to ensure it against any attack from savages. As the country is now alarmed, I am in hopes further mischief will be prevented. I have sent this news by express to our Governor, and to Major Gaither, commander of the federal troops in this State. A post established at Colerain, and one at the Burnt fort, on Setilla, with fifty good horsemen to scout between, (it being no more than six miles) would effectually cover the whole country below and between the river St. Mary and Setilla. I hope Major Gaither will find himself at liberty to embody a company of militia horse for this purpose: this new frontier is in a very defenceless situation. The cause of this sudden change in the conduct of the Creeks remains as yet a secret, further than you have been informed. My private despatches of this date to the President of the United States, will throw light on this business. Having received an express from town that a vessel was on the point of sailing to Philadelphia, I left Colerain, and am just arrived here for the purpose of giving the most early intelligence of this affair. Enclosed you have copies of two affidavits concerning the murder at Trader's Hill; in a day or two I shall forward you circumstantial authenticated proofs of the whole. On the 15th an Indian was taken at Trader's Hill by a small party of my people; I have saved

his life, though there is little doubt of his being one of the party who did the mischief; but until we know whether or not the nation sanctioned the late outrage, or would give satisfaction, I thought it best to detain him a close prisoner; I, therefore, brought him here, and lodged him in fort St. Tammany. Should any more be taken, I will observe the same by them, as far as in my power. Should there be a war, they will serve to exchange for our people, who may be so unfortunate as to fall into their hands.

I cannot believe that the chiefs of the Creek nation are acquainted with this party being out; and I am in hopes satisfaction will be given by the nation. I shall send an account of this business immediately into the nation, and demand satisfaction on the part of my country. Had the Creek nation determined on a general war, I am confident I should have known it from different quarters, but, all my late advices are to the contrary.

That you may be enabled to judge of the situation of this country, I take the liberty of enclosing you a draught of the same, which will also serve to inform you of the course of the boundary line from the Altamaha to the St. Mary's; when you have examined it, I will be obliged to you to return it, as I have not another.

*Robert Brown's Affidavit, (enclosed in the foregoing.)*

STATE OF GEORGIA, *Camden County:*

Personally appeared before us, justices assigned to keep the peace of said county, Robert Brown, an inhabitant of Great Seilla, who, being duly sworn, deposed and saith, that he, the said Robert Brown, went in company with Daniel Moffit, on Sunday, the tenth of this instant, to the house of James Allen, on the river St. Mary's, between Colerain and Trader's Hill; on the next morning went to Mr. Gascoin's store, about one mile above said Allen's, having then in company, John Galphin and James Allen. On their arrival at Mr. Gascoin's, they met an Indian well known in this country, called Paddy Donnelly; that this Indian informed them that he had fallen in the day before with three Indians, who belonged to a camp of Creek Indians then within a few miles, who he said were painted for war, and bent on doing mischief on this frontier; and the said Indians said, that it was war all over, and that parties of Creeks were out to do mischief on the Oconee. They also said, that they should have killed a Mr. Tillet and all his family, who lived at a place of James Allen's, about four miles from Trader's Hill, but were prevented by a Lackaway Indian, then encamped near said Tillet's; this was on Sunday the 10th: That, being desirous of knowing more of this information, he, the said Brown, together with James Allen, John Galphin, and said Moffit, went to the store of Robert Seagrove, at Trader's Hill, where they met three of the identical Indians mentioned by Paddy Donnelly: That John Galphin endeavored to draw them into conversation, and to discover their intentions, but they refused, and would not know him, saying he was dressed as a white man, and that the red people were all at war with the whites; Galphin expressed a desire of going to their camp, and was attended by one of the said Indians, this deponent, James Allen, and Daniel Moffit, to the neighborhood of said camp: That Galphin and Allen went into the camp, where they remained about two hours, and then returned to where this deponent and Moffit were, having with them about ten Indians, all of whom were armed and on horseback, except one: That the whole party then proceeded together to the store of Robert Seagrove, at Trader's Hill, where Mr. John Fleming inquired the news; when Mr. Galphin answered, that matters were much better than they had heard when going up, on which Mr. Fleming asked them in to take a drink; at which instant, three Indians belonging to the party who rode in company, stepped also into the store, offering for sale three or four deer skins, which Mr. Fleming bought, and was paying the Indians for, all appearing in perfect good temper and pleased, when a gun was fired by one of the said party of Creek Indians from outside of the door, which killed the before mentioned Daniel Moffit, who was standing by the counter in said store, and within a few feet of this deponent: That John Galphin, who was then in the store, ran out and endeavored to prevent further mischief; that this deponent also went out and saw Galphin run after the Indian who fired the gun; that this deponent returned into the store, and found the before-mentioned Daniel Moffit lying on the floor dead, from the wound received from the shot fired. At this time, all the Indians pressed to enter into the store, on which this deponent rushed out of the store, and fled into some bushes about fifty yards from said store, where he could distinctly hear the Indians murdering the beforementioned John Fleming: That at this juncture, all the Indians raised the war-whoop or yell: That from the time of killing Mr. Moffit until the Indians went away, this deponent thinks it was three hours, it being the dusk of Monday evening when it begun: That this deponent remained concealed until all was quiet, and the Indians gone off; when he approached towards the store, and heard two children crying in a room adjoining the store, which children belonged to Mrs. Ann Gray, whom the Indians beat and abused, as this deponent could distinctly hear while he lay in the bushes: That this deponent understood from Mr. Galphin and Mr. Allen, that all this party belonged to the town where a James Burges, an Indian trader lives, on Flint river, in the Lower Creeks, and that a brother-in-law and son of Burges, was of the party: That this deponent swam the river St. Mary's, and went to the house of a Mr. Fitch, in Florida, about two miles, and informed of all that had passed, and got Fitch to go to said store, to see how matters then were: That the Indians took off this deponent's horse, together with several others from the store; and further this deponent saith not.

ROBERT BROWN.

Sworn before us, at Colerain, on the river St. Mary's, in Georgia, this 14th March, 1793.

JAS. SEAGROVE, J. P.

THOMAS KING, J. P.

ELIHU HUBBARD, J. P.

*Ann Gray's Deposition.*

STATE OF GEORGIA, *Camden County:*

Personally appeared before me, one of the justices assigned to keep the peace of said county, Ann Gray, and being duly sworn, saith, that, on the eleventh instant, (March) that she, the said Ann Gray, being at the store of Robert Seagrove, in the care of John Fleming, at Trader's Hill, on St. Mary's river, between sunset and dark, there came a certain James Upton and John Galphin, to said store; that, after some time, there came four Indians, three of whom had some skins to sell, and the said Fleming chalked out the price of them, and the said Indians seemed well satisfied; that two of them received their payment, and the other said he would have his on the next day: That as the said Fleming was getting a bottle of rum, for a certain James Allen, there was a gun fired at the door of the store; that she, the said Ann Gray, heard a certain Daniel Moffit say, he was a dead man, and went and lay down, and the said John Fleming asked what it did mean, and called for John Galphin; that Galphin was not to be found; there were two Indians then in the store, which the said Fleming asked to stay in the store; that they were his friends, and that they were all his friends, and endeavored to prevail with them not to go out; that the said Fleming endeavored to shut the door, but there came so many against it, that he could not, and that she, the said Ann Gray, saw a number of Indians lay hold of the said Fleming, and threw him on the floor, and some of the Indians took hold of her and forced her out of the door; and that she, the said Ann Gray, heard the said John Fleming cry out, the Lord have mercy on me, and could hear him speak no more: That the Indians did beat, abuse, and tie her, the said Ann Gray, and she saw them robbing the store and carrying off the goods; and further, this deponent saith not.

ANN GRAY, her + mark.

Sworn before me, this 14th day of March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.

E. HUBBARD, J. P.

TUCKAUBATCHEES, UPPER CREEKS, *January 6, 1798.*

## FRIEND AND FATHER:

I am a son of a white man, Joseph Cornell, interpreter for the United States. I have brought in a scalp from Cumberland, but the blame ought not, in justice, to be laid on me, as I was urged to do it by Captain Olivar, (the Spanish Agent in the nation) and even by the Governor of Pensacola himself. In future will not molest the whites, as we have heard your talks, and like them very well. As you are coming yourself to treat with us, the Upper Creeks, we shall be glad to see you as a friend and father, and may be assured that yourself and property shall be safe. I am a younger brother of Ab. Cornell, shall take his advice.

Addressed to JAMES SEAGROVE, Esq.

DAVID CORNELL.

We solemnly declare that the above was written at the request of David Cornell, and delivered us by a Linguister.

JOHN GALPHIN,  
JAMES M. HOLMES.*Letter from James Seagrove to the Chiefs and Head-men of the Cussetah and Coweta towns, dated*ST. MARY'S, *20th February, 1798.*

## BROTHERS:

It gave me great pleasure to hear, by letters from Mr. Barnard and Mr. Holmes, that most of your people, who had been with me at St. Marys' had got safe home, and that all matters were going on well in your towns. This I write principally to inform you that I shall be with you by the first of May, and that the talks, from our great Father, General Washington, President of the United States, is straight and good towards you, and all your country. It is his desire, as well as mine, that you will not listen to any bad talks which may be offered you from the Northward Indians or Chickamagas, as they will, most undoubtedly, lead you astray. Those Northern tribes of Indians, who have been at war with us, finding a great many ready to go against them as soon as the snow is off the ground, have sent chiefs from their towns to the President in Philadelphia to beg for peace; they are now there, and I think it probable that the great goodness of our beloved Father will spare those wretched bad people, though their crimes deserve severe punishment. I am told there is some of them come among you of late, endeavoring to lead you into trouble; but I do not mind these things, as I am persuaded my Creek friends have too much sense, and regard for themselves and country, to be made fools of by such bad people. You cannot have forgot what I have told you on this head and many others. I pray that you will recollect your promises, not to take any part with those, or any other people, against the United States. Drive from your land all those who wish you to go to a war. As to those Shawanese, who, I am told, are now among you, showing scalps of our people, I think, as your regard for General Washington, that you ought to make prisoners of those men, and bring them to me, and I shall send them to Philadelphia, that their chiefs, who are now there asking for peace, may see them, and make them ashamed of their bad doings. For each of those Shawanese, that are brought prisoners to me at this place, I will give a horse load of valuable goods; by this means you will be rid of all such applications in future, which will be a great relief to you. Mr. Barnard has my orders to wait on you with this and to explain it, as well as to tell you several other matters, to which I must request your particular attention. When I meet you, and the other chiefs of the nation, in the Cussetahs, in May, I have not a doubt every matter will be settled to your wish.

You will present my love to all your people, and tell them that I am, and ever shall be, their real friend.

*James Seagrove to David Cornell, dated*ST. MARY'S, *20th February, 1798.*

## MY CHILD:

I have received your talk, by Mr. Galphin, which gives me pleasure; as by it I find, that though you have been guilty of bad actions, owing to the wicked and villanous advice of white men, who, no doubt, will be made to suffer for such doings, yet there is a strong hope of your having seen your error, and will never do so any more. I know your father, and have a great regard for him; he always was a friend to the United States, which is his country, and I hope his country will do so too.

Be assured, from me, that I do not blame you for any thing you have done, but I do blame the bad whites who advised you to do so. Follow the advice of your cousin Alexander in all things, and you will find me your good friend. I shall expect you will come down to the Cussetahs, and see me; I expect to be there by the first of May. Whilst you act a friendly part towards the United States, you will be respected and rewarded by them. Give your countrymen good advice, and prevent them listening to bad talks. You will receive this as from a real and good friend to you, and all your family.

*James Seagrove to Alexander Cornell, dated*ST. MARY'S, *20th February, 1798.*

## BROTHER:

I have just received your talk, sent by John Galphin, and am much pleased to find that your people take my talks as they are really intended, and dictated from the purest friendship for them and their country. Exert yourself, my friend, all in your power, to prevent your people taking any talks from the Shawanese, or any of the Northern Indians. Those who are now in your land ought to be severely punished for daring to come among you to engage you in a war against the United States, when, at the moment, the chiefs of all the tribes, that have been at war with us, are begging Congress for peace, and Indian commissioners are now at Philadelphia, with General Washington, in hopes of getting a peace, which, it is probable, they will have granted them, though it is more than they deserve. But now, that they see a great army ready to destroy them and their country, they are glad to ask for peace. Those fellows that are among you, giving out bad talks from the Northern Indians, ought to be taken up, and sent prisoners to me, unless your people choose to punish them. I will give a horse-load of goods for each of them that is brought to me, or half as much for their scalp. This I wish you to communicate to such of your chiefs and others which you see fit; and I rely on your activity and zeal in this business. If you, and a few of your friends, could accomplish this business, your fortune is made without doubt. I am sorry to hear that your nation is like to be involved in a war with the Chickasaws. But they cannot hurt the Creeks; keep in peace and friendship with us, and we will support you at all events. I hope you have seen the White Lieutenant and the Mad Dog, and given them my talks. Tell them I expect they will conform to my wishes, and that of our great Father, General Washington, which is to be in peace, love, and friendship, with the United States, to the end of time. I am sorry to hear that your family have been unwell; I hope they all recovered before this, and that every thing goes on well in your land. I shall be in the Cussetahs by the first of May, when you must meet me there; we shall talk over all matters, and, I have not a doubt, to put every thing on an agreeable footing for our country. Wishing you all possible happiness and success, I remain yours, &c.

I received a talk from David Cornell; I now send him an answer. Do, my friend, give David good advice; he is wild.

*James Seagrove to Fine Bones, Chief of the Broken Arrow, dated*

ST. MARY'S, 20th February, 1793.

BROTHER:

Your talk of the 11th of last Moon, was brought me by John Galphin, and I receive it kindly, and return you my warm thanks; and, at the same time, assure you that it is the sincere wish of my country and myself to keep the path between your country and the United States, white, bright, open, and clear, to the end of time; you, and every other wise man in your country must be sensible that your happiness, in a great degree, depends on having the United States your good and firm friends, and such, I do declare to you, they are, and having nothing more at heart than to contribute in making you a happy people. My talks to my Creek brothers have been always straight, and they have found them so; such they shall continue as long as I have to do with them. I shall meet you all in the Cussetah town, by the first of May, when you will hear my talks, and, I have not a doubt, but they will like them, as they are honest and friendly.

Do not, my friend, suffer your countrymen to be deceived by those Northern Indians who come among them, and endeavoring to get you to join them. They are your great enemies, and will ruin you if you are so unwise as to listen to their talks. The whole of the chiefs of the Northern tribes, who have been lately at war with the United States, are now begging for peace, and have sent commissioners to Congress for that purpose. I have heard that seven Shawanese are now in your towns, who have brought in white scalps. This, my brother, you must allow, is very wrong. Such people should not be allowed to come into your land, as you are in friendship and alliance with the nation whose people they are killing; besides, the chiefs of the very towns that those fellows belong to, are begging my country for peace, whilst those villains are murdering our people. I hope you, and every good Creek, will think seriously, and drive those wretches away, or punish them, for their daring to involve you in trouble. If they have brought a war on themselves, let them go through with it. You have no concern in the business, and I hope you will all have wisdom and virtue to treat them as they deserve.

I am sorry I had not the pleasure of seeing you, with the rest of your people, at St. Mary's, in November last. I had a talk wrote to send your nephew, but the hurry I was in when the chiefs left me, prevented its being sent. I now send him a talk. It is my wish that you, and all the chiefs of your nation, use every means in your power to preserve your country in peace with every body; that is the way to be happy and great. But should, contrary to your good intentions, any power oblige you to a war, I will, when I meet you, advise and direct you in such way as will be for your good, so far as in my power. This I send to Mr. Barnard, who will explain it to you, and to whose talks I hope you will pay attention. I have no opportunity of sending you and your nephew some presents; but if you will send down two horses, I will send you and him a handsome present. In the mean time, I have sent you a pair of elegant arm-bands, which came from our Great Father, General Washington, which please accept, and wear for his sake. I will be to you, and your country, as my good old countryman, John Galphin, was, your real friend.

I am, &amp;c.

*James Seagrove to the leader of the Cowetas, dated*

ST. MARY'S, 20th February, 1793.

BROTHER:

It always gives me pleasure to see or hear from my Creek friends. Your kind talk, which I received from Mr. John Galphin, made me very happy, as it will our great and kind father General Washington, President of the United States, when he hears of the peaceable, wise conduct of his Creek children. I am very glad to hear that the talks from the Upper towns continue good. I hope my friends in the mother towns, the Cowetas and Cussetahs, will always be foremost in good doing. Do not, my friend, suffer your people to be imposed on by bad talks, from red or white people. Follow what I have already told your chiefs, and you will do well. I shall be in the Cussetahs the first of May, when I shall renew my talks to you, which shall always be straight, clear, just, and friendly, to your nation. I am told there are some of the Northern Indians among you, giving bad talks; do not, on any account, as you value your happiness, listen to them, but drive them from your land. They behave like bad people, and involve themselves in a war, and now want to bring the same on you. The chiefs of all the Northern tribes, seeing the great army that is prepared and ready to go against them in the spring, are now begging for peace. I think it is probable that our great father, the President of the United States, will have pity on them, and not destroy them, although they have been very bad, and deserved to be severely punished. But he is kind and merciful. Do not suffer those bad Northern Indians to give out talks in your land, as it may poison the minds of some of your young foolish people. Continue, my friend, to give your people good talks, and keep them straight, until I meet you. Mr. Barnard will deliver you this; and I must request, that you and your people will assist and befriend him and Mr. Holmes, and pay attention to what they will tell you.

*James Seagrove to the White Lieutenant of the Oakfuskees.*

ST. MARY'S, February 20, 1793.

BROTHER:

A few days past I received a talk from you, through the medium of Mr. Townsend, and Mr. Timothy Barnard. I find, by this talk, that you had not then received my letter by Alexander Cornell, with the present of silver ware which I sent you by him. Your being from home when he arrived, must have been the cause. I was very sorry that you was not with us at the treaty on St. Mary's, as there is not a chief in the Creek nation I have a greater regard for, than yourself. I am led to this favorable opinion of your character from the voice of all who have known you, but, in particular, am induced thereto, from the great regard our great and good father, General Washington, President of the United States, has for you. He considers you as one of his best friends in the Creek land, and, as such, recommends you to me. I fully intended that you should have been at our meetings; and it was my express orders that you should be one of the very first chiefs invited. How it was omitted I am at a loss to account, but I hope you will take it for granted that it was not intended.

I doubt not but you have heard before this, the talks which I gave the chiefs of your nation on this river, in November last. I hope you find them such as to give you satisfaction, and that you will receive them, and hold them fast. Our friend, Mr. Barnard, had my orders to explain all my talks to you; and I hope you will receive them from him as from me. By Mr. Fowler, and Mr. Reilly, your horses are arrived; and when Mr. Fowler returns, I shall send them back with a handsome present to you, such a one as will leave no room to complain.

I have the pleasure to tell you, that all is peace and friendship in this country towards yours, and that it will continue so, as long as your people choose; and that it is the ardent desire of the President of the United States, that you should be a happy, free people; that he will, by every means in his power, make your situations more comfortable, and protect and support you, as long as you act well by him and his people.

I am really sorry to find that my Creek friends should continue to allow a set of villains of the Northern tribes to come into their land, and give out talks, which, if attended to, cannot fail to bring ruin on your nation. I know those people are endeavoring to get you to join them against the United States; but I hope you and your nation have too much sense to be led into such a scrape by them. I will just inform you of the situation those Northern tribes, who have been at war with us, are in, and then you shall judge, whether it would not be madness in the Creeks to have any thing to say to them.

Those tribes have been carrying on a kind of war for some years. General Washington always wished them to be brought back to their duty by lenity and kindness, and not to destroy them; for which reason, he would not send a large army among them, and, by this means, they have had an opportunity to kill a number of his people, and do a great deal of mischief. Last year he sent three commissioners, offering them peace and good treatment; but, like bad men, they murdered his commissioners. This angered him much, and he ordered a very great army of choice warriors to go against them. This army is now ready, and will march into their towns as soon as the snow is gone, and lay all in ashes before them, unless peace should be made this winter. Those tribes, finding the President determined to punish them, are now begging, in the most humble manner, for peace, and have actually sent chiefs from all the tribes, to the President and Congress, now at Philadelphia, for that purpose. Therefore, every Creek Indian who will give himself time to think but for a moment, must plainly see the design of those people is to involve you in a war, which they brought on themselves without your consent, and which they are not able to support. They are like a man a drowning, who will take hold of any bush, or even his brother, or best friend, and drown them to save himself. Open your eyes, my friends, and do not be made fools of by those bad people. Drive them from your land, or punish them as they deserve, for endeavoring to mislead you. If your nation do not choose to punish those who are now among you giving out bad talk, let them be brought prisoners to me, at this place, and I will send them on to Philadelphia, to let their chiefs that are now there see them, and make them ashamed of themselves. I will give, for each of them that is brought a prisoner to me, a horse-load of good and valuable goods.

I have to request, that, as you regard the peace and happiness of your country, you use your utmost endeavors to prevent your people taking bad talks, from either red or white people, until I meet you and them by the first of May in the Cussetahs, when I shall put every thing straight and clear for you. I should come sooner, but the path is very bad, and no feed for my horses.

I am, yours, &c.

*James Seagrove to James Holmes, acting as an assistant among the Creeks.*

ST. MARY'S, 24th February, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

With pleasure I received your letters of the 27th and 30th of January last, from Flint river. I attend to what you say, respecting sanctioning certain measures; I am, by no means, at liberty to do so at this moment; however, I view it in the same light as you, and think it justifiable on every principle. Should our red friends think it necessary, I must not oppose their will in what relates to their own affairs.

Galphin gave us a great alarm on his arrival here. He asserted to me, as an absolute fact, that the Creeks had broke up all the Spanish settlements on the Tensa and Bigby rivers, and made an attack on the fort at Mobile; that he was in the attack, as also yourself; that he was wounded in the thigh; that the Indians were repulsed with the loss of twenty-two men; that the Spaniards lost about seventeen men; about seventy negroes brought off by your party, with a large sum in dollars, with many more such improbable tales.

He also assured me, that a considerable body of Indians were on the head of Setilla, on their way to strike a blow on St. Johns, and only waited to get some necessary supplies from me. I knew this youth too well to put much faith in what he said, but he told me all so plausibly, that I must confess I was much staggered thereby. I concluded that, as you or Mr. Barnard had not taken the least notice of a matter of so much moment, that it must have originated in this bad young man's fruitful, inventive genius. On his arrival in town, Mr. Fowler confirmed its being a notorious falsehood. It is scarcely possible to describe the extreme irregular conduct of Mr. Galphin since he has been here; his attempt to impose on me I shall not readily forgive. I wish, from my soul, we could get clear of him; he is a very dangerous person from his falsehoods; but I hope the Indians know him so well as not to mind what he says; and I must request, if he should attempt to say any thing in the nation, that Mr. Barnard and yourself will counteract and expose his villany. It was, and still is, my wish to serve him, but he is incorrigible. As soon as Fowler came to town he cleared out, and, I believe, he is now at Colerain.

It is not a little surprising, that after all the chiefs promised me, that they should suffer these Northern rascals to come among them, and with scalps of our people. Should this be allowed by the Creeks, we must conclude them concerned in the business with the Shawanese, and others, who are our enemies. You will observe, by the talks to different chiefs that accompany this, that I have endeavored to work a change; and I must request that you and Mr. Barnard will, by every means in your power, enforce those ideas among them, and work them up to destroy those Shawanese villains; or, if not, to drive them off, or bring them prisoners to me; either of which plans being effected, would effectually sever the Creeks from those hostile tribes.

There is every appearance of a peace with those Northern Indians, which, I must confess, I am sorry for. My opinion is, that they ought first to have been thrashed on their own account, and also by way of example to others. There are commissioners now met on the business of peace, and the savages seem earnest in the business. The great preparations for a vigorous campaign in the summer, has alarmed them exceedingly. This convinces me that those fellows that are now in the Creeks, are there without authority; and, if so, are the proper subjects for the Creeks' resentment. I conceive it altogether useless in me, at this time, to dictate to you, or Mr. Barnard, what to say to the chiefs. I have only to entreat, that you will leave no stone unturned to upset these Indians' purposes, as also that of the *Dons*. It will be impossible for me to be with you before the first of May, but I hope no bad will arise from my not being on the spot. I send the bearer, Mordecai Light, for sake of despatch: by his return, I hope to hear fully from you, and have agreeable accounts.

*James Seagrove to Timothy Barnard, dated*

ST. MARY'S, 24th February, 1798.

DEAR BARNARD:

I have before me your three letters, of the 20th, 27th, and 30th ultimo. The contents of each has my particular attention. I am really sorry, and it is truly unfortunate, that your indisposition had, until then, deprived our country of your very necessary presence in the towns, in order to explain and assist in directing matters aright, as well as to counteract the machinations of the ill-disposed towards us. I hope and trust that the greatest, if not all your time, since writing, has been employed in that way, and that I shortly shall hear, that you have been able to upset the plan of the Northward Indians. You must see the necessity of counteracting the plans of those Indians, and prevent the Creeks being led into a scrape by them for this purpose. You must attend all meetings, and call meetings of your own, and speak in forcible terms to the chiefs of the consequence of their listening to those people; and that, if they do, I shall have a bad opinion of them, after their promises to me not to have any thing to do with them or the Spaniards. Herewith, you have talks from me to different chiefs, which you will peruse, deliver, and explain, as well as enforce the objects of those talks home to those people, by all the address in your power. I cannot think there is the least danger of the Creeks, as a nation, joining those people; but what I dread is, that a part of the young disorderly of them may. It therefore behooves us to use our influence to prevent them. You will see what I have wrote the White Lieutenant and Fine Bones; and I shall fulfil my promise. I wish you to send the one to Jack Kinnard, and have him up with you in the towns. You will acquaint the chiefs that I cannot be with them, before the first of May. You may give them as a reason, badness of the roads, want of grass at this season, and the like. But the true cause is, that I wait for full instructions from the President, which I do not expect sooner than the 10th April. You will see, by my letter to Mr. Holmes, the rascally part Galphin has been acting, since he has been here: Mordecai will tell you further. You will prevent his lies taking bad effect in the nation. There is no such thing as bearing with him. As to the Shawanese that are in the nation, you must, by every means



possible, stir up the Creeks against them. You must see the good consequence that would result from setting them at variance, and at any rate stopping them from coming into the Creek land. I have to desire, in the most express and positive terms, that you do not yourself, or suffer any other person to, give out talks from any person or persons in any of the States, Governors, or others, without my previous knowledge of them. I am told there has been some of late from the Governor of Georgia to the Creeks, which I hold as a very improper act. Be active and resolute, my friend, in our country's cause: much depends on us.

*James Seagrove to John Kinnard, dated*

ST. MARY'S, 24th February, 1793.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I wrote you a letter, about three weeks past, which I hope you have received. I then told you all our talks in the United States continued straight and friendly to your country, which I now again confirm. I hope this will meet your people all well, and pursuing such plans as will make them happy. This I send by the way of our friend, Mr. Timothy Barnard, and have desired him to send it immediately to you, and request that you will come up to him, and go with him into the towns on some business of much consequence; which he will make known to you when you see him. I now entreat, my friend, that you do not let any thing stop your seeing Mr. Barnard, as soon as possible, and that you will give him all the assistance in your power, and which our Great Father, General Washington, expects of you as his good friend in the Creek land. About 300 Indians from the Seminoles, Lachaways, and other of the Southern people, have been with me since you went home. They have all returned well pleased.

*James Seagrove to the Secretary of War, dated*

ST. MARY'S, 19th April, 1793.

SIR:

My last letters to you were under date of the 17th and 21st ultimo: since then, we have continued, and are yet in a state of suspense as to what will be the determination of the Creek nation, when they hear of the depredations committed by some of their people on this frontier, in the last month, and also to my demand of having satisfaction for the murders and property carried off.

By the papers now enclosed, you will be informed of my communications to and from the nation since I last wrote you. Matters in the nation were getting in a favorable way, when this unfortunate affair took place. The whole of the upper towns were unanimous in rejecting all overtures of the agents of the Northern tribes to join them; and only a part of three of the Lower towns befriended them. My talks were attended to, so far as to have a general order of the nation for those agents (nine in number) to depart the Creek land in five days. You will observe that I was requested to be with the chiefs in the nation by the 22d instant, which would have been the case, as I had every thing ready to have set off on the 10th of this month, which I declined on the late outrage taking place, and until I could hear the determination of the nation on the same. Kinnard has acted wonders in the affairs of the North tribes. He has not ceased, since he went from this, in riding himself, and sending talks, to all the towns, in our favor. The White Lieutenant of the Oakfuskees, and Mad Dog of the Tuckabatchees, are firm friends to the United States.

Alexander McGillivray died at Pensacola on the 17th of February last, and, from what I can learn, has mentioned *Panton* as his successor, to direct the affairs of the Creek nation. Should *Panton* be received by the nation as such, the United States can have no hope of peace with the Creeks.

From a full conviction of this, in my own mind, as well as from unquestionable proofs of the perfidious conduct of the Spanish Governors of the Floridas, and those acting under them in the Creek nation, there appears a necessity that steps should be taken, that those bloody-minded agents should fall into the pit which they have dug for the servants and friends of the Union. In my opinion, it would have been well if I had found myself, long since, at liberty to have retaliated, which has been much in my power. Self preservation renders it indispensable. The conduct of the Spaniards of late is so barefaced, that the lenity or forbearance of our country towards them, is considered by the Indians, as well as white people, as proceeding from a want of power to check such doings. The consequences of such opinions are very unfavorable to our interest.

You will observe that some of the Lower towns have become acquainted with the murders and robberies on this frontier and the Altamaha, by the return of the parties to their towns. You have, herewith, a copy of a letter received from six of the identical villains who perpetrated the crimes six miles from Colerain, and also on the Altamaha. Kinnard, on hearing of their return, sent to the chiefs of the towns whose people committed the violence, and talked very severely to them. He told them, in presence of four white men, who I can depend on, (and who came here along with my despatches) that, unless they gave immediate satisfaction for the murders and robberies, (and which he told them would be demanded) that they had nothing to expect but war and total ruin to their country.

The party that did the mischief at Trader's Hill, were from a town on the lower part of Flint river, and who were doubtless set on by *Panton*, and one *Burges*. Mr. Kinnard, the instant he heard of the affair, sent a runner with a letter to *Burges*, informing him that, if he did not immediately have the goods collected, and sent back, he (Kinnard) would come and take all his property, and his life, as a part atonement for that of Mr. Fleming, killed at Trader's Hill. An answer was not received when my express came away, which was the next day.

I fear that my demand, for delivering up to me an equal number of those who advised or executed the late murders, for those that were killed of our people, in order to their being punished agreeable to our laws, may appear to some to be harsh, arbitrary, or abrupt. But I am persuaded it is in conformity to the opinion and wish of a very large majority of our countrymen, and I am happy in finding myself supported therein by the treaty formed at New York with the Creek nation, and which is a supreme law of this land. I hope you will think with me, on this occasion, that, for the United States to relax an atom on this occasion, of having *life for life*, and full satisfaction for the property taken away and destroyed, will be at once relinquishing every idea or possibility of living in peace with those people. For, if we do not insist, and have examples made in the present instance, we shall have similar outrages daily repeated, in defiance of all treaties or engagements that can be formed, as those wretched people and their abettors will attribute all to pusillanimity in the *Virginians*, as the Americans are generally termed by the Creeks.

I am not without great hope, that my demand will be complied with. All the men of consequence, among the chiefs, are for being in peace with the United States; and several of the towns are determined, at all events, to be so. Should they refuse justice, their internal divisions will tend much to their speedy reduction. They are in no state at present to encourage a war with the United States. The Chickasaws and Creeks are actually at war with each other; and the Choctaws have, or are on the point of joining the Chickasaws. Their being nearly destitute of provisions, is another reason, to which may be added, a full conviction in the minds of many of their chiefs, that, if they quarrel with the Americans, they will lose their country.

They have ammunition and arms in plenty. The Spaniards give every man of them as much of those articles as they require. They have been lately drawing supplies in this way from Augustine, Pensacola, and St. Marks.

The Spaniards are busy in endeavors to patch up a peace between the Creeks and Chickasaws. For this purpose a number of the chiefs of both nations are invited to Pensacola, but whether they will go or not is uncertain.

Since the injury done on the 11th and 13th March, nothing further hath taken place on this frontier; owing, chiefly, (I have reason to think) to the precautions I immediately took of putting Colerain in a state of defence, and collecting a body of about fifty horsemen, which have done constant duty.

The Indians have almost constantly been over on the Florida side, but seeing we were prepared, and on our guard, have not yet ventured to interrupt us. But as this company are militia, and on no certain footing, I fear we shall lose them. One hundred and fifty, or two hundred continental troops, fifty of them horse, would be a seasonable relief to us. Without assistance, we cannot hold this valuable frontier. We want about one hundred stand of good muskets, with bayonets; one half, nearly of our little force being at this time without arms.

On the 17th instant, a party of Indians appeared in Florida, within five miles of Colerain; they killed cattle, stole horses and other property, took off eight negroes, robbed several houses, and burnt one, fired at some men, tied and carried off one man, who since made his escape, and says that those Indians were from Burges' town, and some who did the mischief at Trader's hill. They at the same time declaring friendship to the Spaniards, and that their intention was against Colerain and this town, as well as the Americans in general; John Galphin was with them, and very conspicuous in declarations of enmity to this country. I have offered a reward for him, and am not without hope of laying hands on him.

The Spanish settlers seem more alarmed than we are. When Robert Seagrove's store, at Trader's Hill, was robbed, all the books of Indian accounts were carried off; which, I think, cannot fail to strengthen the belief, that Panton and the Spaniards wanted to discover the nature as well as the amount of business done there, in addition to their breaking up the store.

As my letters giving you an account of the late unfortunate business in this country, must have reached you long ere this, I am in daily hopes of receiving instructions from you. You will be informed, by a copy of Mr. Barnard's letter, now enclosed, of the very irregular conduct of the settlers on the northwest frontier of Georgia; it will ever be the case.

I have given Governor Telfair regular advice, ever since the unfortunate event of Trader's Hill; but have not been favored with a line from him or Major Gaither, since then.

You will see, herewith, a copy of a circular letter, which I sent to the commanding officers of the militia of every county in the State. Being much in need of your advice and direction, in the present conjuncture of affairs, I am very anxious to hear from you.

*James Seagrove to the Chiefs, Head Men, and Warriors, of the whole Creek nation, singly as well as collectively.*

ST. MARY'S, 28th March, 1795.

**BROTHERS:**

From the solemn assurance given me, by a large majority of the chiefs of your nation, on many recent occasions, but more particularly at our conference on this river, in November last, that you would, at all events, preserve peace with the United States, and on no account join with any people, whatever, that were unfriendly to them, I was led to believe your declarations just, and, as such, communicated them to my country, who was pleased to think that your nation were acting with justice and wisdom. But, alas, of how short duration was this pleasing prospect. Scarcely had all those of your people who had been with me at the conference, returned to their homes, when the most wanton, unprovoked murder and robbery was committed on this frontier by a body of Creek Indians, on the peaceful, honest, unoffending inhabitants of the United States.

Duty to my country, as well as regard to your future peace, obliges me now, to make known to you, as heads and rulers of the Creek nation, that, on the night of the eleventh of this month, a party of the Creek Indians, in number from twenty-five to thirty, entered the store of Robert Seagrove, at Trader's Hill, on this river, and then and there murdered Mr. John Fleming, the store-keeper, and Mr. Daniel Moffit, scalped and tomahawked them, beat and abused others, then robbed the store of every thing therein, to upwards of ten thousand dollars, which they took off with them to your nation. Next day, three men and a girl were killed within fifty miles of Colerain, by a party of your people. These last that were killed, were inoffensive travellers, coming to settle in this country, and of course, could not have offended. The bodies of those unhappy victims to wanton barbarity I beheld with horror, and could scarcely allow myself to think it possible, that men belonging to a nation whom I had been feeding, clothing, and loading with every mark of my country's kindness to them, could be guilty of such villany. Indeed, I cannot yet believe, the nation were acquainted with it. I pray God this may have been the case, and that they will give immediate satisfaction for so daring an outrage, by delivering up to me the whole of those concerned in the before mentioned murder and robbery, which, alone, can appease the just resentment of the United States.

BROTHERS: What I have here stated to you are truths, and the same is supported by testimony on oath, sent herewith. It therefore admits not of a moment's delay, with honest men, the part they ought to take. If you have a wish that your land should not be deluged with blood, and that you should possess the same, and live in it in peace, you will, on receiving this, call together the chiefs of your land, and take immediate measures for delivering to me those murderers and plunderers, that they may be punished agreeable to our laws. The outrage is so enormous and unprovoked, as not to admit delay on your parts. Vengeance will be showered on your nation, if justice is not immediately done. Attend to what I say. It is my love for you, and a belief that you were ignorant of the late perfidious act of your people, that gives you this opportunity of yet living in peace with my country. You never found me to tell you an untruth, and be assured, that, what I now tell will come to pass, and that is, that inevitable ruin awaits your whole land, if you do not comply with my demand of giving up the villains who committed the late murders.

Do not suffer yourselves to be longer deceived, or suppose that the United States will stop short of doing ample justice to their citizens, and punish, in the most exemplary manner, offenders against their Government. But peace and friendship is their wish towards your whole nation, as long as your conduct as honest men justifies it. What could have driven your people to act as they have done, is what I cannot account for. Every body in this land were in perfect peace and friendship with your people, and at the moment those murders were committed, near fifty families of your town were at Colerain, receiving supplies of provisions from the public stores of the United States, which had already been the means of saving several hundred of them from perishing by famine. Shameful ingratitude to so generous a benefactor as you have found the President of the United States! If there is a spark of manly virtue left in your nation, you must shudder at the recollection, and dread how much the world must despise a people capable of such perfidy. I have reason to think, that you will find that base, ungrateful man, John Galphin, a principal in this business; if so, he deserves no mercy. The Indians who composed the party that robbed and murdered at Trader's hill, were from the town where Burges lives; Burges' son, and brother-in-law, were leaders of the party, so that you cannot be at a loss to discover the rest; and I hope you have so great a respect to the honor of your country, and your own characters as honest men, that you will attend to this business without delay, and give me such answer as to confirm me in the opinion of your being honest men and desirous of peace.

Three of your people have fallen into our hands since the time of the murders, but I would not suffer them to be hurt. One of them was frightened and fled; the other two I return safe with this, which serves to prove that we do not wish to hurt any that has the appearance of being innocent.

I shall expect a full and satisfactory answer from you in twenty-five days from this time; any person you send with letters to me, will be safe, and treated well, and return when they please.

With a hope that the path between us may ever be kept bright, and that our friendship may continue strong whilst the sun shines, is the desire and fervent wish of your real friend.

[CIRCULAR.]

St. MARY'S, 28th March, 1793.

BROTHER:

Little did I expect to have to address you and the other chiefs of your nation on so disagreeable a business as the enclosed will fully explain to you. It is of so alarming and serious a nature, as to call your attention to an immediate inquiry into the cause, as well as to take speedy measures to give satisfaction for so unprovoked and wanton an outrage on the peace of the United States, and your nation.

I have great consolation in thinking that the Creek nation were unacquainted with the wicked affair, and that their resentment will be raised against those villains, who, to gratify their private views, have committed murder and robbery, the consequence of which, if not speedily redressed, cannot fail to involve your country in a bloody and ruinous war.

I cannot doubt, that you, and every good man in your land, must feel the insult offered to you all, by the planners and perpetrators of the late murders. The chiefs, and others of the nation, had scarcely returned home from treating with me on this river, and where they pledged their nation and selves, in the most solemn manner, to preserve peace, and live like friends and brothers with the United States, until this horrid, unprovoked outrage, was committed. Such doings, my friends, cannot be overlooked by a powerful and spirited nation, such as the United States. As to the unaccountable conduct of your people, in this instance, I shall avoid any reflection or comment thereon, and submit it to your own feelings and understanding.

The President of the United States, as well as myself, having always considered you as one of our best friends in the Creek nation, and one who had the good of both countries at heart, from these reasons you are now called on by me, in behalf of my country, to use your utmost influence and exertions in procuring peace, which I fear cannot be done, unless examples are made of those who have murdered and robbed our citizens, and destroyed the peace of our land and yours.

I have sent a general talk into the nation, which I hope will be attended to by you and every friend to peace, and that you will give it your support.

I should have sent sooner, but could not find an opportunity. Having great confidence in your exertions in favor of justice and peace, I shall not say more to you on this business at present, and remain a real friend to you and every good man in the Creek nation.

[NOTE.—The preceding letter sent to twenty-one of the principal chiefs of the Upper and Lower Creeks, with the general talk enclosed.]

*James Seagrove to Mr. Payne, head-chief of the Seminole tribe of the Creek Indians at Sotchaway.*

St. MARY'S, in Georgia, 14th April, 1793.

SIR:

Although I have not the pleasure of being personally acquainted with you, yet I am no stranger to your very respectable character and connexions in the Creek land. Ever since the United States honored me with my present appointment, I have been very desirous of seeing you, and of being in close friendship with a man of your character. I am really sorry that it has so happened that we have not met, as I have reason to think it would have been mutually agreeable, as well as serviceable, to our respective countries. But I hope it is not yet too late, and that you will favor me with a visit at this place, where nothing shall be wanting to make your jaunt agreeable, and, in return, I shall call and spend some time with you in your country.

I was just on the point of setting off into the nation, where I had agreed to meet the chiefs on the first of May, in the Cussetah town, in order to arrange and settle all matters still depending between you and my country, which there was no difficulty or doubt of accomplishing, as I had nothing to ask from them, and much to give and advise, solely for the good of the nation; but an unexpected and unfortunate affair, which took place in the upper part of this river, on the eleventh of last month, has for a time delayed my going. It is more than probable you have heard of the affair alluded to; but, lest you should not have had a true statement of it, I shall relate it to you, which is as follows:

On the evening of the eleventh of last month, a party of Creek Indians, chiefly from the town where *Burges* lives, in number from twenty-five to thirty, entered the store of my brother, Robert Seagrove, at Trader's Hill, on this river, and then and there killed Mr. John Fleming, the store-keeper, and Mr. Daniel Moffit, scalped and mangled their bodies in a brutal manner, beat and abused a woman who lived there, and left her lying supposed to be dead. A man of the name of Upton, who was there, is missing, and must be killed or carried off a prisoner by the same party, who also robbed the said store of goods, the first cost of which was ten thousand dollars, which they took off with them to their towns; also, a number of horses, &c. &c. Two days after, a party of the same killed three men and a girl, that were travelling about ten miles from said store, and plundered their wagons, and took off horses and all they could find, and fled towards the nation. This is a true state of the outrage, which you may rely was committed without the shadow of offence, of any kind whatever, being given by our people. On the contrary, I was at that instant feeding and giving presents from the public stores, on this river, to a great many families of Indians from the different parts of the nation, with whom all our people were on the most friendly terms, not suspecting harm, when this unprovoked, horrid murder and robbery was committed.

I have since sent a talk to the chiefs of the whole nation, and doubt not they will see the necessity there is of doing justice to my country, which, in this instance, has been very ill treated. I am happy in finding, by letters which I have received from the nation, that they knew nothing of this affair until it had taken place, and that it appears to have been done through the advice of some white villains, to serve private purposes. The insult and injury is great on the Creek nation as well as the United States, and the consequence may be of a most serious and alarming nature to the whole of the Creek land, unless their regard for justice, and a wish to live in peace and friendship with this country, shall direct your wise men to make examples of those bad men who have dared to disturb the peace of two nations, whose mutual interest it is to be friends.

My principal reason for writing to you at this time is, that, not having heretofore seen you, and that probably you may not have heard my different talks to the Creek people, I do it to assure you that it is the wish and desire of the President and United States to live in the most friendly and brotherly terms with every part of the Creek nation, and that the whole of my talks to the chiefs of your nation, has uniformly been to that effect, as well as that the Creek people should, on no account, involve themselves in a war or disputes with any people, either white or red; these are truths which cannot be denied. Happy will it be for your nation, if my advice is preferred to that of a designing, malignant set of wretches, who, from motives of personal interest or revenge, advise contrary measures, in order to involve you in a war. Such people are regardless of what may befall your land; they have nothing to lose by your misfortunes, but unquestionably will take advantage of them. As a friend to your country, I hope you will attend to what I now tell you, and use your influence to direct your people to peace and what is for their good, and will keep them in a state of prosperity. It will always give me pleasure to be of service to you or your country, and convince you how much I am your friend. I have sent my interpreter, Langley Bryant, with this, to inform you that it is our desire to be in peace and friendship with you, and request that you will let me hear from you. I should have sent you a handsome present by him, but as the path does not seem quite clear at present, I am afraid he might lose them. If you will do me the pleasure of coming here, you shall receive a present equal to the first chief of your land. In the mean time, I send you, from the President of the United States, a handsome pair of arm-bands, which please to accept and wear, as a token of his friendship for you. Notwithstanding the late murders by the Creeks, no injury has been offered any of them; although several of them have been in our posses-

sion, yet I have sent them all safe home. This alone must convince you that we wish to live in peace, provided it can be done on proper terms.

Mr. Bryant will inform you more particularly of our friendship. Wishing that your nation may have wisdom to live in peace, I conclude this talk, and remain a real friend to you and every honest man in the Creek land.

*James Seagrove to the Kings, Chiefs, Head-men, and Warriors, of the whole Creek nation.*

ST. MARY'S, 14th April, 1793.

DEAR BROTHERS:

I sent you a talk on the 26th of last moon, by an Indian, which I hope you have received. It was addressed to the whole Creek nation, on the late murders and robberies committed on this country by the people of the Creek towns. Lest any accident should have prevented these talks reaching you, I now send you a copy of them; and I hope that, on the chiefs of the nation perusing them, they will see the necessity of immediately complying with my demand, and deliver up to me an equal number of those who murdered our people in cold blood, and without any reason or cause whatever. It now appears that they killed seven persons; six were found, and a man of the name of Upton is missing ever since the murder of Trader's Hill, where he then was. This demand is agreeable to your own laws, and, being founded on strict justice, and the laws of nature, I cannot doubt but that you have (or will speedily have) seven of those persons who were foremost in advising, planning, or executing the horrid murders alluded to, seized on and delivered to me, that their blood may atone for what they have done. This alone can save your country: for I must inform you that, as much as the United States respects you as a people, and wishes your happiness and prosperity, yet the late wanton, unprovoked outrage of your people on this country, has been of so heinous a nature as to call loudly on our Government to see satisfaction made. Indeed, I am convinced that the citizens of America will not submit to any thing short of what I now demand. Should your people be lost to a sense of justice, and regardless of peace, or their existence as a nation, and obstinately decline a compliance with my just demand, I must desire that you will all please to remember, that no hasty steps have been taken by me or my country; but that full opportunity is now given for punishing the aggressors, and thereby you may continue to live in peace and friendship with the United States as long as you choose.

That certain white men in your land have been principal advisers and promoters of the late acts of violence, I have not a doubt. I have always told you those white villains would bring ruin on you unless you drove them from among you. Is it not very strange, that the whole of the wise men of your land should be so blind as not to discover the designs of those base men, which evidently appear to be to involve you in a war, and have you destroyed thereby, to plunder your property, and take your lands that you now live on? Rouse, my friends and brothers, and clear from among you or destroy, a set of such men as I have described; you cannot be at a loss to know them; their actions have already pointed them out as fit objects of your resentment. All those who advise your people to do mischief or go to war, those who encourage your people to steal horses and other property, and purchase them afterwards, are bad; but, above all, the adherents and supporters of Bowles' impositions on you are deserving of severe punishment, as they have kept your land in a flame for years, and imposed on your people by false promises. I expect these things will be done without delay, as, on it, your future happiness, in a great measure, depends. I was all ready to set off to meet you all, my friends, in the Cussetahs, agreeable to promise, when the murder and robbery on this river took place; this has, of course, delayed me, and will, until you have ordered examples to be made agreeably to my demand, herein contained. When this is done, I shall shortly after be with you, and when I shall make known to you many agreeable talks, which I have from our great and good father, the President of the United States, whose greatest wish is to make you, his children, happy. Notwithstanding the late very bad conduct of your people towards this country, yet you have it in your power to live in friendship with the United States, on your complying with my present demand. Now, brothers, would you not be much to blame to suffer your whole country to be ruined, to save from just punishment seven bad men, who have brought trouble and disgrace on your land, and destroyed an equal number of our people, your good friends, and that without any cause? It gives me great pleasure to find that you were so wise as not to take the Shawanese and other Northern Indians talks; you did well, and you will find the good of it. I shall let your Great Father know of your good conduct in this.

If I could be with you in peace, I could regulate all your affairs, so as to make you happy; I hope that day is not far off; it rests with yourselves. But I again tell you, that you must do justice, and remove from among you bad white men, before I can think of coming. Colonel John Kinnard will inform you of some other matters; to him I request you to attend, and also to my deputy, Mr. Tim Barnard, and let their talks take deep root in your hearts, for their talks are like mine, for the good of all my Creek friends.

I have now given you a long talk, as I know not when to stop when I talk to my Creek brothers. Attend to what I have said, and let me have such answer from you as to continue my friendship and good opinion.

I am, &c.

*Timothy Barnard to James Seagrove, dated*

FLINT RIVER, 26th March, 1793.

DEAR SIR:

Your express, by Mr. Mordecai, came safe to hand; I received it at the Cussetahs, where I have been ever since my last to you, by Mr. John Galphin, except five days I spent at the Buzzard Roost, where I was obliged to attend in consequence of some complaints I heard from the Indians, respecting the inhabitants on the Oconee driving great gangs of cattle over on this side in the fork of Jullah Packa, and from that up, forty or fifty miles higher; besides that the white people had built two or three houses on this side. When I got to the Buzzard Roost, I found that the report I had heard was not groundless, as there was a white man that had just arrived at the Roost from Rock Landing, who convinced me that it was the case. I heard, while I was at the Roost, that the Cowetas were just going out to drive off all the stocks and kill some of the inhabitants. I immediately sent off an express to the Rock Landing, and wrote to the commanding officer there, to order the people to drive their stocks back. I likewise acquainted his Excellency the Governor with the circumstance, and of the ill consequences that would follow, if he did not put a final stop to such proceedings; I at the same time wrote to Captain Philips, that lives nearly opposite where those cattle were driven over. I have since been at the town, had a letter from Captain Philips, where he mentions, that some of the hunting Indians had given them liberty, last fall, to drive their stocks over till the spring, which I do not believe; but whether or not, I should imagine that they might have a little more knowledge of Indian matters than to think such liberties would hold good with the whole nation. Major Gaither was kind enough to answer my letter, wherein he informs me that he has given his orders for all the stock to be driven back, which he says was duly complied with. A few days ago at the meeting, I have had more complaints laid before me of the like nature, which I immediately informed Major Gaither of, and Captain Philips; both of which is, that the white people came and encamped out, thirty or forty miles on this side the river, and hunted, with fire, and all day with rifles, and destroyed the game so bad, that they can hardly find a turkey or a deer to kill, and with great gangs of dogs hunting bear; this the Indians say they cannot put up with; and if the white people do not decline such proceedings, they will kill some of them. They say, that such proceedings as this fully convinces them, that, if there was a line run, that they would not still be restrained from such practices. I gave them to understand, that it was for want of the line that they could not be hindered, and that, when you came up, that you would have it in your power to convince them that all such matters should be finally done way, and that you would, on your part, give them

satisfactory redress, to every legal complaint they had on their parts to lay before you. I have done every thing in my power to stop them from doing mischief on the stock or inhabitants, till you come up. The Cowetas have stolen a good many horses, and brought them in, which I think the white people have to blame their own conduct for, as I am told there are both horses and cattle twenty miles on this side the river; I am amazed that people will be so fool-hardy, till matters are settled, which never will be the case while the people on the frontier go so head-strong to work. I remain in hopes the Indians will remain quiet now, till you can come up. I am in dread of no danger from any part of the nation but the Chehaws below me; nevertheless, though I had been down there not more than ten days before I set off to the town, and talked above three hours to the head King of the town, and acquainted him with every necessary matter that was transacted at the treaty, he since hearing a flying report, that the Cowetas were gone out to do mischief, and some of the other towns had joined them, without waiting to hear the truth, set off with ten or twelve fellows to do mischief low down on the frontier. Though Kinnard sent them word not to go, they had gone so far they could not stop them; it's since said they only went off to hunt, which, if so, will be all the better; there were likewise runners despatched after them to turn them back, but am afraid, if they were determined to do mischief, it was too late; however, I think if they had done any mischief, they would have been in before this, as it's three weeks ago since they went out; had it not been for those imprudent steps of the Oconee settlers, driving their stocks over the river, the Shawanese talks would not have had near as much effect on the minds of the Creeks, as it was a good subject for the Shawanese to work on, telling them it was the way the white people served them to the northward. As soon as I received your express by Mordecai, I appointed another meeting in seven days, and sent off expresses to the Upper Creeks, to the Mad Dog of the Tuckaubatchees, and Alexander Cornell, and to the White Lieutenant of the Oakfuskees or Nowyawger, likewise to Kinnard; they attended the meeting, likewise the heads of the other towns you see mentioned in their answer. Those head-men from the Upper Creeks assured me, that there was none of the towns in that quarter but what was for peace. Neither do I find that there is any in the lower much inclined for mischief, except the Cowetas, and Broken Arrow, and some of the Chehaws and Ousaches, and them, I believe their chief views are for stealing horses. As I got these head-men from the Upper Creeks to give them a very severe talk on that head, the Mad Dog and chief of the rest of the heads, desired me to urge you much to be up in thirty two days from the date of the meeting; I acquainted them with every obstacle that I thought might detain you, but that I knew you would lose no time. I am of opinion myself, that the sooner you can be up the better, as chief of the nation is in a starving condition, and chief of them will be under the necessity of turning out in the woods again to support their families. The Chickasaws and them are likely to settle their dispute, as they have sent runners off for that purpose. Those rascals, the followers of Bowles and Willbanks, have been lying at the mouth of Okelohne all this winter, notwithstanding, they have been frequently told by the Spaniards, that they need not expect any goods there; Kinnard likewise informed them at the meeting, that he had letters from Mr. Leslie, that informed him, that all their hopes of ships there were in vain. They are now, I hear, breaking up, as hunger obliges them to it. Willbanks set off down that way about a month ago, and had not returned when I left the towns, and I expect, without he has very good luck, I do not think he will return, as the Spaniards have offered a great reward for him; I would not do any thing respecting that matter of the prisoners in the nation at the meeting, as there was too much confusion for such business; besides, it is a matter that entirely concerns the Upper Creeks. I read and interpreted your letter to the Little Prince, the Leader I could not see; the Prince said he would have sent a horse for goods, but had none able to go down. His uncle that you wrote to, says, he hopes you will think on him when you come up, as he is an old man and your friend; he is the man you wrote the other letter to. The Mad Dog and some more of them hinted strongly for a few presents after coming so far, but I had nothing for them, as there were but little goods among the traders where I was, and had enough to do to borrow a little from them to buy provisions, which was hard to get at, paying a treble price; I hope you will, when you come up, have it in your power to furnish me with a little goods to answer such purposes, as I have none, and cannot get them without running in debt for them. What you mentioned respecting making the Shawanese prisoners, I omitted in public, as it was the advice of Cornell and the Lieutenant both, likewise the Mad Dog; as they said at this time it might make matters worse; but the Mad Dog says, as they were to set off in five days up to his town, he will give them their lesson there, and send them home, which he is sure will prevent them coming back any more with talks to the Creeks. I at the same time gave Alexander Cornell particular instructions what to put in the Mad Dog's head to say to them; it's not my opinion that they will be able to do any great damage in the nation. I had two of them over at the Cussetahs to the meeting; one of them is as white a man as me, and speaks nearly as good English. I told them in public of their nation suing for peace, and many other things, which seemed to agitate them much, as they did not seem to believe it; one of them, an Indian, got up to leave the square before our talks were over, but was called back by the Little Prince, who is their chief director. I had a good deal of private talk with the Prince, which he seemed to take pretty well, and make not the least doubt but he may be made a useful man with a good present and a little good talk. The whole burthen of interpreting lay on myself, as Dourouzeaux has been laid up with the rheumatism since he arrived, and I doubt will never be able to do much now. We have certain accounts from West Florida, that our friend Mr. McGillivray has departed this life, and was interred in Mr. Pantons's garden, as the Dons would not admit of his being laid in their burying ground.

Kinnard directed me to acquaint you, that he had done every thing in his power to reconcile matters, and should continue in so doing till you arrived, which he hoped would be as quick as possible, as he is in the same opinion as myself on that head; and thinks the longer you stay now, will be the worse to settle matters. Mr. Holmes has written you a long letter as well as myself, therefore I judge, that, betwixt us both, you will receive every necessary information for the present, till you arrive here, where we can talk over matters; till then, I wish you health.

*A talk delivered by Mr. Barnard to the Indians assembled at the Cussetahs, and interpreted by himself, 22d March, 1793.*

#### FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:

I have lived many years in your land, and have always endeavored to advise you all to follow one straight path, for the happiness of the nation.

What I have done, you all know, has been from friendly motives and not interested views. I need not tell you, that I was poor for this office that I have been honored with, but accepted of it, with a view of serving a country, in which, I have, the most of my days, resided, and where my connexions are dear to me. Consequently, you must suppose, I would not wish to see them suffer from the bad talks, which are daily sent into your land, which, if not guarded against in time, will be the inevitable ruin of your nation. The peace of your land has been greatly disturbed by talks from white people that are poor, and wish to make themselves rich, at the expense of your blood being split and your nation undone. Those men who have brought you to this, will leave you, and retire into some other country, where they will live at their ease, and laugh at your credulity for being such fools.

Do but look a few years back, and see the manner in which the British secured you. Colonel Brown (a beloved man) is now in Providence, and Mr. Tate in England, living in splendor and affluence, on the money they received from the English, for sending you to war against the Americans, and care not, should they never see you more, or even hear of your welfare. The English have not thought of you, since the American war, as they have not sent you a single piece of stroud, as a present, since they left your land, although many of you fought for them, and some beloved men have lost their lives. Had it not been for our friend, Mr. McGillivray, who is now no more, and Mr. Pantons, who obtained liberty from the King of Spain, by paying ten thousand dollars per annum, to bring goods from their land, you would have been very poor, and your women and children very naked. These, my friends, are circumstances, which ought to make deep impressions in your hearts. Some of your great men have very bad eyes; they see but a very short distance before them, otherwise, they would distinguish their friends from their enemies, and guard against the pernicious consequences attending some bad talks, which I find they have paid too much attention to, and which, if they persist in, will be their total ruin. When a

thing is past, there is no recalling it; therefore, wise men ought to consider what they are about, before it is too late. Look round, my friends, and consider you are surrounded with difficulties, but you have still a door left open, if you will but keep it so. Our great and beloved father, General Washington, is still your friend, and will remain so, if you do not draw on his displeasure, by your own repeated bad conduct. While he is your friend, you have no enemies to dread. The Northward Indians, which are now amongst you, I have frequently told you, are only endeavoring to bring you into the same predicament into which they themselves are involved.

I am glad to find, there are some of my old friends here present, that still possess their senses, and are not to be frightened or led away by the Shawanese talks.

There are some of my own color amongst you, as detrimental to your peace and happiness, as these Shawanese. Willbanks is one; a man who never did, nor never will, render your country any service. It is useless for me to say any thing more respecting this base man, as you all ought to be well acquainted with his conduct, from his frequent deceptions. I have always cautioned you against listening to such men, and think it is time that your eyes ought to be opened, and view such men with contempt. Some of your own white people that are trading among you, are encouraging your young people to steal horses from the Americans, and they are buying them. Your young men pretend, that they do it, because their land is encroached upon, but your head-men that are present, ought to put a stop to such proceedings, ere it be too late, as such behavior will never establish a peace, but will be productive of much mischief and perhaps the utter ruin of your nation.

Do but be quiet, until the beloved man, Major Seagrove, comes up, and I make not the least doubt, but he will remove all such complaints, as he will be invested with full power, from General Washington, our great, good, and beloved father, who strives to do the best for both his white and red children.

Witnesses present,

JAMES M. HOLMES,  
GEO. J. HULL.

T. BARNARD, *Interpreter.*

KINNARD'S COWPEN, 29th March, 1793.

*Talk from the Head-men of the Chehaws and Telluiana.*

MAJOR SEAGROVE:

My friend, it is not long since we were down to see you, and heard your talks, but when we got home, we heard a talk from the Upper towns from the Sawonocas, (Shawanese) and thought it was a general war, and our people went off in a hurry, and have done mischief. And since we have returned home, we find that talk was sent to us, to bring us into trouble. But we had no intent to do any such thing of ourselves, but thought that the rest were bent upon the same thing. The Ossuchees sent us word, that all the rest of the people was gone out, and we thought it was a war indeed, and on that, our people turned out. When we went out, we did not intend to have killed any body, but on going down and finding Captain Fleming dead, and the other man at your brother's store, we were sure that it was a war, and we then killed some men, but it was not us that began to kill. We are very sorry that any such thing has happened, as it was our intention to try and keep peace, but we were deceived by a bad talk, sent to us. My friend, this is all that we can say in the business, till we hear from you, which I hope will be soon, and hope you will send us a talk by Mr. Kinnard's negro boy. We have brought a great deal of property, such as horses, cattle, and negroes. As we find that it is not a war, we dont think they belong to us, and we shall keep them safe, till we hear from you, in order to return them.

Malitea desires to talk to you, which is as follows:

MY FRIEND: We have had a talk with you, which I hope will not be spoiled on account of the mischief done by our people. We have been very well used by you, and have had provisions whenever we asked for it, and I hope that the inhabitants will not run off and leave their houses and land, as we do not mean to disturb them. And as you are sent for, we hope to see you here, and settle all the talks with you. When I came home with the letter you sent by me, the people had gone out, so, that I did not see them till this mischief was done. This comes from your friends as follows:

MALITEA,  
STINNPEE,  
SLOFIA CHOPEO,  
CHEHAW TUSTANOCCA,  
TUSTANOCHOGN,  
COCHOXONA TUSTANOCCA,  
*Chiefs of Chehaws and Telluiana towns.*

JAMES SEAGROVE, *Superintendent, &c.*

NOTE.—All those who send this talk, (except Malitea) were perpetrators of the murders, &c. near Colerain, and also, the robberies on the Altamaha. Malitea is one of the commissioners, who attended running the boundary line.

The Chehaws and Telluianas are one people; the latter is only a village detached a few miles from the former.  
J. SEAGROVE.

At a talk held in the Cussetahs, Creek nation, March 22, 1793, before Timothy Barnard, deputy agent of Indian Affairs, Southern district, United States, in behalf of said States, and John Kinnard and other Chiefs from the Hitchetas, Coweta, Cussetah, Broken Arrow, Oswitches, and Swaggles Towns, representatives for the Lower Creeks. The White Lieutenant, Mad Dog, Head King, Oakfuskees, and Alexander Cornell, for leading men from the Upper Creeks, to represent that part of the nation:

*The Mad Dog of the Tuckaubatchees' Talk.*

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

I have heard the talks sent to the nation, and receive them the same as if I were taking you by the hand and receiving them from your own mouth. It is very true, there are many very bad talks in the nation, but hope they are not so bad as they may appear, as we are using every endeavor to make them better. The talks you sent to us, we know, are for our benefit, which makes me the more anxious to see you, and it is my advice that you may be here speedily. It is true, there are mad people amongst us, who have acted imprudently, which, I think, is the case with some of yours. I have not much to say at this moment, as we expect to see you soon, when you will hear much from us; we have much to say.

In thirty-two days from the date hereof, we shall expect to see you in our land, when we take you by the hand, as our friend and father, and smoke the pipe of peace and friendship together.

T. BARNARD, *Interpreter.*

Signed in presence of

JAMES M. HOLMES,  
GEO. J. HULL.



*James Seagrove to the Secretary of War.*

ST. MARY'S, 30th April, 1793.

SIR:

On the 28th instant, I received, by express, from the chiefs of the Creek nation, the enclosed *talks*, by which, you will find them disposed to comply with my demand, which, if they do, will be a most happy circumstance for our country.

From the information which I have received, I have reason to look for the prisoners daily. I shall feel embarrassed what to do with them, especially the two white men, which the chiefs say shall be sent to me. Our prison, in this country, is very bad, and, to put them in fort St. Tammany, will not do, as there, they would be almost certain of escaping. The Indian which I put there made his escape, which has been a very great injury to our cause.

Yesterday, my interpreter, Mr. Bryant, returned from the Seminoles, with an answer to my letter of the 14th instant, from Mr. Payne, the head chief of that tribe. Mr. Bryant was kindly received, and Mr. Payne, with a number of his head-men, are to meet me at Colerain, in seven days from this date. By this, I hope to secure the friendship of those people.

It will be necessary that I make those Indians a handsome present, for which purpose, I shall be obliged to purchase some articles that I am deficient in.

I now send you a *belt* of peace, received from the chiefs of the Upper towns, to the President of the United States; and, also, a *white wing*, from the Cussetahs, which, you will observe, is their desire.

The Indians continue to plunder in Florida, and a war with the Chickasaws seems certain. Near two thousand Creeks are preparing to go against them.

I find, by accounts from the nation, that two men have been killed on the Oconee, by the Old Tallasee king's people; for what reason, I know not, but must suppose it owing to the ill conduct of those white people, in intruding on their lands.

*The following talks received by James Seagrove, Agent of Indian Affairs, Southern Department of the United States.*

CUSSETAH, 15th April, 1793.

DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER:

This comes from the Cussetah king, and Bird-tail king. I send this beloved wing, and, when you see it, you will see my friendship, hoping that it will always be so. Mr. Seagrove, when you see my white wing, and our talks, you will send them to our great father, General Washington. I wish for a peace, and always did, for I want our women and children to grow up. The Upper towns have directly sent off to have Galphin and Upton taken. The Indians themselves say, that Galphin was the first man that went to them, and got them to go. The red men that were with Galphin, shall also be given up, as soon as our meeting is over. I have called a meeting to-day about it. It is our wish to keep peace, and always was.

There are people that are gone out, but don't know whether they can be turned back or no.

*Copy of a letter from Alexander Cornell, in behalf of himself and the Upper Creeks.*

CUSSETAH TOWN, 15th April, 1793.

DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER:

This is to let you know that I have been very uneasy, as I never could hear the truth until now, (by your letter) of what mischief was done at St. Mary's. I hear now, that the old Tallasee king, and his people, are turned out for war, and the Colemmys have joined them. They are like mad people, and running crazy. What you told me to do, in the Upper towns, I did. I have done all that lies in my power; it is impossible to do more than I have done.

All the Upper towns are strong for peace but them two towns, and I have sent for them several times, when we have had meetings, but they never would come. They mean to spite the whole nation, if they can, by spoiling what talks we have had with you.

The old Tallasee king lives about twenty-five miles from my house. He was the first man that gave the land away to the white people, and now, is the first that proposes doing mischief. It must be the Northern Indians coming among us; them two towns have taken their talks. We cannot help it, therefore I hope you will not blame the Upper towns for it, for we still stand to your talk, and mean to do so. We never heard of their going out to do mischief until they were gone two days, for we never could hear from them, or understand what they meant to do. They offered to give me up the prisoners, but I told them I would wait till you came up yourself, as I had no horses to send them down. No more at present, from

Your friend and well wisher,

ALEXANDER CORNELL,  
*In behalf of self and Upper Creeks.*

P. S. SIR: Please send by the bearer an answer, and it shall be punctually obeyed. Sir: I have heard that Galphin, and one Upton, was at the murder of Mr. Fleming, and robbing the store. We mean to give them up, and the rest that was with them. Mr. Seagrove: I never got the letters till the 15th of the month; I was waiting six days for them, at the Cussetahs, before I got them. By their detaining them so long, we have got too little time to do it. I hope, when you see our talks, you will take it in consideration, and give us longer time. I have sent our white man off directly to you, with our talk to you. We have sent off to have Galphin and Upton taken, for fear they should make their escape. We have agreed to give up two red men from the Chehaws, two from Burges' town, and one from the point. If we had got the letters sooner, you should have had the murderers by the time you mention, but you must allow us longer time, for it is the wish of the Upper towns to do it. This will be a warning to the young people; then they will mind what their head-men say to them, and not before.

TUCKAUBATCHEE, 8th April, 1793.

EAR FRIEND AND BROTHER:

This comes from your brothers, the Mad Dog, the White Lieutenant, David Cornell, Alexander Cornell, Mr. Weatherford, and thirteen other head-men of the Upper Creeks, who all agree, with one talk, together. That David Cornell, and the head-men of the Upper towns, and warriors, all agree to your talk, and mean to hold them fast by the hand, and never to let it go as long as they live.

You heard the Northern Indians was among us, but we never listened to any of their talks, nor would suffer any of them to give any out among our people, for we don't want to shed no white people's blood, for I have got white people's blood in me. We intended to go to war against the Chickasaws, and, if we don't we will come again to see you. We formerly went to war against the Cumberland people, but, since we heard your talk, we don't intend to go to war against them any more. The Mad Dog's brother and nephew, went into a trader's house in the Chickasaws, and they killed them both. We mean to have satisfaction, for, if they had killed them in the woods, we might try to make it up; but, killing them as they did, we cannot put up with it. Mr. Seagrove: You told us to keep peace with all colors, which we meant to do, but our color began first, and hurt us greatly.



Dear Friend and Brother: We are going to send our feathers by our white man. There has some mischief been done your way, but we have not heard the truth of it yet; if there has been any done, it is more than any of us Upper towns did know. Our friend and father, General Washington, has sent us talks several times, which we always took, and mean to do. If there is any mischief done your way, I hope you won't blame the Upper towns, for we don't know any thing about it. We wish to have a wide path down to you, that our women and children may travel down to you; it is the wish of the Upper towns that it should be so. The Tuckaubatchee town, and the rest of the head-men, have taken your talk, and mean to live by them, as long as you and the brothers of the United States exist.

Mr. Seagrove: My name is the Mad Dog that is going to send these talks to you, and when you see my talk, it is all the same as if you seen me, and, when I see your talks, it is all the same as if I seen you. I hope, when you see my belts, you will see an everlasting peace and friendship with our great father, General Washington, and our brothers of the United States; the one stripe for General Washington, the one for Mr. Seagrove, and the other for the brothers of the United States. Mr. Seagrove: I send the belts, as our talks, for it is our way of showing our friendship as long as we live. The other belt is for Mr. Seagrove and his lady. I always listened to your talks, and mean to do so, and all my people. Mr. Seagrove: I hope your heart is in a good place, for, if there is any thing that is in it, let me know, and I will ease it if I can; if the Lower towns have done mischief, you shall have satisfaction for it; for we Upper towns all agree to it at our meeting. An answer from you shall be immediately obeyed; so no more at present from the Mad Dog, the White Lieutenant of the Oakfuskees, &c.

*Copy of a letter from A. Cornell.*

TUCKAUBATCHEE, 8th April, 1793.

DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER:

I take the opportunity to write by the bearer, to let you know I am sorry to hear that there has mischief been done at St. Mary's. I have never heard the truth of it yet. As soon as I heard any thing of it, I sent off runners to the Upper towns and the Lower towns, to have a meeting about it, but the Half-way House king stopped our breaking days from going down to the Lower towns. This was the reason that none of the head-men of the Lower towns were at our meeting. The Mad Dog, myself, and David Cornell, are so uneasy about it we don't know what to do. We had great hopes our nation was getting very happy, for they had taken your talks, and our Great Father, General Washington's, and mean to hold it fast as long as we live, for we have thrown away the Spaniards' talk; we hold them by the hands as friends yet, but not to take any of their talks against the United States. If every man would exert himself as well as the Mad Dog, and the head-men of the Upper towns, and Mr. Weatherford, we should have an everlasting peace with our brothers of the United States. I have sent our white man with our talks to you, for he is the only one that has done any thing for us. Since he came from St. Mary's, I have been sending him through the Upper towns, to the traders, to hear what they thought of our talks, and to tell them not to give the Indians bad talks, as some of them used to do, not to tell them to go and steal white people's horses, for, if they did, and it was found out, it would be of a bad consequence to them. There was that Ash, that you gave goods to, I suppose he told you he would do a great deal for you when he went home. He has never done any thing for you. Mr. Weatherford and myself, wanted him to come down with the bearer, and he would not. Since he has come from the Upper town, I hear that Grason, that lives at the Hillebese, has been giving the Indians talks to go to war; I wish you would send me word what to do with such people. So no more at present from your friend,

A CORNELL.

*Copy of a letter from Charles Weatherford.*

HICKORY GROUND, 9th March, 1793.

DEAR SIR:

After my compliments to you and family, I have the unhappy news to communicate to you of General McGillivray's death, on the 17th of February last, about 11 o'clock at night, at Mr. S. Panton's, in Pensacola, and I being immediately sent for, by his Excellency Governor O'Neal, and Mr. Panton, on what business, as yet, I am not able to tell, but, when you come up, I shall be able to give you a full account of every particular circumstance, that will be satisfactory to you. Had it not been for my being called that way, I should have been down before this time, and the waters being high, prevented me from writing to you sooner.

As concerning the affairs of the nation, the Indians are at peace at present with the States, and wish to remain so; and since Mad Tom, of the Cussetahs, has arrived at home, he has spoke much in your favor, and looks on you as a sincere friend to the nation; likewise informed the heads of the Upper towns you are coming up; they are very desirous to see you, and every good friend to America.

With a little trouble, and good conduct, the nation will be kept at peace with the States; as there are much depending upon a man, who has considerable influence with the heads of the nation, and one who could draw the attention of the Indians to hear the talk he had to give them. As it is most certain the Spaniards will send an emissary to the nation to disturb the Indians, which I am afraid will be attended with bad consequences; but this is a serious matter, and of course I am not at this time able fully to communicate to you at present; I shall, therefore, refer it until I see you, at which time, I hope I shall be able to give you every satisfaction on the subject, as I shall start in two or three days at furthest, for Pensacola, in order to return by the time you promised to be up at the Tuckaubatchees, which, I understand, is the last of this month; and as I shall see you in a short time, I shall refer the most particular business until then.

Of course, you have heard of the Chickasaws and this nation going to war against each other; this you will be able to consider upon more fully; and if you would wish it to continue, I shall keep it on; and on the contrary, if not, I shall put a stop to it immediately, as it is my sincere wish to keep the Indians at peace with the States.

I shall always be happy in doing every thing in my power to serve you, as I have ever looked upon you as a sincere friend in every respect. I would ever wish to continue my friendship to you as before, and ever shall, as far as lays in my power, hoping that every matter of importance will be secret to you and myself alone. At this time, I am not able to give you a satisfactory account of every particular circumstance, but shall as soon as I have the pleasure of seeing you.

Contrary to your orders, I have given the head-men (of which I shall give you a list of their names, and the articles I gave them) those who had not an opportunity of going in, viz:

The White Lieutenant, Punknot,	}	10 yards Strouds,
Mad Spanyard,		
Mad Tom, Cusadies,		
Good Hunter, Wocke Coys,		
Mad Beaver, Ala Bamer,		
Mad Tiger, Sdewaetes,		
Old Tales, a Warrior,		
Quarterroon, Elewalies		
Old Red Shoes, Cussadies.		
	8 yards white Linen,	
	1 black silk Handkerchief.	

The above articles was delivered to each of the head-men mentioned. Likewise, Moltanhead, of the Tuskegees, received two strouds, and two duffil blankets.

These articles I have given on my account (thinking it would be agreeable to you) as I would wish to keep peace.  
I am, &c.

C. WEATHERFORD.

Mr. J. SEAGROVE, &c.

*Copy of a letter from C. Weatherford.—March 22, 1793.*

DEAR SIR:

I am sorry to inform you, that since the death of General McGillivray, there is a great confusion in the nation; they started in order to go against the inhabitants, and I have sent the bearer to the White Lieutenant, and Mammoth of the Pialeges, and have sent them and some more of the head-men down to the Lower towns, to stop them from doing any mischief to the inhabitants. The Chickasaws and these people are continually doing mischief. The Chickasaws has killed three Creeks a few days ago, and to revenge it, the Creeks have killed some of them that lived in this nation; they killed two last night. This will not be ended without some difficulty and trouble, but I wait your approbation in this respect; a few lines from you, as soon as possible, will ever be attended with the greatest punctuality.

I am, sir, &c.

C. WEATHERFORD.

Major JAMES SEAGROVE, &c.

*Copy of a letter from James M. Holmes.*

FLINT RIVER, April 20, 1793.

SIR:

This country is in as convulsed a state as it is possible. The majority of the head-men are for peace, and seem determined, at all hazards, to give satisfaction for the murder committed at St. Mary's. I set out from this place some days since for the Tuckaubatchees, but did not proceed further than the Cussetahs, as was informed at that place, A. Cornell had left a message, if I should come, to inform me, that it would not be prudent to go farther, as there were Indians out from the Upper towns to do mischief on the Oconee, and should they lose any men, they might wreak their vengeance on me.

They had sent off five runners to stop them, but when I left the Cussetahs, had not learned whether they had effected it or not.

Whilst I was at the Cussetahs (I only returned last evening) there came news that four fellows, belonging to the Cowetas, had brought in two scalps taken near the fork of land in dispute. The Cussetahs were for making examples of those that did the mischief, immediately; but they told them several gangs were out, and mentioned two or three different nights on which mischief would be done. One gang, they said, consisted of one hundred men. This put the Cussetahs at a stand, and concluded to defer the business until they were fully acquainted with the matter. Those concerned in the mischief already done, are using every method to make the matter general, in order to screen themselves; and I fear that such a number will be concerned, that it will be a difficult matter to give full satisfaction; however, the event is buried in the womb of futurity.

The Indians say that Allen was concerned in planning the mischief done at St. Mary's, the truth of which, I will not pretend to determine. Galphin and Upton, I believe, will be positively given up (the latter they assert was equally guilty) and the White King of the Ufalees, is to take satisfaction for the murder from Burges town. They consider it hard to demand men for the robbery, which, they say, was never done before; but satisfaction for the murder they think just on every principle.

My own private affairs put on a very gloomy aspect. I have to the amount of several hundred pounds in skins, furs, &c. at this place, but cannot get a horse to go for St. Mary's, since that mischief was done; my case is peculiarly hard, 'tis my all; and what makes the matter worse, every shilling is due to persons who reposed a confidence in me for their property. Should there be an Indian war (which God forbid) I will thank you to use your interest in procuring me a birth in the horse, should there be a troop raised. From the repeated marks of friendship which I have at times received, has induced me to take the liberty of asking this favor.

Mordecai has been gone twenty-one days; am very anxious to hear from you.

I am, sir, &c.

JAMES SEAGROVE, Esq.

*Copy of a letter from Timothy Barnard.*

FLINT RIVER, April 19, 1793.

DEAR SIR:

I wrote you a few days ago by Aikens, who went on by way of Newport, and acquainted you with every matter that occurred to me at that time. Your demand for satisfaction has been fully explained to the Indians.

Mr. Kinnard, before your express arrived, sent me word, that when expresses came up for that purpose, to leave it to him, as he knew it would endanger my life to interfere too much in that business, as I was a white man, which I was daily informed of by Indians and white people from the Chehaws.

That notorious fellow, Galphin, has done all in his power to set those Chehaw villains on me; and Mr. Hanard, by what I can learn, has done the same; but I am in hopes those two villains' race is nearly run. I am fully convinced, that if it had not been for those two scoundrels, there would have been none of this mischief that has happened. I have great reason to believe, before many days, to hear of some of the offenders losing their lives, at least as many as were murdered on the St. Mary's; but as to their giving up the whole of the offenders to be punished, I fear that is totally out of their power.

The Upper Creeks are determined, by what I can learn, to give full satisfaction, which you will be fully informed of by Mr. McDonald, who is the bearer of this, with the express from Alexander Cornell, and the Mad Dog. Alexander Cornell has been down to the Cussetahs, on the business of getting satisfaction, and they have settled it among themselves what is to be done. I should, though at the risk of my life, have went myself to the towns on the business, but the day after I received your express, had information of the Half-way-house King, or Tail King, and all his towns round him, setting off to war on the upper parts of Georgia, and a number of the Tusehathe in the Upper Creeks, and the Tail King. On hearing of this, I sent off a runner to a village about thirty miles this side the Cussetahs, and about forty miles from where I live, where the Warrior king and one of the head warriors of the Cussetahs resided; they immediately came, and I sent the head warrior off next morning to the town, to despatch off runners after those gangs of the Upper Creeks that I heard were turned out. I, at the same time, made them both fully acquainted with your demand for satisfaction, which was immediately made known fully in the Cussetah's square, where they consulted, and were fully determined to give satisfaction; and it would have been done before this, had not those Upper town gangs turned out to war.

The people that I sent out, stopped the Tallassee king and his party, and turned them back. I have not heard of the return of the other gang, but there are five runners after them, therefore, I hope they will be stopped. I need not say much to you respecting the disposition of the Upper Creeks, as Mr. Alexander Cornell's letter will inform you fully; by what I can learn, the chief of all the Upper Creeks are much inclined for peace. It is thought those two towns that went out, were persuaded to it by that villain Grearson, which, if it is proved against him, the

Mad Dog and Alexander Cornell says, shall cost him his life. Almost all the Upper Creeks, to a man, are turned out against the Chickasaws; near two thousand of them it seems have started.

Charles Weatherford, by what I can learn, is doing all he can for the good of the United States; and I think, was he sure of your protection, would be a very useful man in that quarter against those Spanish commissaries, as there is one, I hear, just arrived at the Upper Creeks, and that rascal, Melford, is at the Tuckaubatchees. Weatherford has great influence in that quarter, and wants revenge from the *Dons* for making a prisoner of him. I think, if you were to give him instructions, and the same to Alexander Cornell, they would soon run off the Spanish commissary, as, while they are there, there will be no good talks from them towards us. Mr. McDonald, the bearer of this, informs me, that Mr. Panton and Governor O'Neal, both, are called home to the Court of Madrid, to answer to a complaint lodged there against them by the United States, and that a Colonel White is made Governor of Pensacola; the truth of this, a little time will make appear. Mr. Panton, I find, has sent very pressing for the head-men of the Upper and Lower Creeks to come down to him; but I have done all I can to stop the Lower towns, and wrote Alexander Cornell to stop the Upper towns, and believe there is no danger of any of them going, as the Chickasaws' war will help to keep them back. The Chickasaws have already killed some of the Cussetahs, near the Mobile, and carried off some children.

The Cussetahs are still as firm friends as ever, and I believe will do every thing they can to give satisfaction for what's done. Mr. Holmes has acquainted you fully with what has happened lately with the Covetas, on the upper frontier. I am almost afraid that such intermission taking place will put matters past being settled. Those villains, the Chehaws, when some of them gets killed for what they have done, will perhaps be for doing more mischief, to make matters general. They threaten Kinnard's life, as well as mine, about satisfaction being demanded; therefore I could do no more than what I have done. I expect I shall have to clear out from this, somewhere, soon, especially when some of the murderers get killed, which I expect will be as soon as they find that those Upper Creeks are turned back, without doing any mischief. I need not mention to you, as you are able to judge, what confusion there is at this time here. Every white man that is a friend to the United States is in danger, therefore cannot act as they would wish. I now expect Mordecai up every day from you; and, if affairs do not take too bad a turn, will set off to the Cussetahs, and, from that, to the Upper Creeks, and endeavor to do the best I can.

I would have stayed at the Cussetahs, but, if I had, I must have starved, as there is not a quart of corn to be bought there at any price, nor within seventy miles round.

Alexander Cornell says he does not know how to act respecting those Spanish commissaries, without you send him instructions how to act, which, I think, if you did, between him and Charles Weatherford, they would soon rout them. Yesterday Fed. Charves arrived here back from Carr's Bluff, on the Oconee, where he had been to conduct Aikens that far into Georgia, as he found it not safe to stay any longer at the Chehaws, nor yet to go the path from there down. Charves informs me that, while he was there, General Irwin, and the Brigadier General of the State, were laying out the ground for a fort at Carr's Bluff; and, by a letter I had from there, am informed, the next day they were to proceed to Long Bluff, and, from that, to the White Bluff, for the purpose of laying the ground out for two more forts, which I am glad to hear that there is some preparation making in that way, as I am much afraid there will be a call for forts before this matter ends. I wish it may not be the case. While Charves was at Carr's Bluff, there came a man just from one John Fords, who was shot at, at Ford's house, the house plundered, and Ford's wife stripped naked. Such things as these are enough to agitate the minds of the people on the frontier, not to spare one wherever they find them. This I know to be a party of the Chehaws, who went off to steal horses, since the murders were committed, and came up, just before Charves, with six or seven head.

The sooner you can despatch McDonald back with the letters the better, as Cornell and the Mad Dog will be very uneasy till he returns. Our friends, Cornell and Kinnard, both, by what I can learn, has neither slept nor ate much since this mischief has happened. Kinnard, I am told, keeps the American colors flying, and means to do so, and remain at home, if he hears of an army marching, and the Cussetah town means to follow the same step.

My best wishes for your health, &c.

T. B.

ST. MARY'S, April 30, 1793.—I certify the preceding pages to be copied from the originals, in my office.

JS. SEAGROVE, *Agent I. A.*

*James Seagrove to the Secretary of War.*

ST. MARY'S, May 24, 1793.

SIR:

The last letter I had the honor of addressing to you was under date of the 30th ult. which I hope you have received. Since then, I have been using every means in my power to obtain satisfaction, and preserve peace to our country; but I am sorry to say my endeavors have not been successful. The intentions of the well-disposed part of the Creek nation, to give satisfaction to the United States, has been frustrated by the bad men of a few towns, who, dreading the consequence of what they had done, pushed out immediately to different parts of the frontier of Georgia, and have extended their outrages too far for the chiefs of the nation to be able to give satisfaction; and, therefore, the friendly towns have requested that an army may, without delay, be sent to destroy the following towns and people, as, without so doing, there can be no hope of peace. Those towns having disregarded all advice, and denied all authority of the nation, are now become a riotous, murdering banditti, and will continue so, and probably be joined by others, unless severely punished, and that speedily.

The towns who have injured this country, and are now thrown off by the nation, are as follows: The whole of the Covetas, Broken Arrow, a part of the Uchees, Usuchees, Big Tallassee, and a part of the Chehaws. By the enclosed copy of a talk which I received yesterday from Kinnard and others, you will be informed of the disposition of the nation. There is seven-eighths of the Creek nation that is really friendly to us, and will remain so, unless they are injured by parties from Georgia going in. This I dread. I fear there will be no discrimination; and, should they fall on the friendly towns, a general war is inevitable. But, if matters are properly conducted, and only the towns I have mentioned struck at, the business will shortly be over: for I am persuaded all the rest of the nation will sit still, and view with pleasure the chastisement those villains may receive. The good effects of punishing in this way would soon be felt; it would forever after deter parties in the nation acting against the general opinion, and will encourage our friends, and establish our reputation, and give them a confidence in the justice and wisdom of the United States. At this time, I see no alternative but that of giving the six towns I have mentioned a severe blow. You may rely that their number of warriors, of every class, does not exceed four hundred and twenty-five in all. A body of one thousand horsemen, under a cool, prudent commander, to push upon them as soon as possible, would do the business, and secure us peace; if delayed, the flame may spread, and our friends in the nation get discouraged. Permit me to suggest to you the propriety of sending to this frontier an experienced major general on the federal establishment, to take the command of such army as may go against the Creeks. There are generals of experience in our militia, as well as of ability; but I fear most of them would go into a war of this kind with ideas that a discrimination of friend from foe among Indians was ridiculous and absurd, and that, if left to them, it will shortly become a general business. This, I am persuaded, you will find to be the case; and let me tell those advocates for a general Creek war, that they will find it an obstinate, bloody business, as well as a ruinous burthen of expense to the United States. This, I know, is unpopular doctrine in Georgia, but I never shall withhold an opinion when I conceive it can be of service to my country. My candor, and uniform exertions to preserve peace, prevent misrepresentation; oppression, and abuse on the friendly Indians, has drawn the resentment of a certain class of people in this country upon me, and who will injure me if in their power; but I care not for them: I have done my duty faithfully, in every instance, which I can make appear to my employers whenever called on.

Dreading that the well-disposed in the nation would not be able to obtain satisfaction for the injuries done, and fearing that, in the end, the United States would be obliged to have recourse to arms, I considered it my duty

to secure the friendship of as many towns as possible, as, by dividing them, the work would be sooner effected, and peace restored. All my late letters and talks to the chiefs held up the idea of protection to all friendly towns, and strongly urged their neutrality; and, by the talks now enclosed from them, you will see that it is a desirable object to a great part of the nation.

From the papers herewith, you will observe that the Spaniards continue to insult and injure the United States. It is a matter beyond all kind of doubt, with me, that what George Galphin swears to is an absolute fact; and I am further convinced, that the old Tallassee king was employed, from the same quarter, to murder on the Oconee; in short, that they are at the bottom of the whole mischief. The Spaniards are now establishing a strong post on the St. Mary's, at a place called Newhope, twelve miles above Colerain, and four below Trader's Hill. Colonel Howard (the late secretary) was at my house four days past, on his way up this river. He is appointed to the command on this frontier. I treated him as politely as possible, and, on the 22d instant, I called on him when on my way (by water) to Colerain. He is at present quartered about thirty miles from hence, but he only waits there for the arrival of the troops from St. Augustine, who are momentarily expected. He made great professions of friendship on the part of his country toward the United States. I cautiously avoided saying a word that give could offence, or create a suspicion; and, in return, made a tender of our best offices whilst he remained on this frontier.

On the 18th instant, Mr. Payne, the king, and head chiefs of the Seminole Indians, arrived at Colerain, accompanied by twenty-one of his people; they remained with me until yesterday afternoon. I talked a great deal to them, and gave them such advice as I thought suitable on the present occasion, and state of Indian affairs. I am happy in being able to inform you that I have been able to detach them from every idea of joining the disaffected towns, and of having received from Mr. Payne and his chiefs the most solemn assurance of continuing in peace with the United States. I found Payne a very sensible, discreet Indian, and well informed. I paid him every attention, gave him and his people handsome presents, and sent them home well pleased. The Spaniards did all in their power to prevent this man's meeting me, by telling him a number of falsehoods, and making use of every low artifice to injure us in the opinion of those people. They have been disappointed, and I believe my friend Howard is not a little mortified, as he came *post* ahead of his troops to meet Payne, and with him an interpreter, which he, with other emissaries, sent to Colerain to meet P. on his arrival, and to lead them astray; but they were discovered, and properly attended to. Payne has determined to remove the whole of his people down to Cape-Florida, which is their hunting ground, and there remain, until the present troubles are over.

Panton, with two Spanish agents, are, by this time, in the Creek nation, under pretence of making peace between them and the Chickasaws. Probably this is part of their business, but their great object is to destroy our interest with the Indians, and, at all events, bring on a general savage war.

The seeds of the present troubles were sown by McGillivray and Panton, and they are now coming to maturity, owing, in some measure, to our over delicacy. We have had the means in our power to have made them repent of their unjust interference; and I think it is not yet too late.

The *humane* and *worthy* Governor O'Neal, of Pensacola, is promoted to the very lucrative government of Campeachy, for his faithful and unwearied services, in distressing us through the savages. A Major White, who, you may remember, came with Mr. Gardoqui to Philadelphia, is at present Governor of Pensacola. Howard is a man full of intrigue, and a bitter Spaniard. I think we shall find him troublesome.

Governor Telfair declares this State in alarm, since the 20th of April, but what measures he is taking, either offensive or defensive, I know not. I have given him regular information at all times, since my appointment, of every occurrence which concerned Georgia to know; but he has never deigned a reply to any of my communications.

Brigadier General Gunn has been with me for some time, making arrangements of the militia, and establishing posts. I was happy to see him here, as he will be able to give you a true and impartial state of matters. He has promised to write you. Major Butler has also been in our neighborhood some weeks; he will be able also to inform you of our situation. I cannot finish this letter, without again calling your attention to the conduct of the Spaniards, who most undoubtedly are determined to involve us in a general war with the Creeks. It matters not what their professions of friendship to our country are, their actions justify my opinion.

Should Spanish intrigue, or the rage of our countrymen, rouse all the Creeks against us, then my advice would be, a decided blow: for, to look to savages, so stated, for peace, before corrected, would be courting insult, and in the end prove abortive.

The mode of correction, in my humble opinion, would be best effected by a body of troops, under General Sevier, or some other of that country, well acquainted with such warfare, to fall in upon them from the westward. As many as can conveniently be sent from the frontier of South Carolina; under General Pickens, this, with the whole mounted force of Georgia, to march into the nation in different directions, and at the same instant destroying all before them. Five thousand men, thus disposed, will destroy the whole of the Creek towns in one month, and bring them to sue for peace on any terms. Whilst this is going forward, I would advise the whole of the frontier of Georgia to be well guarded, by the foot militia, as well to cover the country from skulking parties, as to secure the return of the troops on the expedition, if found necessary. The season, when the corn is fit to use, which will be in the fall, would be most suitable, on account of supplies for our horses, and distress of the enemy. Beef is plenty in that country at all seasons. I have taken measures to keep the Chickasaws and them engaged, until we see how matters go. The Indians in general are extremely alarmed, and if attacked on different quarters, and at the same time with spirit, will speedily be conquered. The Spaniards in Florida, and their spies here, give the Indians full information of all our movements. It is impossible to prevent this, whilst there is a free intercourse between Florida and Georgia.

I have prevented this frontier from breaking up, so far; and, from our exertions, and putting a good face on matters, not an Indian has appeared in this country since the murders in March. Much mischief, I find, has, and continues to be done, on other parts of Georgia less exposed, and much more populous than we are. I find, by accounts from the nation, that one Coweta Indian is killed, and two wounded, on the Oconee. Having communicated all that appears material at present,

I remain, &c.

*Talk from Kinnard and other Chiefs.*

The Cussetah King, the Mad Dog of the Tuckaubatchee, the White Lieutenant, and myself, have sent you an answer to your talk sent by our friend George Galphin:

HITCHETA TOWN, 16th May, 1793.

MY FRIEND:

When the Indians killed Mr. Fleming, and some others on St. Mary's, I received a letter from you which surprised me and the rest of your friends very much. We all know very well that when we held the talk with you at the treaty, that if there should be any mischief done on either side, that satisfaction was to be given: But, when the people heard they were to be delivered to you, the Tallassee King raised the affair again, and sent out, and had more killed; so that we could do nothing in it. The heads of your friend towns were determined to give satisfaction; but, after there were so many of your people killed, it was out of our power to do any more with them. The names of the towns that was always against the frontiers is, the Cowetas, Broken Arrow, Uchees, Usechees, and the Tallassee; there was some of the Chehaws, that done the first mischief, but it was a talk from the Usechees that made them turn out; but they have left their town, and has gone and joined the others, and what is left of them is all peaceable, and are your friends. I have talked until I am tired, likewise the Cussetah King, and the rest of our head-men, but to no purpose; so that the only plan we have concluded on, is, to send your people up, and give them one drubbing, and burn their towns, and drive what property they have out of the land, and without this is

done, you may depend you never will get satisfaction. The Cussetahs is your friends, and lives between the Cowetas and the Uchees, and hope they won't be hurt, as they mean to lie still. If the white people should come by the Buzzard Roost, they and the Cussetahs are all one town. There is a way to cross above the Roost, straight to the Cowetas, but, I hope they won't be at a loss for a pilot. There is two men now at the Rock Landing, one Joe Ireland, and one Donnelly, that knows every path to this country. So I would have you do just as we advise you, and not to hurt any that lives at the Roost; and, I hope if any should come the road to my house, that they will not frighten our women and children, for they might run into the woods and perish. Now, my friend, I have advised you all I can, and if you should hurt any of my people round about me, I will not think well of it. When you send up to take a brush with these towns, perhaps there may be some about, that may want to join them, and if there should be any, and I should be alive till then, I will let you know. The five towns is all that are against you which I have mentioned; there is the Tallapoosa river and the Coosa river are all our friends. I am informed General Clarke is raising men to come against those Indians, and if he should meet any friendly Indians out a hunting I hope they won't be hurt. You will oblige me very much, when you receive this, to send it up immediately to General Clarke, and the rest of the officers on the frontiers. I hope that they will not come this way, that I may be contented in my house, as my people are very scary.

The mad people here says that the white people always says they are coming to drive them, and that they can't come, they are afraid. I shall be glad to hear from you.

I remain, &c.

Galphin's Deposition.

GEORGIA, Camden County:

Before me, James Seagrove, one of the justices assigned to keep the peace of the said county, personally appeared George Galphin, who, being duly sworn, deposed and saith, that he was at the house of John Kinnard, in the Hitcheta town, in the Lower Creeks, on, or about, the 9th instant, when a certain James Burges, an Indian trader, who lives on the lower part of Flint river, came to said house in consequence of a letter sent to him some time before by Mr. Kinnard, accusing said Burges of being knowing to, and concerned in, the murder and robbery, at Trader's Hill, on the river St. Mary's; said Burges, in presence of this deponent, endeavored to acquit himself of having any part therein, further than that he knew mischief would be done, as he then positively declared, that three Indians came to his (Burges') house, who informed him they were direct from Pensacola, and sent by the Governor of that place, and a Mr. Panton, a well known Indian trader, partner of the house of Panton, Leslie, & Co. of Florida, with positive directions from those men to *take hair* (as they term scalping) from the Americans, living on the river St. Mary's; and that their orders were not to return to their employers, without committing murder on the Americans. That Burges further declared that those three Indians were joined by a party of Indians belonging to the town where the said Burges lives; and proceeded together to St. Mary's, where they killed Capt. John Fleming, and Daniel Moffit, and robbed the store of Robert Seagrove; and said Burges also declared, that he saw the three Indians, before mentioned, on their return from St. Mary's towards Pensacola; that they were loaded with goods, the plunder of Robert Seagrove's store, and had with them the scalps of Captain Fleming and Mr. Moffit. That Burges also said, he firmly believed that the Governor of Pensacola and Panton were the means of having the said persons murdered, and robberies committed. Burges acknowledged that his brother-in-law, an Indian, was one of the party at Trader's Hill, but denied that his own son was there. Further this deponent saith not.

GEORGE GALPHIN.

Sworn &c. this 24th May, 1798.

JAMES SEAGROVE, *Justice of the Peace.*

James Aiken's Deposition.

DISTRICT OF GEORGIA, }  
City of Savannah: }

Personally appeared before me, James Aiken, late a resident of the Creek nation, who, being duly sworn, maketh oath, that, about twenty-two days since, he left the Creek nation, when the Chehaws and Oakmulgees, and the Hitchetas towns, were in a restless situation, and there was no probability of the demand of Mr. Seagrove being complied with. Kinnard, the principal man in the district from whence the perpetrators of the mischief came, pressed them very hard to comply, but the head-men and warriors of the different towns told him in answer, that Mr. Seagrove's talks, in behalf of the United States, were too hard, and that they had no reply to make, until the nation at large determined the matter. They had proposed to give up the plunder, until Mr. S's talks came, demanding those who had done the mischief and committed the murders, when the Indians turned in to killing the cattle which they had taken. That, previous to his leaving the Chehaw town, where he resided, the Old Far-off King, and the second man of the town, with another, had left it, under the apprehensions of the white people making an attack on them, and taking satisfaction, and that a number of others were preparing to remove also; that the Chehaw's party alone took upwards of seventy head of cattle, fifty-three of which belonged to a Mr. Regan, a negro fellow, and a negro wench and child, wearing apparel, and household furniture, and even a bible belonging to the same person, (Mr. Regan;) that the Chehaw party brought in four scalps, but that he has not seen any of the party which robbed Mr. S. as they lived forty miles below the Chehaws, and were a part of the Seminole Indians; that one of the Chehaw Indians, known by the name of Savanoeca, and who was one appointed by the Creek nation to run the line between the St. Mary's and the Altamaha, and who, on his return, was asked by the deponent how he had been treated, and replied that Major S. had treated him very well, as Mr. Ellicott had done also, and that he was perfectly satisfied, and had received, to this deponent's knowledge, two hundred dollars, was one of the party who killed the travellers between Setillas and St. Mary's; that Kinnard desired the deponent to write to Burges, a white man, in the Seminole towns, in Kinnard's name, previous to Major S's talks arriving in the nation; that the proceedings of the hostile Indians, of which number Burges' son was one, was disagreeable to the nation at large, and that, if they persisted, the nation would throw them off, requesting that the property taken might be lodged in his (Burges') hands, to be delivered to Kinnard, who proposed to return it; that Burges' answer was, that the principal people who murdered the two persons at Mr. S's store had come ahead of the rest of the party, (three in number) and had taken the goods they had plundered in a boat, and had hid them in a swamp, and proceeded immediately on to Pensacola with the scalps they had taken, to the Spanish Governor and Mr. Panton; that the rest of the party, as soon as they returned, called at his (Burges') house, when he made them acquainted with Kinnard's demand, when they likewise told him they had left the property they had plundered in the woods, but would not agree to give it up; that Kinnard was still faithful to the Americans, and had the United States' standard flying in his yard when the deponent came off, and informed the deponent that he would continue it flying, and that if any American parties came he would receive them with it. A number of others told the deponent also that they would fly to those colors for safety; that he knows nothing more respecting the proceedings in the nation; but after he resided in the settlement of the State, he stayed two days at Captain Harrison's, near Carr's Bluff, on the Oconee, when he proceeded down the Oconee, in order to take the Altamaha path in his way to Mr. S.; after travelling about twenty-five miles, he took up at the house of a Mr. Barryhill, and shortly after, being in bed, the family were alarmed by the dogs and cattle in the yard, which they supposed to be occasioned by wolves; but in the morning, when the deponent got up to proceed, he found his horses were gone, with five head of horses belonging to Mr. Barryhill, and, on hunting for them, the deponent discovered the Indian tracks, and followed the Indians about two miles in one direction, but finding they were not to be overtaken, the deponent, and those who were with him, returned to Barryhill's house, and the deponent, going back to Harrison's house to get another horse, which he had

left there, followed the track of three Indians up to the plantation of Francis Pugh, Esq. where he saw his son lay dead, having been killed, and twice scalped by that party; that there he was informed by Barryhill himself, who was not at home when the mischief was committed at his house, that the night before he was at Harrison's, and that another party of Indians had also come there, and had taken three head of horses from thence, when the deponent thought it dangerous to return to Harrison's, and came through the county of Ogechee on foot.

JAMES AIKEN.

Sworn this third May, 1793, before me.

WM. STEPHENS, *Mayor of Savannah.*

The deponent, James Aiken, in continuation, maketh oath, that he was made to understand in the Creek nation, that Major S. had demanded the reasons why the Indians committed depredations on the white people; the Indians informed the deponent it was from talks the Creeks had received from the Shawanese Indians, and what J. Galphin had told them respecting Seagrove and the United States; the deponent is of opinion, that Kinnard is head-man of the Lower Creeks; that an Indian runner came from Panton's store, in St. Mary's, requesting the Indians of the Chehaw town to come and get arms and ammunition from Panton's store, on which the head-men requested the deponent, being a trader there, to go and fetch such arms and ammunition.

JAMES AIKEN.

Sworn, in addition to the foregoing, this third May, 1793.

WM. STEPHENS, *Mayor of Savannah.*

*Timothy Barnard to James Seagrove.*

FLINT RIVER, 9th April, 1793.

DEAR SIR:

Your express, by the two Indians, of the 28th March, was handed to me last evening by Mr. Aiken, who is this far on his way to the settlements of Georgia, as he finds it will not be safe for him to remain at the Chehaws any longer; as it is not improbable, as they have heard of your demand for satisfaction, and as there is so many of that town concerned in the mischief, that they may turn out desperate. Some of them has already said, that it would be good to put Kinnard and myself out of the way, as we are instruments of setting the other towns against them. This was said before your demand was known, and expect it will make them much inveterate against us both. For my own part, as I know their disposition so well, I look upon myself in imminent danger. Kinnard is on a better footing. Nevertheless, my attachment to my country's service still sticks by me, and I shall stand it as long as I can, and will exert myself to execute your instructions as far as my present dangerous situation will admit of, so as not to throw myself quite into the power of savage cruelty. Mr. Aiken can fully satisfy you, on how ticklish a foundation a white man's life stands, at this juncture, so near those villains, who know they have no other steps to take to prolong their own lives a little longer than to strive to make the matter general, as they now find the mouths of the heads of the chiefs of the nation are open against them. Long before this, I imagine, Mordecai has reached you. The despatches you will receive by him will inform you, somewhat, of the disposition of the rest of the nation, which, at my meeting at the Cussetahs, seemed to bear every prospect of peace and friendship with the subjects of the United States; some few of the Cowetas seemed a little tainted with inveteracy, which was owing to the Shawanese talks, and a good deal owing to the frontier settlers driving over their cattle, horses, and hogs, on this side of the river; but, as I, previous to that meeting, had wrote down to Major Gaither, to obtain such measures, and had his letter to explain to them at the treaty that the stocks were all drove back; by such convincing proofs as these that I laid before them, letting them see that every officer under the President of the United States would readily contribute to remove any acts of injustice done them; that, and through the assistance of the White Lieutenant, of the Oakfuskees, and the Mad Dog, of the Tuckaubatches, I prevailed on the Cowetas to lay still till you came, assuring them that you would remove every reasonable obstacle that prove injurious to the peace of the nation with the United States. Their eager desire for your immediate arrival in the nation will serve to convince you that they were fully satisfied of your good intentions towards them, which, if it had not been for this villanous piece of business of the Chehaws, I had not the smallest doubt but you would have had it in your power to have settled every matter to your satisfaction. As to the line, I had fully convinced the chief of the heads, the necessity there was of having it marked, as the intentions of it, I told them, was more for the benefit of the Indians than the whites. I was much more in dread of mischief breaking out up ahead than where it did, which made me pay my whole attention to that quarter, as the Shawanese were fixed amongst them; besides, as Kinnard was so near them, and you had put him in authority over them, I had not the smallest idea of danger in that quarter; nevertheless, I, about fifteen days before, started for the Cussetahs, went down there, and there was only two men in the town, the Far-off King, and one other; I went to the Far-off King, and as he was not down at the treaty, made him fully acquainted with every particular matter; charged him to restrain his young people from horse stealing, or any other depredations; acquainted him fully with the bad consequences that would attend, if such practices were still pursued. Still, this old villain, I find, was one of the most active perpetrators of this mischief; there was but few of them started from the town, but two villains went off each side of the path, and collected men as they went, telling them falsehoods, that all the other towns were on the way out to war. Shall leave you to Mr. Aiken for particulars in this matter, as it is too late to recall what's done, so must do the best we can to make matters better or worse. By every information I can get, the Chehaws were returning back with cattle, and had taken no lives till they had passed Trader's hill, and on hearing what that desperado Galphin had done, then went back and killed and plundered those people near Colerain. I have long dreaded some such consequences from that man, as I always knew him capable of every thing that was bad.

I hope you will not put any confidence in his brother, so as to send him up on business, as he is not to be depended on; he pressed me to write you in his favor, which you may observe in my letter, as I only mentioned to you to assist him to make his way good to Savannah, as he pressed very hard on me, for which I thought would be as ready a way, as any, to get him clear of the nation, as I was afraid from his situation, if his brother and he got together in the nation, no good would arise from it. As soon as your talks are made known in the Cussetahs, I shall send Mr. Holmes to Alexander Cornell, in the Upper. I shall endeavor to impress every thing on the minds of the heads of the nation, that I can discern will prove any ways effectual to urge your present requisite demand; but, though seasonable and just as it appears in our eyes, some of even our friends will say, that it was too much to demand more than man for man, is what I believe a great many of the heads of the nation will try to effect; but were they even willing to try to give up all, or even half of the offenders, they would not be able to effect it; however, a little time, I imagine, will convince us of our fate in this quarter. I wish I may, and all of my color in this land, live to see an end to the present rupture. Kinnard is doing all he can to urge them to give satisfaction; if a satisfactory one cannot be obtained, and there is preparations making for a march of troops into this land, pray let me be acquainted with it as quick as ever you can. Kinnard, I hear, means to stand his ground, and all the Cussetahs; and a number more of other towns are determined to stay, to separate themselves off from those that are determined for war. I think if such a thing can be done, such characters ought to be taken notice of, and some place appointed for them to collect at, where they may save their lives. I have a large family myself, and do not know what to advise them to do, unless some such steps are like to be taken, as I do not know how soon I may be run off from them. I have just been informed of fresh threats from the Chehaws against my life, by Ted Charves, who has half an hour ago just arrived from there. That villain Galphin has done me the injustice to say, that I was the cause of his not being appointed an officer in this land, and said he would be even with you and me both for it; he told the Chehaw Indians there was several hogsheads of rum in the vessel at Colerain, and that I had stopped you from issuing out to them, and many more such injurious speeches, which has made those murdering villains so much the more inveterate against me;



but all shall not hinder me from trying all schemes to get him taken down to you, if I am obliged to run for my life afterwards. If I see matters likely to take a favorable turn, I shall immediately send off an Indian runner to you, opposite Colerain, on the Spanish side; his signal will be four quick repeated whoops, which you may, or any one there may, distinguish from any other Indian, bad or good. You may expect to hear from me soon.

If I am alive and able to stay here, would go in and stay in the Cussetahs, but there is not ten bushels of corn in the whole town, nor not to be bought within eighty miles of it, neither have I any thing left to buy it, as what little goods I had left on hand, have been obliged to expend, sending expresses about by Indians, and buying provisions to support a large family. Should be happy to hear from you as quick as possible, after you receive this; have now troubled you with a large letter, and bearer, Mr. Aikens, is just starting, as he seems a good deal frightened, and not without cause. Mr. Aikens had acted very much like a friend to yourself and the United States, and has had a great deal of trouble ever since he came up, assisting Kinnard; if you have it in your power, he is deserving of every help you can render him in his present situation. I have begged him to forward this to you as quick as possible. No more at present from, dear sir, your distressed friend, &c.

TIMOTHY BARNARD.

The preceding six pages is a true copy from the original, in my possession.

JAMES SEAGROVE, *Agent*.

St. MARY's, 24th May, 1793.

*Timothy Barnard to James Seagrove.*

KINNARD'S COW-PEN, 12th May, 1793.

DEAR SIR:

I arrived here yesterday, where I have met Mr. George Galphin, as I heard he was in the country. I sent in to the Cussetah King to meet me here, and another of the heads; accordingly they have. Mr. Galphin has been so bad with the rheumatism, ever since he arrived here, he has not been able to go about; part of my business here, was to try to get a woman, to have her sent back and her child, that is just, I hear, carried by into the Chehaw town, on the other river; for which purpose, I came by the Chehaw town on Flint river, below me, and brought five or six of them to Kinnard's, of the heads of the town, to assist in the business, as all that are left there at this time, are they that are for peace, and chief of them friends to us. The murdering and plundering villains are all moved into the Big Chehaws, on the other river, and carried off all their property; therefore, all the violators of peace are very near together, on the river Chattahoochie. The Cowetas are the highest up on the river; the Uchees, ten miles below that; the Chehaws, and the Usechees, both on one spot, three miles below that; which are the only towns that have been the cause of all this mischief, and are still keeping it up.

The towns below are lying quiet, and will hear no bad talks; the Cussetahs are on the east side of the Chattahoochee river, four miles below the Cowetas, which have, and are doing all they can, to stop matters, and picked out the men that were to die for satisfaction, before your first talk came up; but the Chehaw villains expected how it would be, and some of them had gone out again to do mischief, before your first letter came up, which put them to a stand to see what would be done; and they have kept up the game ever since, which is gone to such lengths now, that the heads see that its out of their power to kill man for man. The Cussetah king and Mr. Kinnard has concluded to send Mr. Galphin down to you, and let you know that all that can be done is, for a sufficient number of horsemen to come up, and cross above the Cowetas, and to burn, kill, and destroy, all they can find in them four towns, and that they will be sure to meet with no opposition from any of the other towns, and for my part, I see no other remedy; but there is one thing to be feared; without some very good commander should come, such a one as Major Gaither, the up-country people, will be for making no distinction, and fall on the poor Cussetahs, as they are so near; if they do, it will make the matter general, which would be, I think, a great pity that so many towns should suffer for what the villains of four or five towns have done, and the rest are all lying still. Those Chehaw villains sent the war-whoop down to the town below them; they told them not to bring it there, but to go to the Cowetas with it, as they were of the same way of thinking as themselves. The Cussetah king begs me to write to you, to strive to keep the Rock Landing path open from them, and from that to the Buzzard Roost, on to the Cussetah town, as they never mean to lift up arms till the whites fall on them, nor none of the towns in the Upper Creeks, except them rascally Shawanese that lives there, and the Tallassee King's people, which are now he says, stopped. The Cowetas passed a man, shot through the head, the other day, both his ears cut off, and scalped, and another wounded through the hand. The Cussetah king, and all his town, and Kinnard's, think the sooner the Cowetas get a rout the better, as they talk of moving off the Pea creek, near half way to Pensacola. I was trying if the Cussetah king and Kinnard, if they could not raise four or five towns and fall on those towns, and take satisfaction, but they said it was not in their power; as I told them it would be dangerous to bring the white people in their land, they seemed to say it could not be done. There has six people been killed up above the Rock Landing, four below Carr's bluff, a woman and child carried off from the Hoppees; Captain Milligan immediately sent off to me about the woman, by a mulatto that speaks the Indian tongue. I have got the head warriors of the Chehaws on this river, that had no hand in the mischief, to send in with the Cussetah king to get her, and send her to my place, which I hope will be done, and I will send her down well guarded, to Captain Milligan, at Baskett's bluff; it's a pity there was not some assistance sent to Captain Milligan before this, as he has but seven or eight people with him there, and sometimes less; I expected daily to hear of him being killed and robbed; it's very necessary, I think, a station should be kept there, as it is a mean crossing place; they have killed one man within a mile of his little fort. I had letters a few days ago, from the Rock Landing, by two Indians that I sent down, to guard Mr. Holmes and Mr. Garvin, and one Hutcheson, which came up to my house from that quarter. I am informed General Clarke has got two thousand five hundred men ready to start for the nation, and am afraid, if he starts before he hears from you, that he will kill all, without distinction. I wish he may not be started before this; Major Gaither, in his letter to me, seemed to dread some such consequence. I wish he may be stopped, till he hears who is his friends; as, if he makes a breach on the Cussetahs, it is all over with peace in this quarter. There is news come to the nation, that there is three Spanish officers to come through the Chickasaws, and to come to the Creeks, and Pantan is to meet them there, and give out their talks. I would wish to go and oppose them, but there is one thing against me—I have no commission to shew, if I should fall into their hands. The Indians, all over the nation, are much frightened; the offenders are more so than peaceable towns; there is not one out of twenty or thirty, that will offer to take up arms, if they were sure they and their towns would be spared; you are the best able to judge what to do for them. Kinnard is determined to write you fully what to do with the murdering towns.

I am, dear sir, respectfully, &c.

TIMOTHY BARNARD.

I certify the preceding four pages to be an exact copy from the original in my possession.

JS. SEAGROVE, *Agent*.

St. MARY's, 24th May, 1793.



*List of the unfriendly towns in the Creek nation, and those that the friendly chiefs recommend should be punished; also, their number of fighting men.*

To whole of the Cowetas are our enemies, effective,	- - - - -	150
Big Tallassee, or Old Tallassee King's people, the most unfriendly of any in the nation	- - - - -	120
Broken Arrow, all bad	- - - - -	50
The Upper, or Big Uchee town,	- - - - -	60
Uchees, all bad; the residence of Bowles and Willbanks; to them have joined a part of the Cheehaws, those who murdered on Setilla, and robbed on Altamaha, and in all	- - - - -	45
		<hr/>
		425
To these it is probable straggling fellows may join, to the number of	- - - - -	75
		<hr/>
		In all, 500
		JS. SEAGROVE, <i>Agent</i> .

*The answer of Mr. Payne, the great Seminole and Lackaway King, to James Seagrove, Agent of Indian Affairs, delivered at Colerain, on the river St. Mary's.*

RIVER ST. MARY'S, in Georgia, 22d May, 1793.

FATHER, BROTHER, AND FRIEND:

I have opened my ears, and heard your talk. Your talk is a good talk, but I cannot answer all you have said to-day. I must consult my people first, and then I will give my talk to-morrow. We Indians don't know so much as the white people. I have been here some days, me and my people, and your people have used us like brothers; and, as I told you before, I will give you a talk to-morrow.

THURSDAY, 23d May, 1793.

I am going to talk with you, my father, brother, and friend. The sun is high, and I am near parting with you, but I shall give you my talk first. The man above made us all, and we are one people. I speak to you as having one father and one mother.

I have been told by our old people, that the great water covered all the world, and drowned all the people, except a few which was in a house on the water. Whether this is the place where the house was, I do not know.

I was told the great water divided the world in seven different parts, and this part (America) was given to the red people. And when the white people first came to this part, the red people was afraid of the white people, but, on seeing them a few times, they ventured to speak to one another. When they got acquainted, the white people planted corn, and agreed that the white people should feed the red people, and be the red people's fathers; and the white people were to run a line through their country.

We are ignorant people; we know nothing, and had hardly any thing to eat. You have clothed us and fed us a long time. I am glad I have met with such a beloved man as you are. I have often heard of you before, and of your good talks, but now I see you, and find it is all true, and I take you by the hand, as you have taken me, and I hope we shall both keep fast hold in peace and friendship.

BROTHER: I am sorry to hear that our red people have done so much mischief against your people. I will send all my people out of the way, and I hope we shall meet sooner than you expect, in peace and friendship, to live like brothers.

If you have any thing to give me and my people, we shall be glad to have it. I have nothing more to say, only that I will do as you have told and advised me. I know it is right, and for our good.

*The speech of Niocfaw Mico, or Sick King, a Seminole.*

MY GOOD FATHER, FRIEND, AND BROTHER:

You seem to be afraid that we cannot keep our young warriors from joining the mad people, and going to war against you. But you need not be afraid. I am the speaker of the towns, and I shall send all our people out of the way. Our people are not like the people in the mad towns. Our towns never used any white men ill, but always used them well, and always will.

I am now talking with *one tongue*, and what I say is true. Your talk is a good talk, and it will not *dry up soon* with us. We know it is better to keep peace, as you have told us, and, as we have said before, we will do as you have told us.

Taken down as translated to me, by Langley Bryant, sworn interpreter.

JOSEPH ELLICOT, *Surveyor*.

I certify the preceding to be an exact copy from the original in my possession.

JAMES SEAGROVE, *Agent*.

*James Seagrove to the Secretary of War.*

TOWN OF ST. MARY'S, 14th June, 1793.

About ten days past, a party of Indians were discovered near the post at Colerain, who came in freely and of their own accord. They all appear to be Cussetahs, and are eight in number, viz: four men, three lads from 15 to 18 years, and a little boy about seven years. Two of the men I know to be Cussetahs; they were with me at the Rock Landing for some time.

The account they give of themselves is, "that they have been out from home for upwards of two months, hunting on this frontier, from the Oakmulgee to the St. Mary's, during which time they have not seen a white or red person; that when they left home, it was determined by the chiefs to give satisfaction for the injuries done this country, which they expected had taken place, and therefore went out on their hunts as usual; that they never heard a word of any mischief being done but that on this frontier, in March last, until informed by me; that they are our friends, as is every man of their town."

I am led to believe their account in part is just, but as to their not having seen Indians since being out, I do not believe, as they must have seen and known of parties of Indians coming in and going out upon mischief.

At any other time but the present undetermined state of matters, and whilst the spirit of the Georgians appears so violent against every lenient measure toward an Indian, I should not have had a thought of detaining those people. But I am well convinced, that, had I suffered them to return home, the clamor in this State would be intolerable, and that all future mischief would be attributed thereto. Considering well those matters, and those people's coming appearing in rather a questionable manner, and I having found four horses in their possession, which were taken from people of this county within two months past, this, and other matters, has induced me to detain them, as well from a view of preventing reflections on the servants of the Union, as to secure the persons of those people from the resentment of hot-headed men among us, and, at the same time, to prevent them from attributing any mis-

chief that may hereafter be done to the Cussetah town people, as those were out on our frontier, and had seen our situation. I do not, by any means, consider those men as prisoners of war, nor shall I treat them as such. They shall be treated with humanity, and want for nothing to make their detention sit light on them. I shall take measures to make their town acquainted with the reason of their detention, and doubt not I can satisfy them that it is meant for their ultimate good.

One of them, who appeared an obstinate stubborn man, cut his own throat in the night of the 11th instant, in the house where they are lodged. He kept his intentions from his companions, and committed the act so silent, as not to be discovered until expiring. He had a brother in the room, who, with all the rest, agree that it was his own act, and that no one is to blame in any respect. I think it proceeded from there being a sentinel placed at their door, and to attend them when allowed to walk out to take the air; this being necessary for their detention and preservation. His brother tells me that he expressed a dislike thereto, the afternoon before, but in a distant way.

I am very much at a loss what to do with those people. Should they be called for by the Governor of Georgia, I shall feel embarrassed: for, if they are removed from this place, I know not what would be the consequence to them. I am not without fears that an attempt may be made by white people to take them, in order to destroy them. I wish to receive your instructions what I am to do with them, and as soon as possible.

I have written General Jackson, who commands the militia of this division of Georgia, respecting those Indians, and the appearance of more being on our frontier, a copy of which I enclose you.

Yesterday the Spaniards evacuated their post, lately established on the upper part of this river, and have removed to the river St. John's, where, I am told, they are going to fortify. I suspect this sudden movement is owing to their having just received the accounts of a war between them and France.

I have not heard of any mischief being done by the Indians on the frontier of Georgia, since my last.

*James Seagrove to Major General James Jackson.*

TOWN OF ST. MARY'S, 12th June, 1793. *Friday Morning, 9 o'clock.*

DEAR GENERAL:

About eight days past, a small party of Indians appeared in the vicinity of the fort at Colerain. They first made their appearance to one of Captain Randolph's company, who was out taking care of horses, and came to the fort without hesitation, or the least appearance of fear. I had them closely examined. I find them to be Cussetahs, eight in number, viz: four men, three lads, and a little boy about seven or eight years old. Three of the men I know to be Cussetahs, having been with me at the Rock Landing. They pretend to have been from home upwards of two months hunting, and knew of no other mischief being done to the frontier of Georgia, except that on this part in March last.

They did not bring any letters or papers to me from their chiefs, or from my deputy; and their story and manner of coming at this time appearing to me rather mysterious, I conceived myself justifiable in detaining them. I therefore had them brought to this place, and confined in fort St. Tammany, where I shall keep them close prisoners until I receive orders to the contrary from the Executive of the United States, or the Governor of Georgia. Although those people may be perfectly innocent as to any bad design against this country, yet such is the situation of affairs at present, that I conceived myself justifiable in detaining them, from a variety of reasons.

For three days past, the scouts from Colerain have discovered the trail or track of foot and horse, supposed to be Indians. I received an express late last evening, from the commandant at the above station, informing, that many tracks had been discovered yesterday morning; some of them within a mile and a half of that place; that he had sent out two parties to endeavor, if possible, to discover them; that the track bore towards the burnt fort, on Setilla, and Lemon's ferry, a few miles above; from which I must conclude they intend something against Glynn or Liberty. I shall despatch a boat with notice to Glynn county as soon as it is ascertained that they have crossed Setilla. Last night, one of the Indians confined in fort St. Tammany, cut his own throat with a knife which he had secreted in the prison. His companions knew nothing of it, until awoke by the noise he made when suffocating.

They all say it was his own act, and no person is to blame, as he had no cause, he, and all of them, being well treated. I have also prisoner, a Chehaw fellow, that was taken the day after the murders at Trader's Hill, and made his escape from the fort at this place. He went into Florida, and was much caressed there. He came opposite to the station at Colerain, and was invited over; having heard of some threats he made use of while in Florida, I thought it as well to keep him secure. These prisoners may probably bring unpleasant visitors. Be that as it may, nothing shall prevent me doing what I conceive to be my duty. I have not a doubt but I shall be censured by some for detaining those Indians, but I have long since been taught to know that it is in vain to attempt to please all. My actions are directed by what I conceive just and right. This I shall invariably pursue, without paying the smallest regard to the babbling vulgar, or designing party creature: not even the combined wisdom of the grand jury of Chat-ham, and their presentments, shall ever alter my purposes.

Our duty in this county becomes very heavy on those who are disposed to defend their country. We have a number of disaffected bad men, who refuse any assistance, and have taken themselves off to Cumberland island, and others to Florida. We are greatly in want of arms for those who are willing to do all in their power. At least one-third are without a gun. Captain Randolph's company of volunteer horse musters now upwards of sixty-five young men, but they partly want swords and pistols. Pray, sir, assist us, if possible, with those articles, as they may be the means of saving our country. I shall not close this letter till I hear from Colerain.

*Friday, 14th June.*—By an express, I have just received from Captain Randolph, at Colerain, dated this morning, I have the pleasure to tell you, that the tracks which have been seen for some days, prove, on close examination, to be no other than that of the Indians who are now in confinement at this place. I had a boat ready to despatch to Glynn and Liberty, had the accounts been unfavorable.

In addition to all our other misfortunes, the contractor's agent is now without a single pound of bread or flour to issue to the troops on actual duty. Unless supplies arrive in a day or two, it will be impossible for the men to keep together. I hope you will inquire into the cause of such horrid neglect.

If this county should be obliged to break, Glynn cannot stand, and, of course, Liberty will be much more exposed. There is no provision in the county, or it would be procured.

*James Seagrove to the Secretary of War.*

ST. MARY'S, 6th July, 1793.

SIR:

I had the honor of writing to you on the 14th ultimo, since which I am without any of your letters. The present will inform you of a very disagreeable affair which took place on this frontier on the 30th ultimo, which is as follows, so far as I have been able to discover. A man of the name of McDonald, who I had sent to the nation with letters, was on his return to me, and arrived at the station at Colerain, on the St. Mary's, on the morning of the above date. He, being well known to the commanding officer, was questioned as to the news from the nation, and the state of matters there. His replies appear to have been unfavorable and contradictory; and when asked for his despatches, he said some Indians had them behind, who he had left the day before. He told the officer that he had reason to think the said Indians returned back to the nation, and by this, he supposed the Creeks all at war with the States. These accounts appear to have alarmed the officers and men not a little, who were anxious to recover the despatches, and know a true state of affairs. A party of seven horsemen was ordered to go in quest of those Indians, accompanied by McDonald, and to conduct them to the station as friends.

The party set off, but about a mile from the station, McDonald declined going forward, and returned; the seven horsemen went on, and about ten miles from Colerain, fell in with four Indians, who it appears made a shew of resistance, upon which they were charged on, and it is said, were all killed. I received advice of this unfortunate affair same evening, about 9 o'clock, and next morning set off for Colerain, to get full information. About twenty miles from town, I met a party of horse, and McDonald in custody. Here I received my despatches, which were found in one of the Indian's packs, copies of which I now transmit; by them you will be informed of the favorable situation I had got matters to, and the pleasing prospect of all coming right ere long.

David Cornell, son of Joseph Cornell, who was interpreter at New York, was killed, and a boy. The other two Indians (I have reason to believe) though wounded, have gone off, and made their way home to the nation, as their bodies were not to be found next day. I have McDonald in custody, and shall detain him until this matter can be fully investigated.

The killing of Cornell at this critical juncture, may occasion a little more bloodshed; but from the steps I have taken, and the manner I have explained it to his friends, and to the nation, I do not view it in so bad a light as some do. Enclosed you have copies of my letters sent to the nation on this occasion. I certainly should have gone into the nation if Cornell had not been killed, but until I know how they will act thereon, I think it would be unwise. As soon as I can have an opening, and a promise from some leading characters of protection, I will be there: the necessity is great.

In addition to the preceding untoward affair, the mighty expedition from the western frontier of Georgia has proved abortive. It appears to have been illy planned, and worse provided and conducted. About 450 horse, and 300 foot, crossed the Oconee near the Rock Landing, under command of a Major General, and three Brigadiers, who proceeded as far as the Oakmulgee, when a mutinous spirit took possession of a majority of officers and men, who left the camp and returned home. This obliged the remainder to abandon their plan of giving a blow to the Cowetas, and other disaffected towns, and to return home.

After so much parade and expectation, and nothing being done, it is natural to suppose the unfriendly Indians will represent it in the most unfavorable light. I, therefore, conceived it a necessary piece of policy to give it as favorable a construction as possible; which you will see in my letter to the nation. I hope what I have said will not be thought improper.

It having (I am told) been insinuated, in order no doubt to injure me, that I had concern in Indian trade with my brother Robert, I have sent you my affidavit on that head; my employers and friends *only*, I wish to satisfy on this and every other matter. As to the malicious attacks of the anti-federal and Yazoo gang of Georgia, I care not; indeed I think there would be room to suspect me of fidelity to the General Government, if I was spoken well of by them as an Indian agent.

I have not heard of any mischief having been done the Indians on the frontiers of this State, since I last wrote you. I am, &c.

*James Seagrove's deposition.*

GEORGIA, Camden county:

Before me, William Mowbray, one of the justices assigned to keep the peace of said county, personally appeared James Seagrove, Agent of Indian Affairs, in the Southern department of the United States, who, being duly sworn, deposed and saith: That, ever since receiving his appointment as Indian agent, in the employ of the United States, which was in January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, he, the said agent, hath not been concerned, directly or indirectly, in any Indian trade, or commerce, by himself, or with any person or persons, whatever. And the said deponent further swears, that, whilst he continues in the employ of the United States, as Indian agent, he will not, directly or indirectly, be concerned in any Indian trade, or commerce.

JAMES SEAGROVE.

TOWN OF ST. MARY'S, 9th May, 1793.

Sworn before

WILL. MOWBRAY, J. P.

*Timothy Barnard to James Seagrove.*

FLINT RIVER, 20th June, 1793.

DEAR SIR:

After finishing a letter to you, by request of David Cornell, with respect to his opinion of public matters, I wish here to give you mine, as near as possible as I can judge by the present situation of affairs. The Upper Creeks called a meeting at the Tuckaubatches, of all the Upper and Lower Creek towns; some of the heads from chiefs of both attended; they were concluded by the voice of the whole of the Upper Creeks, and likewise the Cussetahs, that they would take every step in their power to continue at peace with the United States; and, as they knew there was no step could be taken to effect this, but to give immediate satisfaction for the murders and hostilities on the inhabitants of Georgia, they came to a full resolution to begin on the business; therefore, thought it requisite to begin first, on those that committed the first murders. Men were despatched off from the Cussetahs to execute the business; but by what I can learn, that old villain Dourouzeaux, who has now turned a Spaniard, and has taken three hundred dollars a year for being their interpreter, he joined with some of the Cowetas, and sent out talks that caused a disappointment in the business. I was at the Cussetahs at the time; I then told them that they must still persist in the matter, and complete it, as that, and nothing short, would make atonement for what was done, so as to preserve their nation from bloodshed. I have some reason to believe there is again men sent off on the business of making a beginning on the murderers—the Cowetas, and Usuchees, and Chehaws, who are the transgressing towns. It was agreed at the meeting to return the horses, and all the property that has been taken from the settlements of Georgia; but since they returned into the Lower towns, they have altered their tone, and seem to refuse it. The Upper Creeks seem resolved, that, if they still continue obstinate, to strive what they can do by force. How far these matters may be put in force, I cannot take upon me to say, but I am fully convinced the Upper Creeks and Cussetahs are both serious, and bent to do what they can to settle matters; they have paid little or no attention to the *Dons' talks*, and I am sure they will not, if they can settle matters with the United States. The Cussetahs have collected every horse they can get hold of to send down. I expect they will be sent to me in four or five days. What has been done seems to have put a stop to any parties going out on the settlements. The Cowetas and Chehaws still seem very obstinate, and refuse giving up any property. If they alone could be made suffer, it would be the most effectual way to make a lasting peace; but if parties are suffered to come up, and fall on Indians without distinction, it will bring on a general war, in which they will receive every assistance by supplies from the Spaniards, and it is probable the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees, will join them.

The Spaniards have had eight or ten of the Cherokee chiefs down at Pensacola for some time, nursing them with every favor they can confer. The Spaniards continue to furnish all unfriendly Indians to the States with as much ammunition as they choose, and the obstinacy of the transgressing towns is entirely owing to their advice.

The Upper Creeks seem very desirous of your coming up, and the Cussetahs, as they say that if you were up yourself, any demands you made at this time would be complied with. I believe if you were to come up with Cornell, you might settle matters, as the whole of the nation seem inclined for it, except those few rascally towns: as to your person, I believe it might be safe, but I will not advise; you are the best judge. I think there will be some lives taken for satisfaction before long. David Cornell seems to think, if you do not come up, that, through the insinuations of the Spaniards, every good intention stands a chance of being knocked in the head. If Cornell is well

used, and comes back full handed, it will be of great service to the United States, as he is now inveterate against the Spaniards and Pantan. He says they have imposed on him and the Indians.

If you come up, Cornell is to send one of his Indians ahead to inform the Cussetahs, who will send a guard to meet you and bring you to their town; from thence the Tuckaubatchees will attend you to the Upper Towns; whether you come or not, use this young man well, as he may be useful to our country. His father, James Cornell, the interpreter, who went to Congress, and was much in favor of the Spaniard's during McGillivray's life, seems now much opposed to them. Even Melford, their great Colonel, has taken miff at their putting one over him; he says, that, if you were to come up and give him any encouragement, he would soon give you a full proof, from under the Spanish Governor's own hand, that he had orders from them to set the Indians on the United States. Despatch Cornell back as quick as you can, as it may be of bad consequence to delay him.

I am, &c.

*Timothy Barnard to James Seagrove.*

FLINT RIVER, 20th June, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

I have been to the Cussetah town, and arrived here yesterday in company with David Cornell, a head warrior of the Tuckaubatchees. He says his business this way was by order of the whole Upper Creeks, after a meeting they had at the Tuckaubatchees, in consequence of your talk by Mr. McDonald. The conclusion of the meeting was, that satisfaction should be immediately given for the murders committed on the subjects of the United States. A number of the heads of the Lower towns were likewise present, who agreed to the same. There was men appointed, and sent off, by the Cussetahs, to do the business of killing five of the murderers; and they got down as far as the Ufewles, near where they were, and would have done the business, but that old villain Durouzeaux has turned a Spaniard altogether; and has, I find, given out some talks, which he said was by that old villain Pantan, which, I believe, got ahead of the fellows that went to do the business, and has been the means of disappointing the business for a little while; but that the whole Upper Creeks, and nearly all the Lower Creeks, are determined it shall be done, and all the horses, that have been brought up, gathered. The Cussetahs had gathered nine head before I left the town. The Cowetas were to go about gathering the next day after I left the town. They have, from the Upper Creeks, sent word to the Chehaws and Usechees, not to offer to dispose of one of the negroes they brought up. David Cornell desires me to acquaint you that the Upper Creeks are determined to make the whole nation take one peace talk, and give up all the plundered property: when he set off from his own town, by order of the whole Upper Creeks, they expected those five men would be killed, before he reached the Lower towns, which has failed for the present, but will not be so, he thinks, long; as, if not completed soon, the Upper Creeks seem determined to take it in hand. There were men again appointed, and sent off, to kill some of the murderers. David Cornell had a meeting at the Cussetahs, with several of the heads of the Cowetas present; and they have consented to abide by the talks that are agreed on in the Upper Creeks. David Cornell therefore says, that it was the particular request of the Upper Creeks, that you would come up with him, as you may be sure that, before you get up, that there will be some of the murderers put an end to; and after you get up, they will be ready to pay attention to any other demands you may think fit to make. The Spanish agent is now in the Upper Creeks; but they do not (David Cornell says) pay any great attention to his talks; nor will not, till they despair of seeing you up. David Cornell himself gave him (the Spanish agent) such an affront, that he had his horse saddled best part of the day to leave the nation: the cause of his affront was, he requested that thirty of the heads of the Upper Creeks would attend at a meeting, which the Dons were about calling on the Mississippi, where the Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Cherokees, were to be assembled; and there they wanted the Upper and Lower Creeks to go. David Cornell told the Spanish agent that none of the Creeks, Upper or Lower, would or should go there to any such meeting; therefore David Cornell desires me to acquaint you that there is no danger of your person, on your way up; that you, by McDonald, received the white wampum, in token of peace and friendship, from the Upper Creeks, which was to keep the path white between them, and you, and General Washington; and which he hopes will remain so still, though some of the towns have misbehaved very much; but, still, he says there is now no fear, but that all will be put to rights. He therefore hopes that, when you see him, you will look upon it that you are speaking with one that is a friend to the United States, and one that is representing the whole Upper Creeks, as there was thirty some odd towns met on the same business he has went on. He had some notion of turning back, when he came to the Lower towns, as he found the business was not completed, with respect to killing the murderers. He, however, after consulting with the Lower Creeks, found that it was not dropped, but would still be done; he has thought fit to proceed on, and see you before he returned. He says, if it is the wish of the whole nation for you to come and see them, that he hopes you will not fail in coming up with him, which, if you do, you may depend on every matter to be settled to your satisfaction before you return. He says, times has been as bad as this before; and agents has come up from Charleston, and matters has been completely settled, therefore he hopes you will let nothing daunt or restrain you from coming up, if you wish to have matters settled in behalf of the United States, which will be done if you come up; and if you do not, he shall despair of its being done without, as the Spanish agents are present, and are very diligent in stirring up matters, though in an underhand way. David Cornell requested me to write this for fear he might not get a good interpreter there to acquaint you fully with his business.

TIMOTHY BARNARD.

*Charles Weatherford to James Seagrove.*

HICKORY GROUND, UPPER CREEKS, 11th June, 1798.

WORTHY FRIEND:

Yours I received by McDonald, dated 12th May last, and am under many obligations for your kindness in my behalf, therefore I have done all in my power to bring matters to a favorable situation. I hope now matters are very well settled in behalf of the United States, as I have left nothing untuned, that I thought would be beneficial, or preserve peace in that quarter. The nation, at their meeting of the Tuckaubatchees, have agreed to put to death five men, exclusive of John Galphin, which will make six. I hope the greatest part of them are already put to death, but if not, they will before this reaches you.

I have made it my business, decidedly, to every one of your requests, and in every respect, to assist you as much as possible in your undertakings. Had there been an appearance of war, you should have seen me, but, at present, there is a stop put thereto.

Your letter I received in an exceeding good time, as the Spanish talks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Cherokees, was appointed to be given out in three days after their arrival. It was a singular satisfaction to me, to have your orders to attend in behalf of the States; and I have so fully completed the business, that I hope, for the future, there will be no danger, as the whole of the Upper towns, and a large majority of the Lower, agree to be in peace with the United States.

Concerning the Chickasaws, they have met with a very cold reception from the Creeks, as there is some matters of consequence in their own way, which puts a stop to their talk. This, together with the influence used, the Creeks unanimously agreed not to hear what they had to say, relative to peace; and, of course, the war between them will be carried on in a greater degree than ever. As to the Cherokees, there is a part of them who hath endeavored to bring some of this nation to assist them in going to war, but the Creeks have utterly refused, of course the others are of no consequence, being but a very few in number, as the greatest part of the Cherokees wish to remain in peace.

Concerning the Choctaws, their talk, in this nation, is, as yet, not concluded, but, of course, it will be difficult, as the Choctaws have unanimously agreed to assist the Chickasaws, in case of the war continuing. A proposal was made through the Spaniards, that the Choctaws and Chickasaws, also the Cherokees, should meet at the Yazoo, to hold a talk, in order to unite all those tribes in peace with the Creeks. In conformity to your instructions, I have used my influence with the chiefs and head-men, who, to a man, have determined to have no concern with their meetings; and if war comes from that quarter, they are ready to meet it.

As to the Spanish influence, I am not, at this time, able fully to satisfy you; but I detain Mr. Rawlings for a few days longer, in order to collect some further intelligence concerning them and the Choctaws, as, at this time, there seems a necessity you should have a speedy answer to your last letters. Such part of the Spanish talk as has been given out, speaks of peace; but whether they are sincere, or that it is done through fear, or to deceive, I cannot yet tell, but will fully satisfy myself, and write you by the opportunity which I detain.

I have the satisfaction to inform you, that the head-men have agreed to send me down when this business is a little more settled, with a number of the leading men, in order to bring you up to the nation, in order to hear all from yourself.

I am, &c.

*The White Lieutenant, Alexander Cornell, and others, to James Seagrove.*

TUCKAUBATCHEE, UPPER CREEKS, 14th June, 1793.

DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER:

We received your talks by Mr. McDonald, which came in a very good time: for we had heard that the white people had killed McDonald, and we were afraid it was so, by his staying so long over the time he said he would be back. We were glad to see him, likewise to hear from you, which was on the 29th of last month, when the broken days were out, for the Upper and Lower Creeks to meet to hear the different talks from the Spaniards, which was to be held at the Tuckaubatchees, on the tenth of this month. There was twenty-four head-men of the Upper, and eight of the Lower towns present; they all unanimously agreed to take your talk, and hold it fast as long as they live. They all agreed to kill six of the ringleaders in the late mischief; and, when the business is done and completed, we shall send Charles Weatherford down to you. Mr. Joseph Cornell was interpreter for us; by the request of us, he hath sent his son, David Cornell, along with McDonald, that he might go down safe to you. David Cornell wishes to see you, and will tell you a true state of all things in this land. We all mean to give up, to be punished, the people you required; but it is a thing that cannot be done at once, for it must be kept a secret; for Indians are not like white men, that can do a thing directly; but by the nineteenth July, if not done, you shall be informed what steps to take. McDonald coming with your talks at the time the Spaniards was to give theirs, struck a great damp on the Spanish agent; so much, that he was afraid to give his talks out which he had from the Governor of Orleans. We had got all the Upper towns agreed to your proposal, for they always meant to be in peace with their Father of the United States, and all his people.

From your friends and brothers, in behalf of the Upper towns,

THE MAD DOG, of Tuckaubatchee.  
WHITE LIEUTENANT, of Oakfuskees.  
ALEXANDER CORNELL,  
CHARLES WEATHERFORD.

*James Seagrove to the Chiefs of the Creek Nation.*

ST. MARY'S, 27th May, 1793.

BROTHERS:

Your talk, of the 16th of this month, I have received by Mr. George Galphin, and am very sorry to find that it hath not been in the power of our friends, of your nation, to have justice done us, and thereby preserve your land in peace.

It now appears that all hope of redress, or justice being done by the Creek people to the inhabitants of the United States, for the murders and robberies committed by the former, is at an end. Know, then, you who are our friends, that I have discharged my duty between you and my country; and here finishes all further application, until the sword hath brought bad men to a sense of their duty.

I hope and trust that what I have often told you and your people, is strongly imprinted on your minds; particularly when I informed you, that, to be in peace with the United States, would be happy for you; and, to make them your enemies, would be your certain ruin, and total destruction as a nation. The time approaches rapidly; ruin assails your country, in part brought on by your own bad conduct, in not punishing your bad people before matters got to such lengths.

How can a nation or people expect mercy, or forgiveness, who have acted as yours have done towards the United States? It is needless for me, at this time, to recapitulate the unbounded goodness of my country towards yours, you having all of you experienced her kindness; and you are no strangers to the base ungrateful conduct of a part of your nation, in return for such goodness and care of you.

It makes me happy to find that so many of my Creek friends have acted like wise, virtuous, honest men, and have determined to take no part with those bad people who have killed our citizens, and robbed our country.

Such towns and people as continue our firm friends, will receive our protection and friendship, now, and afterwards; whilst they will see severe chastisement inflicted on the offending towns. Be not discouraged, my friends; all will come right, and you will reap the benefit of having held us fast by the hand in friendship. It is my desire and advice that the Cussetahs, and all the other friendly towns, do call in their hunters, and keep them in their towns, as it is impossible for our people to know the difference in the woods. Keep your people close at home, and do not suffer them to go amongst the bad people, or let the murdering, robbing villains come into any of your towns, or you will bring trouble on yourselves, by our people following them. Should a large army go into your country, it's probable I shall be with them, in order to befriend your good men. Keep all your cattle and horses near you, and do not let the bad Indians have them, or you will lose them. I have ordered Mr. Barnard to stay with the Cussetahs, and I now desire they will see that no one hurts him, and he will protect them when an army comes.

I once more desire you, as you regard your peace, not to listen to any talks brought into your land, at this time, by the Spaniards, or any others, as you may depend they have your ruin in view, by involving you in a war.

I shall send runners to the Oconee, and all over, to tell you are our friends in the nation. We have now made peace with the Northern Indians, so that our warriors have nothing to do there; attend to this, and be wise; sit still, and save yourselves and country, and you will ever find me your real friend.

JAMES SEAGROVE.

To Mr. KINNARD, the CUSSETAH KING, the MAD DOG, of Tuckaubatchee, }  
the WHITE LIEUTENANT, of Oakfuskees, }

And all the other kings and chiefs of the Creek nation, who are friends to the United States.

*James Seagrove to the chiefs of the Lower Creeks.*

ST. MARY'S, May 13th, 1793.

BROTHERS:

I received your good talk, with your white wing, which I shall hold fast. My Cussetah friends' talks are always straight and good; I wish the other towns were like them, but some of them are very bad, and are guilty of bad things. I have long expected to have seen the murderers sent in to me, or, at least, to have heard of their being destroyed, as the only means of preserving your nation in peace. I begin now to think that it never was intended, or it would have been done. I do not blame the Cussetahs, I believe it was their wish; but, as the great mother town, I think she ought to have insisted on it. I hope it is not yet too late, and that you will exert every nerve to have justice done, by complying with my demand. I sent a strong talk to you all by George Galphin; I hope you have got it, and are making good use of it. For fear it should not have reached you, I now send you a copy of it.

BROTHERS: Should the bad actions of your people bring a war on your land, and which, undoubtedly, will be the case, unless my demand is complied with, I now inform you, in behalf of my country, that all the towns in the Creek nation, who sit still and continue friendly to the United States, that they will not be hurt, but be protected in their persons and property; whilst all those towns and people who have been killing our citizens, and robbing our country, can expect no mercy. My promise to you has always been to warn you of danger—I now do it, and tell you, my friends, how to avoid it. The Cussetahs have always been our friends; we will take care of them, and such other towns and people as they can say are good and friendly. Scarcely a day passes, but I hear of murders and robberies on our frontier by the Creeks; as yet we have not retaliated, as we waited an answer to my demand; I yet expect it, and will continue to look for the delivery of the murderers for thirty days from this time; that is, an equal number to what we have lost. I hope you will take care of Mr. Barnard, and not suffer any body to hurt him. I am told that the Little Uchee village has behaved well; take them under your care; they shall not be hurt. You see now, my friends, that what I have often told you, you find coming to pass; which was, that listening to the advice of the Spanish people, and bad white men among you, would bring ruin on your land. Shame, shame—that great men and warriors would suffer themselves to be so abused, by a set of designing villains. Rouse, my friends, and clear your country of all those men; you know them well; they deserve your severe chastisement. I hope soon to hear that there is spirit left in your land, to do yourselves justice on those who have given you bad advice; who have encouraged your people to steal, and to murder, and, afterwards, purchase stolen goods. These men ought to feel your resentment. Attend to what I have said; it is for your good, and that of your nation.

Your friend,

JAMES SEAGROVE.

To the KINGS, CHIEFS, and HEAD-MEN, of the Cussetah town,

And all others, of the Lower towns of the Creek Nation.

*Captain Randolph to James Seagrove.*

COLERAIN STATION, 30th June, 1793.

SIR:

This day (after our scout went out) Mr. McDonald arrived from the nation; he informed me, that he saw some Indians on the path. He first said that they were six miles, and, afterwards, that they were twenty miles from the station. I immediately sent out seven men in order to discover their trail; they took it, and fell in with the Indians near Spanish creek. One of the Indians, on coming up to them, snapt his gun at Mr. Steth, (who was one of the party) within ten steps of him; our people then charged on them, and killed them all, four in number, without losing a man; they got five excellent horses from them, which we wanted much. Alexander Young, Esquire, and Mr. Wright, was here to day. They want to take possession of Bull-head block-house; they have but three men. I think it will be necessary to send a sergeant and six men to assist them. They are in want of ammunition, but am afraid I cannot spare them any.

I am, &c.

JOHN F. RANDOLPH.

*James Seagrove to Timothy Barnard.*

ST. MARY'S, 5th July, 1793.

DEAR BARNARD:

I now address you under great distress of mind, on account of a most unfortunate affair, which took place on the 30th ultimo, and is nearly as follows: McDonald, with my despatches from the nation, arrived at Colerain about noon of that day, and gave Captain Randolph a very confused and contradictory account of his coming; and, after remaining some time, informed that some Indians came with him, who he parted from about twenty miles back; but that, as he had reason to fear it was, by that time, a general war, he supposed a runner had been sent after them, and turned them back. This made the captain uneasy, especially as McDonald then told him one of the Indians had all the despatches, which were of great consequence. Upon this, seven men were ordered to accompany McDonald, and to go in search of those Indians, and bring them in as friends; but, if they endeavored an escape, or made resistance, then to use force. At a small distance from the station, McDonald turned back, and the party pushed on, and, about ten miles distant, discovered four Indians mounted, who, on being seen, set up a shout and ran; on which, the horsemen followed and came up. One of the Indians then took to a tree, and snapt his gun several times at one of the party. Upon this, a charge took place, and, in an instant, all four of the Indians (it is said) were killed. On inquiry of McDonald, and on perusing of my letters, which were found in one of the Indian's bundles, to our very great sorrow and distress, we find that our friend David Cornell was among those that fell, and by the hands of the identical man whose brother Cornell killed last winter, on the frontier of Cumberland. The other three were people who accompanied Cornell. Their horses, &c. I have secured for their friends.

Thus, my friend, I have given you a just account of this affair, which occasions me more uneasiness of mind than any thing I ever experienced in a political line. I have lost no time in despatching the bearer, Charves, to you with the news, that you may take such measures as may seem best for your own security, and that of all our friends in the nation.

The business is now done, and it is unfortunate; but still I have a hope that it may be settled. Every satisfaction shall be made the friends of the deceased, by presents and otherwise, if they will not take any rash steps. They must be convinced it was altogether an accident; and they ought to remember that, when our people were killed by theirs, we took no hasty measures, but applied for satisfaction in a regular way; and, I expect, they will do the same. If you are obliged to quit the nation, I wish you to come to me, where you will find a home as long as I have one.

There is another matter which you ought to know; it is the detention of eight Cussetah men and boys, by me, at this place. They came to Colerain near a month past, and told a confused story. The people were disposed to injure them. In order to prevent their being hurt, I brought them to this town, and lodged them in the fort, giving them liberty to walk about my house all day, to eat and drink as much as they chose. Another reason for my detaining them was, that I was certain of parties being out all along the frontier of Georgia, and going into the nation, who might fall in with these people and kill them, which would have been considered by their friends as done designedly by me: besides, had I let those people go at the time when robbery and murder was committing by their countrymen all along our frontiers, the people of Georgia would have had just cause to have censured me, and, perhaps, done worse. These people are very happy, and do not wish to return home, until some settlement takes place. One



of the men cut his own throat, the second night after he came here, in the room with his companions. No blame is laid on the white people. They say it was his own act, and no one is to blame; his time to come, and his life, were his own.

The enclosed letter to Alexander Cornell, and one to the Cussetah king, also to Kinnard, you will forward as you think best. The bearer, Charves, will give you further particulars.

The President has ordered the Governor of Georgia to act only on the defensive, for the present; in consequence, the expedition is delayed. I cannot possibly answer your letters by this conveyance: besides, I don't know that it would answer any purpose. Your own, and the safety of all our white friends in the nation, is my object at present. I certainly should have come up, if David Cornell had not been killed.

Send Charves back as quick as you can, and give notice, as early as possible, of this, to all our white friends in the nation.

I am, &c.

*James Seagrove to the Cussetah chiefs.*

ST. MARY'S, 5th July, 1793.

BROTHERS:

I suppose that, by this time, you have grown uneasy about four men and four boys belonging to your town, who have been from home above three moons. About one moon ago, these people fell in on our frontier, near Colerain station, and were brought in there, and, as soon as they were known to be Cussetahs, were treated with every kindness. There being then several parties of horse out scouring our frontier, and there being an army going in to punish the bad towns, I thought it would be wrong to suffer these, our friends, to go from this, lest they should fall in with some of these parties and be killed. I consulted with the four old men on the occasion, who were of my opinion, that it was best to remain with me until we could hear how matters were in the nation, or, until the path was clear for them to go home. They are very happy here, they have as much as they can eat and drink, and live as well as I do, being at my house every day, and lodge in a house in the fort, at night, lest any body should trouble them. Langley Bryant stays constantly with them. They live so well that they are in no hurry to go home. You may depend that I shall take every care of them in my power; and you will tell their friends not to be uneasy, as nothing shall hurt them. They shall be sent home, as soon as it can be done with safety to them and us. I am sorry to inform you, that, the second night after they came here, one of the men, named Sullapaye, (from some reason unknown to any body, red or white) cut his own throat with his knife, and died in a few minutes. His brother, Sullape, and all the rest, were sleeping along side of him on the same floor, and knew nothing of it, until it was done. His brother, and all the rest, tell me that nobody, either white or red, is to blame. He was well used, had every thing he wanted, and no white person was in the house, or near him, when he did it. I am sorry he should be such a fool. This is a true state of the business, and which will be confirmed to you when you see his brother and the rest.

Your great father, General Washington, hath forbid any troops going into the Creek towns, until it is fully known whether or not satisfaction will be given, agreeably to my demand; and, in consequence of this, the troops that had crossed the Oconee, to punish the bad towns, were ordered back, and will remain on our frontier, until the final determination of the nation is known. I hope it will be such as to preserve your land in peace, which only can be done by punishing the bad men, and restoring the stolen property.

I am, &c.

JAMES SEAGROVE.

*James Seagrove to Alexander Cornell.*

ST. MARY'S, 5th July, 1793.

DEAR BROTHER:

I now take up my pen to describe what I conceive an unfortunate affair to you and me, and I fear also to our respective countries; it is as follows: On the 30th day of last month, McDonald arrived at the station at Colerain, and informed Captain Randolph, the commanding officer, that he was from the nation, with despatches from you and the chiefs. He was kindly received, and, after some time, gave the people to understand that four Indians came down with him, part of the way; that he had come ahead of them; but, as they delayed so long behind, he concluded they had been followed by a runner, and turned back, and gave as his reason for this opinion, that, by this time, it was a general war in the nation; and, no hopes of peace or satisfaction being given, this alarmed the officers and men; upon which, McDonald was asked for the letters, when he answered, that an Indian had them all, who was one of the party. Captain Randolph then ordered McDonald to go immediately out and meet the Indians. He went some distance, and returned, and a scout of seven men, who were out from Colerain, unfortunately fell in with four Indians, on horseback, some with guns; and, not knowing them to be friends, rode up briskly towards them, on which the Indians set up a *whoop* and ran. The horsemen pursued, and, being better mounted, came up with them; on which, the Indians dismounted, and took to trees. One of them snapt his gun several times, which convinced the white people that they were enemies. Upon this, they fired, and soon killed all four of the red people. On examining the letters and papers, it was found they were our friends; and what adds exceedingly to the pain and distress of myself, and every body here, is, that our good young friend and brother, David Cornell, is among them that fell.

This, my dear Alexander, is the most distressing thing I ever met with in my life; to think of friends falling by the hands of friends, through a cursed mistake, is bad indeed; but is now too late to be prevented; we, therefore, as friends and brothers, must make the best of it, and not suffer it to involve us in further trouble.

This unfortunate affair hath arose from the stupidity, or villany, of McDonald, who I shall keep a prisoner until the whole is cleared up. I have only to say, my friend, for you and the other relations and friends of the deceased, that full satisfaction shall be made, agreeable to the treaty of New York, and I have now to entreat of yourself, the Mad Dog, White Lieutenant, your uncle Joseph Cornell, and all others concerned, not to alter their good opinion of us, on account of this accident, or to take any hasty measures in consequence, as it is my determination to satisfy you fully on this business.

The horses and other property, belonging to the people killed, I have taken into my possession, and they shall be returned to their friends, as soon as the path is clear.

To convince you, my friend, that it is not our wish to hurt any of the Indians who are our friends, there are now with me at this place eight Indians, seven of them Cussetahs, and one Chehaw, who have been here a month, eating and drinking as they please, and walking about my house. They were found on this frontier, and brought in, and as there are a great many parties of bad people out, and as it was expected troops would go into the nation to punish the bad towns, I advised those people to stay with me, which they have done, and are very happy.

Our great father, General Washington, has forbid the Governor of Georgia, or any of his people, going into the Creek land to war, until I have your final answer. This is the cause of the troops, that had crossed the Oconee, being ordered back.

Remember, my friend, that, when the red people killed Captain Fleming, and the rest of our people, we did not take any hasty or rash measure, though the provocation was great, but sent to you for satisfaction, and have waited now four moons without doing any thing. I hope you will consider this, and act as we have done. Had not our friend Davy been killed, I should certainly have come up with him, agreeable to request. You have always been our good friend, and I hope you will continue so. Give your uncle a good talk from me, and tell him he will find me a better friend to him and his family than ever General McGillivray was, and that he shall have every justice done him. Depending on your friendship, I remain, &c.



*James Seagrove to John Kinnard.*

ST. MARY'S, 5th July, 1798.

BROTHER:

I have received your talk by George Galphin, and am very glad that all your people continue in peace and friendship with us. Continue firm, and in so doing, you will reap the benefit of it ere long.

The Chehaw fellow that is with me is certainly a fool. He lives so well, and walks about this town at his ease, that I am certain if we were to drive him away he would return. I should have sent him and seven Cussetahs, that have been with me upwards of two moons, only that I knew there was a number of parties of horse out from our frontier, and also there was troops going to punish the bad towns only; and as those people might fall in with them and be killed, I thought it best to keep them with me as friends, until the path was more clear or matters settled. They shall be well treated, and sent home as soon as it can be done with safety.

The troops from the upper part of Georgia, that had crossed the Oconee, to punish the bad towns, were called back, in consequence of an order from our great father General Washington, not to go to war, until an answer was received from your nation, whether or not they would give satisfaction, agreeable to my demand. Those troops will remain on our frontier in peace, until this is known, and time given for that purpose. I again repeat to you, that, let what will happen, you or your friends will not be hurt. Do sit still, and mind what I say to you, as your real friend and brother.

JS. SEAGROVE.

*Extract of a letter from James Seagrove, Esq. to the Secretary of War, dated*

SAVANNAH, 31st July, 1798.

The instructions and orders of the President of the United States, as contained in your letter of the 30th of April, have received my particular and immediate attention; and the enclosed papers will point out the steps which I have taken, to carry the same into effect.

From the whole of my communication with you, and the chiefs of the Creeks, you will observe that it hath been my wish to be in that nation, but, that a train of circumstances and unfortunate events, rendered it almost impossible. Whilst General McGillivray lived, I was certain of being opposed by him and his adherents, both in and out of the nation. I was so well informed of the baseness of that man, and his treacherous conduct to our country, as not to leave a doubt but that he would be guilty of kindling a flame against me, or any person who should endeavor to establish peace and good understanding between the United States, and any of the Indian tribes to the Southward, but more immediately the Creeks.

My instructions being to avoid all disputes, or give cause of jealousy or suspicion to McGillivray; in way of rivalry, I thought it most advisable not to press myself on the nation, until I had the assent of a majority of the chiefs in my favor, to that effect.

This I obtained, unanimously, from all present, at the conference at Colerain; and the time was fixed by the chiefs for my meeting them to the first of May, in order to arrange and fully understand all matters between their country and the United States.

The Indians, who were present at the conference, declared in public that they were imposed on by General McGillivray, respecting the treaty of New York, and many other matters; and that they would oblige him to appear at our general meeting, and answer for himself, or quit the nation.

This, no doubt, he heard of, and knew of my growing influence; and, finding that I would attend as agreed on, he, and his Spanish friends, in conjunction with Mr. Panton, formed and executed the bloody plan at Trader's Hill, on St. Mary's, in March last.

This opinion is corroborated by several testimonies I have already furnished, and, I think, fully confirmed by the declaration of James Burges, as sworn to by George Galphin.

There cannot be a doubt, but the Spaniards and Panton were apprehensive, that, if I was allowed to get into the nation, it would be unfavorable to their projects; and Mr. McGillivray was convinced that his double dealings would not stand the test; therefore, it was determined by those characters, to have murder and robbery committed on our citizens, in which they have been too successful. This act of violence prevented my going into the nation, although I had made every arrangement, at that time, for the purpose.

Since that period, you have been advised by me of the repeated outrages by the Creeks, as well as that they had not complied with my demand of satisfaction. Had it not been for David Cornell's being killed on the 30th ult., I certainly should, at all events, have gone into the nation, and to the Upper Creeks, with him; as, from the letters received from some of the chiefs, it appeared to be their wish.

It would have been unwise to have gone immediately after such an event, at least, until it was known how the people of the nation would act in consequence. This I do not yet know; but, from the measures which I have taken, and what I am able to judge from circumstances, I do not think any rash step will be taken by the relations of Cornell. He, in fact, is no great loss to them, having been a turbulent, ungovernable young man, and, but of late that he became a convert to our cause; which you will find by his letter sent you, in mine of the \_\_\_\_\_, wherein he acknowledges his having killed Americans on the Western waters, by desire of Governor O'Neal, of Pensacola, and Panton. By the enclosed copy of a letter, received by me the 20th instant, from the White Lieutenant of the Oakfuskees, and also one from the Big Warrior of the Cussetahs, together with Tim Barnard's, of the 2d instant, I am led to believe that I may be able to effect an entrance into the nation; but not without difficulty and danger; all of which I disregard, provided I can accomplish the wish of the President of the United States, and thereby serve our country. You will see, by the letters now enclosed, that four of the Creek towns are disposed for mischief; and Panton is actually among them, stirring them up to war. He publicly tells them that they are not to fear the United States; they cannot hurt them; that they must not, on any account, consent to give satisfaction by punishing the murderers, or restoring property. That, unless the Americans remove back to the old boundary, on the Ogechee, not to treat with them.

This conduct of Panton's keeps up a flame in the nation; and as he hath at his command large magazines (both public and private property) of goods, which he distributes among those people, he is and will continue to be attended to. It matters little whether or not Mr. Panton, and others, acting in this way in the nation, are sanctioned by the government they live under—the effect of their doings are equally felt. But, as to myself, I am convinced that they are countenanced and supported in it, or they would not have the audacity—(see the oath of Wm. Stringer, before Timothy Barnard.) Every day affords fresh instances to confirm me in this belief. Whilst these things are allowed, and tamely viewed, it is in vain that I, or any other servant of the Union, labor to preserve peace with the savage tribes. The Indians, themselves, begin to see through their schemes. One of the Spanish agents, of the name of Bellue, who was busy practising on the Upper Creeks, was killed by them about a month past. I have, therefore, said so much on this subject, that I shall not add at present.

Having determined to go into the Creek towns, if possible, I shall, in conformity to your desire, repair to the Rock Landing, so as to be there, by the first of next month, to wait the movements of the friendly Indians. But, to accomplish this, there arises obstacles; the greatest is that of making my business known. To keep it secret from Governor Telfair, I may meet with censure, if not destruction: for, should his Excellency see fit to send another expedition into the nation, whilst I am treating of peace, the consequence to me is evident. I believe it will be best to acquaint him in confidence, though I have very little hope of his paying any attention thereto: for, I am told, he does not recognise me as a public officer, never having had it announced to him in form; to this I must attribute his total silence, and want of respect to my frequent letters to him.

However illy calculated this State is, at present, to engage in a general Indian war, yet, strange as it may appear, there are many warm advocates for it, some of whom, I have reason to believe, would oppose my going into the Creeks to make peace.

As a preparative to my going into the nation, I thought it a necessary step, to send home the Indians, who had been detained by me at St. Mary's, and, also, their property. This I have ordered to be done, and sent by the person who carries my despatches, which will make them the more acceptable. This step, I doubt not, will add to the number of my enemies in Georgia; but how could I appear in the nation as a friend, whilst I held their people (and those belonging to our best friends) prisoners in this country.

I have sent to St. Mary's to have my horse brought here by land, in order to proceed; should they be lost on the way, I shall find great difficulty to supply the loss.

It is a current report in this town, that Governor Telfair hath orders from the President to act on the offensive against the Creeks. This I cannot believe when I view my orders. It is, however, certain, that his Excellency hath called a council of all his general officers, to meet at Augusta, on the eighth of next month, to commence deliberations, as he terms it. What those will be, it is not with me to say; but, lest his plans and my orders should interfere to the injury of our country, I will give his Excellency timely notice.

*Letter from Timothy Barnard to James Seagrove.*

FLINT RIVER, 2d July, 1793.

DEAR SIR:

You will receive this by the hands of Mr. Townsend, who will be able to give you every information from this quarter you may require; and as he has been all through the Upper Creeks, has it in his power to inform you fully respecting matters in that part of the nation, relative to both red and white people, I therefore need only mention a little to you of what's going on at present, in the Lower Creeks. The Cowetas, Broken Arrow, Usechees, and Chehaws, at a meeting held at the Tuckaubatchees, Upper Creeks, agreed to quit hostilities on the State of Georgia, and give up all the property; as all the towns in the Upper Creeks made known to them that they meant to do as the Cussetahs did; keep at peace with the United States. Those four towns, Cowetas, Broken Arrow, Usechees, and Chehaws, have since declined from what they agreed to at the meeting, and have utterly refused to give up the property, and have said as much as if they still meant to continue hostilities on the frontiers of Georgia; in consequence of which, the head warriors of the Cussetahs, and two more chiefs were sent out to me to send down a talk respecting it; the very day they arrived at my house, an express arrived here from General Twiggs, who had just returned to Augusta, from an expedition against the Indians. General Twiggs' talk was to the Cussetahs, which I thought fit, on such an occasion, to explain to the chiefs here present. You will receive a copy of their answer to the General; likewise, a copy of his letter, which, I think, on the whole, the General has not acted imprudently; whether or not his first movements have been by order of the President, or the Secretary of War, I cannot tell; but as a general officer, I imagine he would not take such steps rashly; he has requested of me, to give him a true statement of matters in this quarter, which I think right for me to do, as matters are at this time so critically situated. You will receive a talk from the Big Half Breed, or White Lieutenant of the Oakfuskees, which differs somewhat from the Cussetahs, but at the same time shews his good intentions towards the United States, and is a man that has full power to execute any thing he says or undertakes, and I cannot but think himself neglected, and not without cause, as I, in consequence of what you mentioned to me respecting him, made him some promises, which has been out of my power to fulfil. You may be assured, sir, that, in Mr. McGillivray's life time, it was through this half-breed's influence that he swayed best part of the Upper Creeks; this half-breed, when he wrote this talk, thought that the Cussetahs, and the rest of the Lower Creeks, had executed some of the murderers; which was concluded on at these meetings at the Tuckaubatchees, which would have been done, as men were sent upon the business, but that old villain Panton's talks got spread about among the towns where it was to be done, and made those backward that was to have assisted. Panton's talk to them, was to give up no property nor satisfaction for murders, till the white people that were settled on the Oconee moved back to the old line, and not to hurt John Galphin; but that he would send for him, and make him a useful man to the Indians, which I verily believe to be the truth, as he will now be at a loss to excuse his villanous purposes, as he has lost his tool, McG—y; therefore, any one, of even the shallowest knowledge, may see that there will never be a right understanding kept between the Indians and the United States, while Panton has permission to carry on so extensive a trade in the Spanish dominions with the Indians, as every act of his former and present behavior plainly shows, that he would rather see the whole State of Georgia in flames, and women and children massacred by the savages, than lose one hundred deer skins. Whether the Dons have given any prejudicial talks to the Indians at this time, I cannot tell; but they wink at what Panton does, or he dare not do what he has done. I am informed that Governor O'Neal has left Pensacola, and Colonel White has taken his place, who, I am informed, is a man that acts in an impartial line, and it's thought will not give Panton the liberties that Governor O'Neal did; therefore, Governor White may not yet be informed of what Mr. Panton has done. I shall, therefore, take the liberty, in behalf of the United States, to inform his Excellency Governor White, what Panton has done. I think, if you had long ago empowered some one, capable of acting, in behalf of the United States, in the Upper Creeks, it would have been of infinite service to the frontiers.

Allick Cornell, as a half-breed, has done all in his power, but it cannot be thought that one of his knowledge can see far enough into matters to conduct things as they ought to be.

Kinnard, you have put a deal of dependence in, which has done but little. Such men as those may answer particular purposes, but will never be able to do much, without white people is near them to conduct matters. You will be able to judge of matters, when you hear fully by Mr. Townsend, how matters are situated here; the half-breed seems very desirous of your coming up, and says, if you were to come, matters could be soon righted; this I shall leave to your own opinion. If matters could be settled without troops coming up, it would be better for both parties, as, if troops should come, and them militia, which are not generally under good command of their officers, and they should fall on some of the friendly towns, as the injuries they have received is full sufficient to agitate them to it, it will be the means of making the matter general; and if so, then they must be drove out of their lands, and must take refuge over the Coosa river, which is unpassable but in boats, and then, I fear, what little shallow knowledge I have of matters, that they will be egged on by the Dons, as the Shawanese are by the British, and will become as lasting, and as troublesome an enemy to the United States, as the Northward nations are. I am sensible they never give an enemy battle that they can be destroyed; and the farther an Indian has to go to fight his enemy, he is the bolder; besides, the frontiers of Georgia are so extensive, that it will ever be impossible to keep them out, if it was even possible that there could be forts at every ten miles distance; this is only my simple opinion on circumstances better known than I am able to inform. But, as I consider, at this time, that there is not two Indians out of a hundred that are for mischief, therefore, if any steps could be taken to settle matters, without letting the innocent suffer, it would be better. I still wish that, if matters could be so conducted, as for men to come up and give those towns that have done a scourging, burn down their houses, and cut down their corn, if there was but a few of them killed, it would be a scare to them in future; and they are very saucy, and say the white people are afraid to come; therefore, they ought to be convinced of their error, as they never will believe that the whites can come up till they see it. They are daily ridiculing the Cussetahs, and telling them that they are slaves to the Americans, which makes the Cussetahs backward in saying any more to them, nor do not care how soon they suffer by the whites, so that they could be sure of safety themselves. I do not make the least doubt, but, if about six hundred good horse were collected at a seasonable time, that they might get some of the Cussetahs to come to the Rock Landing, and pilot them to those towns that are enemies. There is no way of taking an advantage of them, but by a small company of good horse, and making a rapid march, and not give them time to make off with their property.

I have troubled you with a longer letter than there was occasion for, as matters are nearly as I wrote you by David Cornell. I shall hope to hear fully from you respecting every matter, by Mr. Townsend; shall do every thing for the best, as long as I can stand it here.

I remain, &c.

*Letter from the White Lieutenant of the Oakfuskees to James Seagrove.*

UPPER CREEKS, NEW YORK, 23d June, 1798.

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

I have several times received your letters, and had them explained to me; I have likewise heard your last talks, which myself, and all the head-men in the Upper towns, are determined to stand by, and listen to no others; and, to convince you, I now write you this, that you may know I have you in mind, as I hope you have me. I, as well as all the head-men of the Upper towns, met at the Tuckaubatchees, and came to a resolution, as our beloved man is no more, to hold you fast by the hand, and see the treaty complied with; and, to prevent our young men from stealing, we have come to a resolution to punish them by whipping; therefore, I hope no rash steps will be taken by your mad people, but, if any disputes arise, let them be settled by friendly talks. This, and our other talk, you may certainly depend on; we now hope to pass and repass into each other's land as friends and brothers, now considering ourselves as one people. The satisfaction you now demand shall be granted, as soon as it can be obtained from the guilty; but, unreasonable it is to suppose it can be taken on the innocent; the bad men shall be killed as soon as they can be found, but, nothing more than natural, when they heard of their doom, they fled the nation, but am in hopes our good warriors will soon overtake them, and, till then, I hope you will wait with patience. The time you allow is very short; but consider it is not so long ago, since one of my Cussetah friends was killed in his peaceable camp, and another wounded, their camp plundered, and, when we demanded satisfaction, it never was given by your people, nor taken by ours, till twelve moons after the crime was committed. I suppose the murderer was not to be found, and understand by your laws that the innocent cannot suffer for the guilty; therefore, as eldest brother, hope you will not so much unman yourselves, as to deviate from your own laws, and copy ours. I likewise undertook to inform you of a thing, you, before, perhaps, have been ignorant of, viz: no sooner the talks become a little friendly, but our paths are filled with travelling renegade people, and some families that pretend they are going to the Spanish country; others of them are bad men, who steal from your people, and fly to our land, and impose their plunder on us, and we, though in a state of ignorance, are blamed for it. Our departed friend winked at those proceedings; but I hope, as you are going to take his place, that you will take such steps as will prevent the like in future; the day never was, before bad men came among us, but we were a happy people; but they have learned our young men their bad ways, and, on account of our not having laws to punish, we, by bad precedents, are become miserable. I always have understood that the Oconee was the line; and that we were both to drink of one stream; if it is otherwise, I am kept in ignorance: if so, keep your people on one side, and we will keep ours on the other, unless from traders going backward and forward that live in our land, and people you may think proper to send amongst us on business, unless it should be that some of our hunters should be distressed for some small necessaries, and may take a few skins and buy them, that is all the connexion we wish to have. I likewise take the liberty to inform you, that it is my opinion that bad men, that live on the frontiers of your country, do your people and ours great injury by getting our drunken people over the line, and buying their property from them, particularly horses, (with rum) the people are then on foot, and, sooner than remain so, go and steal the first man's horse they come across; this, I hope you will prevent by some early step, as, if suffered, it will tend to bad consequences. My unknown friend, I have very long had a particular desire to see you, and, as all our hopes are blasted by listening to bad talks, and by the death of our wise man, I hope you will revive them, by your appearance in our land; come forward, my friend, and don't be daunted; now is the time you can be of service to us, and your country as we are determined to take your talks, and stand by you to the last moment. You now have nothing to contend with but a few vagabonds, which your good advice will soon silence and dismiss. Nine-tenths of the land are your friends, therefore, come forward, or appoint such men as will do you and us justice; give your talks freely, and they shall be received by me and my friends as free. Give your orders, and they shall be executed, and don't meditate upon a war, for that is out of the question. I, and my Upper town friends, have been always friendly disposed, both now, and in the time of the British war; so have been our Cussetah friends; therefore, should you be backward in advancing, and your mad men forward, and, by that means, bring your friends to the same fate as your enemies, then the matter will become general, and more serious than you are aware of. What depredations are now committed, are entirely out of wanton cruelty; but, should your friends share the fate of your enemies, nothing can be expected but revenge, strengthened by rage and desperation. Your mad men may think that they can tear us up branch and root; but tell them the woods are large, and the days are not all gone; for true it is, you can overpower us by numbers, but your numbers must have food and raiment; as for us, we were born in the ashes, and woods, and mountains, and swamps, are our homes; if it should so happen that your madmen should make a war, tell them not to think that we are all fools, and madmen, and that we shall stand and let them take our lives with our lands. No, we will retreat as far as convenient, and then advance as we think it convenient; but I hope these things will all be done away, and our eyes opened for both our advantages. We that are your friends, are men; and tell your great beloved man that he will find us manly friends; and, should it so happen, desperate enemies. I have nothing more to add; yet, if you don't come yourself immediately, I hope you will appoint two men, one as interpreter, and the other as a beloved man, to manage the business for both you and us. Our situation, in that regard, is now deplorable, for we are obliged to apply to both your, and, I believe, our enemy's interpreter, and give out our talks; therefore, by that means, are kept in the dark, and both parties imposed upon. The bearer of this is a young man, but I think a great deal of him, and can recommend him as a man that I have confidence in. Stephen Sullivan is a man who has never spoilt his talk with me, nor my friends; him I recommend as a good interpreter; if you think good, and it is your heart to do any thing for us, appoint these two men, and I will protect them; my house shall be theirs, and my town their town; and likewise yours, whenever you think well to come forward, which I hope will be shortly, but not at the head of your madmen, for I hope you are a man, and we are men, and can punish our bad people ourselves; and the day shall come that we will do it. I shall make it my business to collect all the stolen horses I can find, and send them to the Rock Landing as soon as possible. Please send by the bearer, my horses I sent down to you by Wattalo Micco, as they have been there a long time, but I hope you don't mean to undervalue me, by keeping them all this time, and sending them back empty; likewise send your talks for me and the towns undermentioned.

TUSKENA ATCA, or WHITE LIEUTENANT,  
for himself, and the Upper Creeks.  
STEP. SULLIVAN, Interpreter.

*Copy of a talk from the Big Warrior of the Cussetahs, and two of the chiefs from the same town, in answer to General Twiggs' letter, delivered by him to Mr. T. Barnard, to be sent to General Twiggs.*

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:

I came out to Mr. Barnard's, with a determination to send my friends in that quarter a talk, where I had the good fortune to meet your talk the day it arrived. The Big Warrior says he had just arrived from a meeting in the Upper Creeks, where they had a full meeting of the heads of all the Upper towns, and likewise the Lower. The Upper Creeks agreed to continue in friendship with the United States, which he believes they will stand to; the Lower Creeks consented to the same; but, since he got home, he has heard the Cowetas, and the Broken Arrows, which is one town, as they live nearly on one spot; the Chehaws and Oswitches, which are as one town, they like-

wise living on one spot. He wishes to inform you, that they still mean to continue hostilities, and have refused to collect the property that belong to the States, therefore, as he found they were so inclined, and as they were the town that had done all the mischief, he thought it his duty to acquaint his friends the white people of it. The Big Warrior says, that himself, and all the chiefs of his town, have done all in their power to pacify them, but he now finds it is out of their power to get them to agree to give up any property, or give any satisfaction for the murders they have committed, therefore, he sees no other step can be taken to bring them to their senses, but for you to come amongst them and subdue them, and their matters may be settled as usual. The warrior says that he and the other towns are still determined to listen to the talks, from time to time, from their friends the whites, which they agreed for, their friends the Americans to drink water out of one side of the Oconee, and for the red people to drink out of the other, in friendship, and they hope it will remain so. He says, as those bad towns have already refused to give up any property, though they had agreed to it at the general meeting, and from what he has heard since, he is entirely convinced that they mean continuing hostilities, therefore, it is his wish, that you, and all his friends the white people, should know it, that you may take such steps as may prevent their going to too great lengths. The Big Warrior wishes to inform you, that the path you took when you crossed the Oakmulgee, led to the Buzzard Roost, where some of your friends the Cussetahs reside, and as they your friends are all near starving, and are all settled along that path, if you had continued still along that path, you would have driven them from their crops, and perhaps, as your men were angry, might have killed some of them which are your friends. He, therefore hopes, if you should come again, that you will take the Oakfuskee path, and follow that till you come near the Chatacauce river, and turn to a village where an Indian lives called Short Neck, which is thirty miles above the Cowetas, and from there, all the Indians you find on either side of the river, are Cowetas, as they are settled on both sides of the river as low as the Cowetas; and the Chehaws and Oswitches are settled about twelve miles below them, on the same side of the river that the Cowetas lies on, which is westerly. He hopes, before you start, that you will send a private express to him and his town, to let them know, that they may not be surprised at your coming, which will convince them that you do not mean to molest them. Those mutinous towns, he says, shall not know of it. He says that his business out here was to bring out some horses that he had collected, that belong to Georgia, to be sent down to the Rock Landing to their owners, and to return back from here, and, as he came out unprepared for a journey, even without his gun, or any provisions, he begs you will excuse his proceeding any further to see you, although he has a great desire to see you; therefore, as it is out of his power for the present, he hopes you will be satisfied with his talk he has sent you; and as he this day sets out for his town, he will collect the heads of his town, and acquaint them with what he has heard, and with what you say in respect of seeing some of them, which he hopes will be agreed upon, and if it is, you will hear from him as soon as opportunity will admit; but whether or not, he hopes you will consider this as a sincere talk, and from your old friends; those, you know, even when the British were your enemy, and got all the others to join them against you, and paid them well for it, we even then refused to take up arms against you, and likewise refused their goods, and endeavored to keep as many of the other towns back as we could, and were always back and forward amongst you, giving you all the information we could. This, I hope, my friends the Americans will not forget, and always listen to what I say, and not distress us, who never intended to take up arms against them, without they should put us upon a footing with their enemies. In that case, it cannot be considered our faults. He says, that those towns that took the British talks, have all got negroes, more or less, in them, to work for them; but, it is not the case with his town; they have none, but are poor, and obliged to work for themselves; therefore, he hopes their friends will not increase their poverty by driving them from their towns, though they are so near the Cowetas that are enemies, though on the other side of the river, which, as you are not at a loss for pilots, can be informed of, and you will likewise see your colors in the town. He further hopes, no town may suffer but those that are guilty, as if so, you may raise up more enemies: for, he says he is convinced no other towns are for mischief but those mentioned; neither is there any of your property amongst them. The Warrior further says, on his return to his town, he and the rest of the heads of the Cussetahs will do every thing in their power to prevent those towns from going out to do any more mischief; therefore, if they should go out, he hopes it will not be considered their faults. The Warrior wishes his friends the white people to know, that they, the red people, have no laws to restrain their people from doing mischief, neither is it in their power to command each other to take up arms to suppress such conduct. Mr. W. Pantons talks, he says, is the cause of those towns standing out so obstinately, as he told the Cowetas and Chehaws, not many days ago, not to give up their property. These people, in particular, were called down among the Spaniards, he supposes, for that purpose. He likewise told them not to give any satisfaction for the murders committed, till they would move off from the Oconee land. This, the Warrior says, Mr. Pantons does to keep up a disturbance in Georgia, that no deer skins may go that way. He further says, that he and Mr. McGillivray, in his life time, were always giving out such talks, to keep the trade in their own hands. As for the Spaniards, he says they say but little; but, Mr. Pantons, whether by the order of the Spaniards or not, has said a great deal; and had it not been for what he said, satisfaction would have been given before this time; but, as he is master of so much goods, those mutinous towns will listen to his talks. The Warrior says, this talk he has sent, is the voice of his whole town, and he hopes the white people will look upon this as a talk from their best friends, as they have always found the Cussetahs. It is all he can say at this time, and he hopes it will be sent to the great beloved man, General Washington, their father, as he knows he will make good use of it, and not treat his red children rash that do not wish to offend him, or hurt his people, but still wish to eat, drink, and remain in friendship with all white people.

LOWER CREEK NATION, FLINT RIVER.

Personally appeared before me, Timothy Barnard, deputy superintendent to the United States of America, William Stringer, a native of Georgia, and now a resident in Pensacola, West Florida, who, being duly sworn, maketh oath, that he was present and saw the Spaniard's public stores opened at Pensacola, where there was arms and ammunition both delivered to the Creek Indians; and he the deponent saith, that he heard Governor O'Neal say, that he had told the Indians that this arms and ammunition was given them to kill the Americans, and that he would give them more if they stood in need of it; the deponent further saith, that Mr. William Pantons buys the horses that are stolen from the State of Georgia, and has now several of the horses in his possession in Pensacola town. Further the deponent saith not.

Sworn the 2d May, 1793, before me:

WILLIAM STRINGER.

TIMOTHY BARNARD.

*James Seagrove to the White Lieutenant of the Oakfuskees.*

SAVANNAH, IN GEORGIA, 29th July, 1793.

BROTHER:

I received your talk by Mr. Townsend, and like it well; I am pleased to find that you, and our other friends in the Upper Creeks, are acting in such a way as to restore your country to peace, and to keep the path between you and us white and clear. As it seems to be your wish that I should be among you, to assist in directing your affairs, and, it, at the same time, corresponding with my own inclination, and the desire of our great father the President of the United States, I have come to a determination that it shall be so. For the purpose of accomplishing it with safety, I now send Mr. Townsend with this talk to you, and several other chiefs in the nation; requesting, that you and them will take such steps as may seem good to you, in order to my coming. It is my wish, that as many of my friends as see fit, will meet me at the Oakmulgee, by the 10th day of September, when I will attend you into the nation, for the

purpose of establishing a lasting peace and friendship between us and our countries. I shall go from this place to the Rock Landing, where I shall wait until you send Mr. Townsend, or some other trusty white person, with an Indian or two to meet me, and inform of your arrival at the Oakmulgee.

Your great father General Washington, President of the United States, ordered back those warriors who had set out from Georgia to punish the bad towns. It is his wish not to hurt any of his red people, that will act justly towards him and his people; and therefore hath forbid war being carried into your land, that you may have time to punish those who have been guilty of murder and robbery on this frontier; another reason for not letting the troops go into the nation at this time, was, from a dread that some of our friends might be hurt, and thereby make our misfortunes the greater.

A most unfortunate and distressing affair lately took place, in the death of our friend David Cornell; it was all owing to a mistake and bad conduct of the white man that came down with him. I hope no hasty rash steps will be taken by his relations or countrymen, as it is my determination they shall have full satisfaction made them, and every thing settled as well as possible.

When I come up we will arrange all these matters. My friend, you seem to think hard your horses was not sent back, and I allow you have reason; had they been under my direction, it should not have been so. I applied several times to Mr. Fowler for the horses, in order to send your goods, but never could get them. The goods were ready, and I several times told the white man, who came down with the horses, that they were ready whenever he chose to go; so that you see I have not been in fault, as you trusted your horses under Fowler and Killey's care.

I wrote you some time ago, requesting that you would take into your possession and safekeeping, every thing belonging to the United States, that might be found among Mr. McGillivray's effects. I am afraid, from what Mr. Townsend tells me, that you have not received my letter. I again request that you will have it done, and keep all safe until I come up. Mr. Townsend takes charge of some few things for you.

I have only to say, that it is the earnest desire of the President and people of the United States, to live in peace with the Creek nation, and that, if you are involved in a war, it must be your own faults. I doubt not but, that when we meet, we shall settle all matters; I therefore hope nothing may prevent. I was ready to set off for the nation when the mischief took place on St. Mary's in March last. I should most undoubtedly come with David Cornell, had he lived.

Mr. Townsend has my instructions to tell you several matters that I conceive necessary to be done, and I must request that you will attend to him.

You will always find in me a true and firm friend and brother, and I shall expect the same in you, being, with respect,

Your humble servant,

JAMES SEAGROVE,  
*Agent of Indian Affairs, S. D. U. S.*

*James Seagrove to Mr. Alexander Cornell.*

SAVANNAH, 29th July, 1793.

DEAR SIR:

I wrote you a long letter on the 5th of this month, respecting the melancholy fate of our friend David. I hope my letter reached you, and your wisdom and your moderation hath been the means of preventing any rash steps being taken, as I am determined that his friends shall have full satisfaction. It appearing to be the wish of all the friendly chiefs of your land, that I should come up and be among you for the purpose of settling and directing your affairs, I have long been desirous of this, and you know it was a settled plan, when I met the chiefs in November last, on St. Mary's; but the unfortunate matters which have turned up since, has alone prevented.

It is the earnest desire of the President of the United States, that I should be with you; my regard for the happiness of my Creek friends urges the same; I therefore am resolved to meet you as soon as the chiefs of the nation will say I can do it with safety; having an entire confidence in you and them, I shall cheerfully put myself under their protection. For this purpose, I have to desire that yourself and such of your friends as you think fit, will meet me on the Oakmulgee, by the 10th of September next, when I will accompany you into the nation, and then, I doubt not, we can settle all affairs on a firm footing. I doubt not but the people of the bad towns, and those in favor of the Spaniards, will oppose my coming; but, as I am led to believe that there is a great majority in the nation who are friendly to the United States, I hope they will take such measures, and act with such firmness, as to frustrate and upset all their wicked plans.

By the bearer, Mr. Townsend, I send back all the horses and property which was taken from Mr. David Cornell, and those who were with him; I have, also, sent you some goods for your own purposes.

Do not fail, my friend, to meet me, with such guard as you think necessary. Send the enclosed to Chinabee, the great Natchez warrior, and tell him I shall expect to see him with you. Let nothing prevent our meeting; that alone can now save your country.

It is absolutely necessary that the friendly towns should prevent any parties going out on our frontiers, to do mischief; if they cannot do otherwise, they ought to do it by force: for, though our troops will not, at present, go into your land, lest they should hurt our friends, yet I must inform you that large bodies, both of foot and horse, guard the frontier of Georgia from St. Mary's to Tugelo, so that, if any are so daring as to attempt coming in, they may expect to suffer, and more than probable may be followed by parties in the nation, which may be attended with disagreeable consequences to those who wish to remain our friends. It would appear very extraordinary, indeed, should any of the Creeks be allowed to rob or murder, whilst I am with them deliberating for the happiness of both countries, but more immediately theirs. I hope you will prevail on the Mad Dog and your uncle Joseph to meet me.

I have so much reliance on your goodness and friendship, that I shall not take up more of your time in pointing out any particular steps for you to take, but submit all to your own discretion, and remain your assured friend and humble servant,

JAMES SEAGROVE.

I shall go from this place to Augusta and the Rock Landing, having business that way, and I expect I shall receive advice when you will be at the Oakmulgee.

*James Seagrove to the Mad Dog of the Tuckaubatchee Upper Creeks.*

SAVANNAH, IN GEORGIA, 29th July, 1793.

BROTHER:

Had it not been for the death of our young friend, David Cornell, you would have seen me in the Tuckaubatchee before this day. Not a man in the Creek land feels more sorrow than I do, for the loss of him; and as I have already wrote to his cousin, Alexander Cornell, that full satisfaction shall be made his friends and the nation, I hope no hasty rash step will be taken by any of them, until they can see me, which I hope will be soon.

It has given me great pleasure to hear how much you have been our friend in all the late troubles. I have informed our Great Father, Washington, of it, and yourself, and every chief who have stood firm for us, will be rewarded. I have long wished to see you, and as there seems a great necessity that some person should be among you at

this time, who is capable of directing your affairs, and this appearing to be the wish of all the well disposed chiefs, as well as the express desire of the President of the United States, I have come to a determination to come up without delay. But, as it is a matter well known, that we have people in the Lower towns who are unfriendly to us, and do not wish to see peace restored, or any person to come among them who belongs to the United States, it will therefore be necessary that the chiefs that are our friends, and friends to peace, will immediately call a meeting, and then take such measures as may seem to them best calculated to effect this desirable object, and to prevent insult or injury to my person. I have wrote to several of my friends in the nation on this business, and hope they will lose no time in complying with my wish, which is, that as many of the chiefs and warriors as choose, do meet me on the Oakmulgee by the 10th day of September, from whence I will go with them, and not leave or quit, until all matters are settled.

It is my wish to meet as many of the chiefs and warriors (that are our friends) as possible, on the Oakmulgee, as it will serve to convince all in opposition of their desire of peace, and attachment to the United States. I hope you will do me the pleasure of being there, and that this plan will meet your approbation. All will remain peace with us until we have met, and I hope, when that takes place, we shall arrange all matters so as never again to be troubled with war.

It is our wish to be in peace and close friendship with all your nation, and I live in great hope of establishing it through the assistance of yourself, and the rest of the wise men of your land. This I send by Mr. Townsend, who I request you will treat well.

In full confidence of meeting and taking you by the hand, I remain your friend and brother,

JAMES SEAGROVE,  
Agent Indian Affairs, S. D. U. S.

To MAD DOG, of the Tuckaubatchee Upper Creeks.

*James Seagrove to the Kings and Chiefs of the Cussetahs, and all other friends to the United States in the Lower Creek towns.*

SAVANNAH, IN GEORGIA, 29th July, 1793.

BROTHERS:

I sent you a talk on the 5th of this month, informing you that seven of your people were detained at St. Mary's; and I therein gave the reasons for such a detention. On the 14th of the same month, I was obliged to leave St. Mary's, and come to this place on business, at which time all your people were well, and, to every appearance, contented. Since then, have heard that some of them have been so foolish as to run away. I cannot account for their conduct, as I had all along told them, that they should go home by Mr. Mordecai, and have every thing they wanted. I think their imprudent flight must have been owing to a Chehaw fellow that was with them. It has given great uneasiness lest any misfortune should befall them before they reach home. They ought to have known better, and have depended on my promise to them. They must allow, that my treatment of them was kind and indulgent, beyond any thing they had a right to expect. They were plentifully fed, well clothed by me, comfortably lodged, and in every other respect indulged as much as was consistent with their own safety. In short, I think they have treated me very unkind in going away in the manner they did, after my repeated promise that I would send them home as soon as it could be done with safety.

To convince you of the sincerity of my intentions, and how wrong those have been that went away, I now send those that remained, home to you, by Mr. Mordecai and Mr. Townsend, together with all their property, and a number of presents. I wish them safe home, and all I require of them, is, that they tell you the truth, as to their treatment since they have been detained, which, if they do, you will be convinced that the motives for their detention was dictated by humanity towards them, and real friendship for the Cussetah people.

Long ere this, you must have heard of the unhappy accident of killing David Cornell. Full satisfaction shall be given his family and friends for his loss, and I hope no rash steps may be taken in consequence of his death, so as to injure the prospect we have of restoring all matters to a friendly footing.

The talks in general, which I have received from the nation, give me reason to believe, that a large majority of the towns are desirous of peace with the United States, and are desirous of giving satisfaction for injuries done us. But it would seem, that you stand in need of somebody to direct you in this, as well as all other measures, for your happiness as a people. It is well known to you, that it was my determination to have been with you long ere this, had I not been prevented by the bad conduct of some of your people. Being solicited by the chiefs of the Upper Creeks, to come among them as soon as possible, and, having reason to believe that my presence will be agreeable to my Cussetah friends and several of the Lower towns, I have come to the resolution of meeting you all, for the purpose of restoring peace and friendship to our countries. In order that I may do this with safety to my person and without insult to my country, it is necessary, beforehand, that our friends in the nation should be informed, that they may take such steps, and form such plans, as will secure the objects intended. This, I think, will be best effected, by all the friendly chiefs having a meeting, and appointing a respectable guard to meet me on the Oakmulgee, by the 10th September next, such as will protect me from the insult of our enemies. On this occasion, it will give me great pleasure to meet as many of my Cussetah friends as convenient, together with the chiefs and warriors of the other friendly towns, as their forwardness on the occasion will serve to convince their kind and great father, the President of the United States, that they continue his dutiful children.

The great good that may result from our being together, must appear clear to you. I hope, therefore, that nothing may prevent its being carried into effect. Mr. Jacob Townsend, who is now with me, will inform you of my exertions in your favor, and that no troops will go into your land till all hope of satisfaction is given over. I have received the Big Cussetah warrior's talk to Mr. Barnard, on the second of this moon. He speaks like a man and a friend. I love his talk, and will send it to our Great Father, General Washington.

Until we meet, you have nothing to fear, provided your bad people lie still; but should they dare to do mischief on any part of the frontier of Georgia, they will be pursued, as the same is strongly guarded by horse and foot, from St. Mary's to the river Tugelo.

If you wish to prevent blood being spilt, you must prevent those bad people from coming out, even if you are obliged to use force. Those bad men are making war on you, that is, they will draw it on you, if not prevented by yourselves: for, should they do mischief, and our people follow them, (which undoubtedly will be the case) you, or others of our friends, may suffer, when it is not intended. I wish you to think seriously of this, and exert yourselves before it is too late; much is in your power, and I have great dependence on you. I go from this to Augusta, and from thence to the Rock Landing, where I shall wait for the arrival of my friends at the Oakmulgee. You must send me on an express, letting me know when you will be there. I shall come unattended by more than a servant or two, so that no one need be alarmed. I have only to say that I remain, as much as ever,

Your real friend,

JAMES SEAGROVE,  
Agent Indian Affairs, S. D. U. S.

*James Seagrove to Charles Weatherford.*

SAVANNAH, 29th July, 1793.

SIR:

Your letter of the 11th June last, I received from the pack of our unfortunate friend, David Cornell, whose fate you must have heard before this. His death has given me more real anxiety than any thing I ever met with. It was a cursed stupid affair in McDonald, to leave them twenty or thirty miles behind, when he knew an armed force



was kept up all along the frontier, and same time knew all the white people were angry at the unprovoked outrages committed on them by the red ones. I do not believe, from my soul, that McDonald intended them harm; but certain it is, he acted unwisely. Poor Cornell is gone, and we must make the best of it. I hope his family has not, and will not, take any rash step. I do assure them they shall have full satisfaction if they will act with moderation. As soon as the unfortunate affair took place, I despatched a runner to Barnard, in order that all our white friends in the nation might take such measures as to them would seem most advisable in the situation affairs might take. I hope, however, no change hath taken place in consequence of Cornell's death, and that the chiefs and people have not altered their opinion of us on this account.

Your conduct, in all matters, I highly approve; continue to persevere; firm, determined conduct is every thing, either with red or white. The Spaniards have been our ruin; be a thorn in their side; it is but justice to do by them as they do by us. It appears, from the whole tenor of all information from the nation, that those who wish to restore peace and order, and to have all matters brought to a respectable footing, are anxious for my coming among them. For that purpose, it being also the command of the President of the United States that I should, as well from a full conviction, in my own mind, that good may arise therefrom, I have concluded, that, if my friends in the nation can form a party sufficient to overpower our enemies, and will be firm in preserving my person from injury, or my country from insult, through me, I will meet them without delay. I think the time a critical one, and my appearance might have a good effect.

I have written several of the chiefs of the Upper and Lower towns, which, doubtless, you will see. My wish is for them to meet me at the Oakmulgee by the 10th September, with a sufficient force to escort me to the Cussetahs, and from thence to the Upper towns.

Though I have little apprehension of danger, yet I think it will have a good effect, and damp our enemies, by seeing my friends turn out numerous on this occasion. My dear Weatherford, it is useless in me to make use of arguments with you, to induce your forwarding this very desirable business. I have only to say, I depend upon your utmost exertions, and shall, without fail, expect to meet you at the Rock Landing a day or so before the time necessary for my setting off for the Oakmulgee. Tell Rawlings not to leave the nation till I see him. Bring as many of your head-men as you can. I must refer you to Townsend, and when you and I meet, we will arrange our affairs; until then,

I remain your assured friend,

JAMES SEAGROVE.

*James Seagrove to Timothy Barnard.*

SAVANNAH, 29th July, 1793.

SIR:

Having been obliged to come here from St. Mary's, on business, and being absent when your letters of 2d and 3d instant arrived there, Mr. Townsend came on with them to me.

As you undoubtedly would receive my letters by Charves, the day after you wrote, you are fully informed of the unfortunate end of David Cornell. I hope you sent forward my talk to his friends, and that no hasty rash steps hath been taken by them, and that you have been able to hold your ground, as at this moment your presence seems more necessary in the towns than ever. Your letters, mentioned above, contain full and minute information on the state of Indian affairs. I have transmitted copies of them to the Secretary of War, also of all the talks I have of late received. I do not conceive the death of David Cornell in so dreadful a light as you do. I never considered it as very alarming, only as it respected some one or two of our white friends in the nation, or his relations, first getting the news of it. The first gust of their passion once over, I think there is no fear but we can settle the business without difficulty.

From every appearance of matters, I think there is a favorable opportunity of our now fixing ourselves firmly in the nation. That the nation is convulsed, and their counsels distracted, is evident; the cause of which arises, in a very great degree, from want of some person to direct them, in whom they can place a confidence. McGillivray's death gives a favorable opening, and if we cannot improve it, the Spaniards will. You know my desire in that way, and that I should long since have been there, but could not, with any hope of safety. A majority of the chiefs now feel themselves embarrassed between us, the Spaniards, the Chickasaws, and Choctaws, also other matters pressing them, and appear desirous of my coming among them. Whether they are sincere or not, will soon be seen, as I have determined to give them an opportunity. You will see by the enclosed letters to all the chiefs, that I have determined to meet them on the Oakmulgee, by the 10th September next, and from thence go with them into every part of the nation that they desire, and then and there do all in my power to settle matters to the satisfaction of all.

Having received late instructions from the President of the United States to this effect, nothing remains but that you and I strain every nerve to carry so desirable a business into effect. For this purpose, I must desire that you do immediately attend the Cussetah chiefs, and, in conjunction with them, call a meeting of as many of the friendly towns, as possible, and adopt such plan as you think best calculated to secure my entrance into the nation, and security there. I am ordered to Rock Landing, where your next despatches will find me, and where I shall expect to see you a day or two before the meeting at the Oakmulgee. You must not give the Indians any expectation of receiving any presents at our meeting. The thing will be impossible in the present distracted state of this country. For me to attempt any thing of the kind, would be highly resented. I meet them to serve them, and establish them in peace; when that is accomplished, and all is quiet, I shall attend to their wants; but I cannot help saying, that too much hath been given already to ungrateful Indians. I shall find extreme difficulty, I expect, to carry out a few articles of provisions for myself, for which reason, the Indians must bring their provisions to the Oakmulgee. I observe your want of money or goods to enable you to live and carry on the public business. I am sorry that it is not in my power to assist you with money. I have not had a dollar, belonging to the United States, in my possession, for twelve months past; and I do assure you, I have exhausted all my own little resources in purchasing ready money articles, and paying unavoidable public demands.

The assortment of goods in the public store at St. Mary's, is much broke. I shall send orders to Mr. Jordan to send you a supply of such as there is, by Mordecai, as I know you cannot do without a little coffee and sugar. I have ordered 25 weight of the former, and 30 of the latter, to be put up for you, out of my family stores. When we meet at the Rock Landing I can assist you with goods.

I have prevailed on the bearer, Mr. Jacob Townsend, to engage to deliver you this, and to carry up my letters to the Upper towns, where he seems to stand well with the White Lieutenant, and other leading characters. Mr. Townsend promises every assistance in his power, and I have no doubt he will do as he says. Let me recommend a good understanding between you and him. I have seen your brother, on Wilmington island, a few days past, when on a visit to General Greene's lady, who has built on the Point, below your brother Robert's. Your family are all in health.

I shall bring, or send, the medicine you sent for. I wish you to bring the Kinnards up to meet me, lest that old villain, Panton, gets hold of them. No news of any consequence from the North. I have sent home all the Indians by Townsend and Mordecai; also all the horses and things belonging to Cornell and his party. It is impossible for me to give a rifle to Tobler, or any Indian whatever. I have them not, and if I had, I should not give arms in the present state of affairs. I will order him something as an equivalent. Do not fail to improve on the kindness shown the Indians whom I detained, and the great indulgence in sending them home.

You will urge on the friendly towns, not to suffer the unfriendly ones to send out on this frontier, for, as sure as they do, it will create fresh difficulties.

I am, &c.

JAMES SEAGROVE.



*Extract of a letter from James Seagrove, agent, to the Secretary of War, dated Savannah, 4th August, 1793.*

This serves to enclose a copy of my letter to Governor Telfair, wrote and forwarded by yesterday's post.

Since my last, no change or novelty hath taken place in Indian affairs, that I have heard of, which leaves me only to say, that I am, with all possible respect and esteem,

Your devoted, obedient, humble servant,

JAMES SEAGROVE, *Agent.*

*To his Excellency Governor Telfair, dated August 3d, 1793.*

SIR:

By the enclosed extract of a letter from the Secretary of the War Department, your Excellency will perceive I have received positive instructions from the President of the United States, to go into the Creek nation, as soon as I shall have made arrangements for my personal safety. This measure is considered and pressed as the only one likely to restore and preserve peace and harmony with those tribes, to effect which, in the present conjuncture of affairs, is a matter of the highest importance to the United States, as well as to this State.

In consequence of these pointed instructions, I do myself the honor to inform your Excellency, that I have sent to inform the chiefs and head-men of the friendly towns, of my intentions, and that I shall go from here very shortly to the Rock Landing, and that I will meet such of them as may choose to come to accompany me, at the Oakmulgee, on the 10th September next; from whence, if I can effect my purpose, I shall proceed to the Tuckaubatchees, where I shall be able to judge in what manner I can best act, so as to encourage and animate our friends, and counteract the designs of those that are our enemies in the nation.

From accounts I received from the nation, both in the letters found with the unfortunate young man, David Cornell, and by an express received since, with talks from several of the chiefs of the Upper towns, it was resolved, in a large meeting, to give satisfaction for the late mischiefs done on our frontier, and to invite me into the nation, and David Cornell was sent, in consequence of that resolution, to escort me up. The death of Cornell prevented me from going at that time, which I should otherwise have done. But I have good reason to believe that that event may be may be got over, and satisfaction still obtained, preparatory to peace, if I can get into the nation. I know this will be attended with great hazards, which, however, I am resolved to encounter for the public good.

The great number of persons in the nation, whose interest is concerned to keep up the flame of war, if they were apprised of my intention, would exert all their arts and influence to prevent it from being carried into execution. I must, therefore, request your Excellency will please to keep the information I now communicate entirely a secret. I may, perhaps, by this means, effect my design, before those who would defeat it shall have time to lay any plans for that purpose.

The critical situation I shall be in, in respect to my own personal safety, will make it essentially necessary I should be early apprised of any military enterprises that may be intended against the nation by your Excellency, or under your authority. I request your Excellency will have the goodness to give me such timely notice as may enable me to provide for my safety. Of the eight Indians detained by me some time ago, and committed to the custody and care of Lieutenant Nichol, of the federal troops, three have made their escape since I came from St. Mary's. I thought it best, as they belong to one of the most friendly towns, to send home the others, and have given orders accordingly. I thought it necessary to do this, in order to increase and confirm the good dispositions of the Cussetahs, to whose town they belong, and who earnestly requested it. Should your Excellency wish to have personal information from me relative to Indian affairs, I will attend at any time before my going to the nation, on your giving me notice. I have the honor to remain, your Excellency's obedient servant,

J. S. SEAGROVE,

*Agent Indian Affairs S. D. U. S.*

*Extract of a letter from James Seagrove, Esquire, to the Secretary of War.*

SAVANNAH, 13th August, 1793.

My last respects to you was dated the 4th instant, duplicate copies of which you will find herewith. Yesterday arrived here the person whom I sent with my letters of the 5th July, to the chiefs and others of the Creek nation, respecting the unfortunate affair of David Cornell's being killed. My letters were delivered in the Upper and Lower towns, and received with more than usual moderation and temper by the savages. They, however, insist on satisfaction for the loss of Cornell and a boy. This ought, and, indeed, must be done; but the mode, and how to accomplish it, so as to please all sides, is a difficult task.

The plan I have all along proposed, since this affair took place, was by way of a discount. Captain Fleming, who was killed at Traders' Hill in March last, was a valuable man, and one much respected by the Creeks. Him I intended to place in lieu of Cornell, and Mr. Moffit, who was killed at the same time, for the boy, who was a cousin of Cornell. This I hope still to effect, although the friends of Cornell seem pretty obstinate, insisting on having two men delivered up to them. This may arise, in some degree, from the demand which I at first made; but, as it hath not been complied with, on the part of the nation, it is forward and ill timed in them to look for any such thing. The demand in itself, I conceive altogether inadmissible; and, therefore, should the Indians insist on it, I know not what may be the consequences.

The measures which I have taken for meeting the nation on the 10th of next month, you have been advised of by me. My determination is to meet them at all events, and, though their demands in the affair of Cornell are high, yet I flatter myself I can bring them to reason, and restore peace to our country.

Exclusive of the affair of Cornell, all other matters were in a good train of being settled; but this hath given our enemies in the nation, and the Spaniards, fresh matters to keep up the unruly spirit of the disaffected towns, as well as to work on the relations of Cornell, who are numerous, and have influence.

My letters from Mr. Barnard, in the nation, are as late as the 25th ultimo. All was then quiet, and not any parties out towards the frontier of Georgia. The Spaniards in Florida have lately had a visit from them. A party of Creeks took off all the horses they could find between the river St. Mary's and St. John.

Governor Telfair, with his council of nine generals, have been sitting for eight days; but, what they have determined on, is yet a secret. I have not received an answer to the letter I wrote him the 3d instant. I observe by an Augusta paper of the 8th instant, that a most wanton outrage hath been committed on the Cherokees by a Captain John Beard, from Governor Blount's territory. It appears that the attack was made on the *Hanging Maw's* house, where a number of chiefs had assembled; that several were killed and wounded. I fear this may cause fresh trouble with the Cherokees. This took place on the 12th June last.

[ENCLOSURES.]

*From Richard Thomas to James Seagrove, Esq.*

Yours, dated the fifth instant, came to hand the 16th. Previous to its arrival, we had been alarmed by a report of the death of our brother, David Cornell. We were in hopes it was without any foundation, but your letter has confirmed the truth of it. The behavior of Mr. McDonald should be a caution to you for the future not to employ any man on such particular business but those whose former conduct has convinced you that they can be depended upon. The man on the scouting party from Colerain has not told you the truth concerning the behavior of our brother, David Cornell, and the Indians with him. It shall be now related to you in the manner we have received

it from one of the party, who has returned home. The day after McDonald had left them, they discovered the scouting party riding briskly towards them. David, who was walking before, called to the Indians not to be afraid, as they were friends. At the distance of ten yards, one of the scouting party went a little to the right, and another to the left, and when our brother David, who had no gun, was pulling off his hat, a third went behind a tree and fired at him. He immediately mounted his horse, with a view of making his retreat, but was too closely pursued, and fell a victim to the villany of McDonald and his associates. The remaining Indians took refuge in a baygate until your people gave over the pursuit. A boy of ten years old, that was with David, had, during the conflict, made his escape through the woods. His track was seen afterwards on the way to the nation, but he is not come in, and we think he has perished on the road. You say our Great Father, General Washington, has forbid the Governor of Georgia, or any of his people, from war, until you have our final answer, which is peace. We are certain that peace is preferable to war, for the prosperity of our nation, and mutual benefit of both countries, and were in hopes that a firm and lasting peace would have been concluded on between our brother David and you. This last accident has retarded it for a while; but, as we put great confidence in your talks, and have not the least doubt but you will give us the satisfaction required, you will consider the peace as re-established, and the paths between us open and clear from all danger; and we desire you to give the necessary orders to your people on the frontiers. The talks of our head-men and warriors from the Upper towns in the nation to the Seminole towns, are for peace, and the minds of our young warriors are on the hunting grounds. We hope you will use the utmost of your endeavors, to prevent any of your bad men interrupting us on our hunting ground, and, as it is our wish to have a general peace, we have given orders to our young warriors not to molest the inhabitants of Kentucky, Cumberland, the new State, back parts of South Carolina, or Georgia. The satisfaction required by us is, that you keep a strict guard on McDonald, and the other two concerned in the business, and, at a time appointed by yourselves, send them under a strong guard to Mr. Tim Barnard's, where people appointed from us shall be ready to receive them, and take the satisfaction. The seven Cussetahs, and one Chehaw, we would wish you to send home, likewise the horses which was with our brother David. The bear skins they had, if of any service, you may keep, and send the value to his mother in goods.

I do hereby certify, that the above talk is the talk of the Mad Dog, a head warrior named Captain, and the Otasee King. Captain is uncle to David Cornell. And the above talk was interpreted to me by Mr. Alexander Cornell, and that it is the same in substance, if not in words. Given under my hand, at Tuckaubatchee, this 19th day of July, 1798.

RICHARD THOMAS.

*From Alexander Cornell to James Seagrove, Esq.*

Your letter of the 5th, came to hand four days ago. I leave you to judge of my feelings on finding the death of my cousin David confirmed, and that, at a time when we fondly indulged ourselves that he was with you, and treated as a friend and brother, and that a lasting peace would have been the consequence of your meeting. However, that object, I hope, is not irremediable. You will see the talks of the chiefs, and, I hope, give them the satisfaction required. You are a man that, I believe, has the mutual benefit of both countries at heart, and I need not inform you, that, without some example is made of those who had a hand in the death of David, it will be impossible for peace to last long. Along with the letters that David had with him, was one which had a memorandum of some articles I stand in need of, and will esteem it as a favor if you will send them by the first opportunity that offers. My cousin Davy had on, when he was killed, a pair of silver spurs; on your making inquiry, I think they may be recovered.

I am, sir, &c.

ALEXANDER CORNELL.

*From James Seagrove, Esq. to the Secretary of War, dated*

SAVANNAH, 17th August, 1798.

Sir:

I did myself the honor of writing you on the 13th instant, by Mr. Ellicott, but, the ship by which he goes, being detained by contrary winds, gives me an opportunity of informing you that Governor Telfair, and his council of generals, broke up on the 11th instant, without coming to any decisive measures. I have not been favored with a line from the Governor, but have seen General Jackson, who was present; from him, I understood that the generals and his Excellency did not agree as to what was necessary to be done, and the extent of his instructions; in consequence of which, I believe, the generals have left all with the Governor. From what I can understand, no immediate expedition is to take place, but, that one is in contemplation, whether with a view to strike a blow on the offending towns, or for general purposes, I am not able to say.

Am yours, &c.

*From James Seagrove, Esq. to the Secretary of War, dated*

SAVANNAH, August 21st, 1798.

Since writing, on the 17th instant, by Mr. Ellicott, a duplicate of your letter of the 30th April, reached me, from which, it would appear that you had no favorable opinion of good arising from my conferences with the Indians. My communications with those people you have regularly been made acquainted with, from which, you must plainly discover, that there was a pleasing prospect of a lasting peace, when the chiefs parted from me at Colerain, in November last. What hath taken place since, to destroy that prospect, you are well acquainted with; I shall not, therefore, intrude on your time, by a repetition, further than observing to you, that, to the Spanish Government, and their agents, McGillivray, Panton & Co. with others of less note, are we to attribute all disturbance and mischief that hath been done to our frontier by the Creeks, and, that that government and people will continue to oppose and distract every measure the United States may adopt, with a view to live in peace with the Southern tribes, should they be allowed to act with impunity, as heretofore. For my part, I would not wish any agency in Indian affairs, if such things are overlooked, or that I am restricted, as hitherto, respecting those people; being fully convinced, that, in such situation, I cannot render that essential service to my country, that naturally will be looked for, in return for the unavoidable heavy expenses which ever attend communications with savages. On the 25th instant, I leave this for the Rock Landing, and shall take Augusta in my way, that I may give Governor Telfair an opportunity of inquiring into Indian matters, (if he chooses.) I have not had a line from him, as yet. The Indians continue quiet on this frontier. I have advice from St. Mary's, as late as the 10th instant; the Indians who had been detained there, were sent off, under care of three white men, who would accompany them home, and a party of horse would see them clear from all the settlements, together with their property, and some presents which I ordered them. Mr. Townsend, who was charged with my despatches, went in company.

I am just informed that Colonel Gaither is in so bad a state of health, as to be obliged to quit fort Fidius, and the upper parts of that country, and is now on his way to St. Mary's, for benefit of his health; from these accounts I have, I fear his life is in danger. I am very sorry for so valuable an officer.

I hope it will be practicable for me to get into the Creek nation; if so, I may be able to reconcile and adjust matters to satisfaction; but, in this I may expect to meet pointed opposition from different quarters. All that I can promise is, that I will do all in my power to obtain justice for injuries done, and restore peace to our country.

Am, &c.

*James Seagrove, Agent, to the Secretary of War, dated*

Augusta, 3d September, 1793.

SIR:

My last letter to you was from Savannah, and under date of the 21st ultimo, since which I came to this place, in company with Captain Freeman, being so far on my way to Rock Landing. My motives in calling at Augusta, in my way, was, in the first place, to present myself, as Indian agent, to his Excellency Governor Telfair, and to communicate such information as in my power, (if required) and to obtain, if possible, some knowledge of his Excellency's intended plans against the Creeks; in the next place, to be able to ascertain what I ought, in truth and justice, to promise the Indians, as, from the current reports in this country, and even the publications in the newspapers of this place, as well as from measures already taken by the Governor, a war with the Creeks appears determined on, and that, as early as the 15th of next month. The Governor hath been at his plantation, about forty miles from hence, ever since my arrival on the 31st ultimo; he is expected in town to-day. Since I have been here, I have received undoubted information that Governor Telfair has had formed, a new contract for five hundred thousand rations; that he hath called on the Governor of South Carolina for fifteen hundred or two thousand men, and that three thousand are to be drawn from the militia of this State, one thousand five hundred of which to be horsemen, all of whom to be ready by the 15th of next month to enter the Creek nation, under command of his Excellency. All this shall not prevent my going forward, and, if possible, entering the nation, and using my utmost endeavors to prevent the use of such an army moving. I cannot allow myself to suppose, that Governor Telfair can have orders for what he is now doing, when I view your letter to me of the 10th June last.

I am much pleased that you have sent forward Captain Freeman; he will be able, in a short time, to give you an idea of our situation in this country. I have already given my opinion of the ruling principles in Georgia, and I have reason to think you will find I have not been mistaken. To speak of peace with the Creeks, is a crime not to be forgiven, by a very great proportion of the people in this country; and my candid opinion is, that a general war is the object, however impolitic or unjust.

I once suggested the idea to the President of the United States, of having a certain number of the most influential Creek chiefs, called to the seat of Congress, and repeat the same every year. I now beg leave to submit to your consideration, that, in case I am so fortunate as to quiet the present commotions, whether or not it would be well to invite ten or fifteen principal chiefs to Philadelphia, which will be ensuring peace whilst they are in our possession, as well as answering many other valuable purposes. Should this be approved, I hope you will lose no time in giving me directions, as, the sooner such voluntary hostages are drawn from the nation, the better.

From some recent accounts, it would appear, that the Upper Creeks are much alarmed, on account of a large body of white people, from the Western waters, having joined the Chickasaws, with the intention to attack them. What foundation there is for such report, I know not; but the Creeks go so far as to say, that the Chickasaws are furnished with some pieces of artillery, from Governor Blount's territory. The enclosed copy of a talk, sent to Major Gaither by Mr. Barnard, on this business, may serve further to explain this matter. I do not hear of any injury being done by the Indians since my last.

As I have engaged to meet the Indians by the 10th instant, I cannot wait much longer for the Governor's arrival; should I be able to see him before my departure, I will inform you, with the result of our meeting.

With all possible respect, I remain, yours, &c.

[ENCLOSURE.]

*A talk from the heads of the Upper and Lower Creeks, by order of the Mad Dog, of the Tuckaubatchees, given out in the Cussetah Square, at a meeting of a number of Lower Creeks, this 21st July, 1793—to be forwarded to his Excellency General Washington, President of the United States.*

We, the heads of the Creek nation, wish to acquaint your Excellency, that we are just informed, by a runner of our own people, from the Chickasaw nation, that there was some of the Chickasaws just arrived, who had been holding talks with Governor Blount; they came to Cumberland, and said that they had agreed with Governor Blount to send six thousand men to station at the Muscle Shoals, on the Cherokee river; and that the Cumberland people had agreed to send five hundred more men to join the Chickasaws, to station at a fort in the Chickasaw nation; and that the Cumberland people had already sent three pound great guns to said fort, and that the five hundred men were to be there in a short time. We, the heads of the Creek nation, wish to hear from General Washington, whether it is his desire that Governor Blount, and these Cumberland people, should go on as they are, or whether or not they are people that are under the Government of General Washington; this, we, the heads of the nation, would wish to know as quick as possible. We, the heads of the Upper and Lower Creeks, wish to inform the President of the United States, that we have given out talks to put a total stop to all our young people going out to commit any hostilities against Cumberland or Kentucky; therefore, if it is the wish of the President of the United States, that his people and the red people should be at peace, we hope he will immediately restrain Governor Blount and his people from joining the Chickasaws. It is not that we are in great dread of the consequences of those proceedings, but as we have had a long wish to settle all disputes, we hope that our friend and father, General Washington, still remains in the same opinion. We, the heads of the Lower Creeks, likewise wish to inform the heads of Georgia, that, if they still have a wish to settle matters with the red people, we hope they will, on seeing this, immediately send to Governor Blount to restrain his people till his Excellency General Washington's pleasure is known.

CUSSETAHS, July 21, 1793.

Interpreted by

T. BARNARD.

*James Seagrove, Esq. to the Secretary of War, dated at Augusta, September 5th, 1793.*

SIR:

The enclosed is a duplicate of what I had the honor of writing on the 3d instant. Last evening, his Excellency Governor Telfair arrived in town, and this morning Captain Freeman and myself waited on him. I acquainted the Governor, that I was so far on my way to the Rock Landing, and from thence into the Creek nation, in compliance with your order of the 10th instant; that I had waited on him to give such information as in my power, and to obtain some idea of the plans already adopted, or in contemplation by his Excellency, relative to the Creek nation. I wish I had it in my power to say, that I received an explicit or satisfactory answer. All I could obtain from him was, that an expedition was determined on against the unfriendly Creek towns; that it was a measure much desired by the people of this State; that the depredations of the Creeks had been such as to irritate the people, so as to make it almost impossible to restrain them from immediate offensive war; that he had entered into a contract for rations, &c. for upwards of four thousand men, on an expedition against the Creeks, which men were to be drawn from South Carolina and this State; but I could not ascertain the time of calling into the field, or term of service.

His Excellency told me, in presence of Captain Freeman, that he thought my journey to the Creeks altogether useless; that a war must be had, and the Indians chastised before peace could be solid or agreeable.

I urged the ill policy of entering on a war with the Creeks, that from every appearance would be general; that such a measure, I believed, was very contrary to the wish of the General Government; and, therefore, that I should, in compliance with the desire of the President of the United States, set off to-morrow morning for the Rock Landing, and from thence, to the Creek towns, and there do all in my power to obtain satisfaction, and settle a peace; and requested of his Excellency, that, if he made any movements of a military nature against the Creeks, I should receive timely notice. At the same time, I told him I would give every information of the situation of affairs, or of any change likely to take place.

This is the sum and substance of what passed at our interview. You, undoubtedly, are the best judge how far our Governor is right. If I can obtain peace agreeably to the wish of the President, I will do it; and, if possible, obtain hostages for the good faith of the nation.

I find the murderer, John Galphin, is taken by the hand by *Panton*, who has dictated a very insolent letter for Galphin, and sent to the frontiers of this country. *Panton* never will let this country be in peace, whilst he hath any thing in his power.

There is a report in town, that General Pickens is returned home; if so, I shall hope for some good accounts by him.

With every sentiment of respect, I remain, yours, &c.

AUGUSTA, September 6, 1793.

SIR:

Since writing the preceding, I have thought it would be well to write this to the Governor, and let him know my movements, lest I should give room for reflection. I have wrote to his Excellency this morning, a copy of which you will find enclosed. I shall remain here to day to give him an opportunity, should he have any thing to say to me.

I am, &c.

JS. SEAGROVE.

*James Seagrove, Esq. to his Excellency Governor Telfair, dated Augusta, September 6th, 1793.*

SIR:

When I had the honor of an interview with your Excellency on the 5th instant, you intimated, that it would be more agreeable to receive my communications in writing: I, therefore, inform your Excellency, that, in conformity to the orders of the President of the United States, transmitted through the Secretary of the Department of War to me, on the 10th of June last, (a copy of which was sent you by the Secretary of War) I am thus far on my way to the Rock Landing, and from thence, if possible, into the Creek nation, for the attainment of the objects directed in the abovementioned letter of instruction.

The time which I have appointed for meeting the Indians in the nation is near at hand, and will not admit of further delay on my part, having been here six days.

I took Augusta in my way, that I might have the honor of seeing your Excellency, and of communicating fully on all matters relative to the business I am employed on. I shall now, and at all times, be happy in giving your Excellency every information in my power that may tend to promote the peace or prosperity of our country, and to aid, as much as possible the measures adopted by the General Government for restoring tranquillity to Georgia.

Should your Excellency see fit to form any military enterprise against a part of the Creek nation, whilst I am there, I shall expect to have notice given me, in time to provide for the personal safety of myself and the other citizens of the United States that may be among the savages. On my part, I shall give your Excellency regular information of my agency on this occasion, and, should any material change take place, you shall know it by express. I am under the necessity of leaving this place for the Rock Landing, on the Oconee, to-morrow morning. In the interim, should you have any commands, shall be happy to receive them, being, with all due respect, yours, &c.

FORT FIDUS, (on the Oconee) Sept. 17, 1793.

SIR:

Since writing you, from Augusta, on the 6th instant, I arrived at this place, in company with Col. Gaither, on the 9th. I could plainly discover, before I left Augusta, that the business of peace, which I was going on, was very disagreeable to many, even in that metropolis, and was informed that I should meet with insult, and perhaps worse, if I attempted going to this place. I treated all this as an idle story; however, when we had reached within thirty-two miles of this place, we were not a little surprised to see Captain Dickinson, with a party of federal troops, meeting us. They were sent, as you will observe by the enclosed paper, it being the opinion of a council of all the officers at this garrison, for our protection, they having received alarming accounts respecting us, especially myself, of whom it was currently said that parties were out, waylaying the roads, to shoot me. We did not meet with any interruption, and got safe here.

From undoubted information, which I have every day received since being here, and from the conduct of the generality of those frontier people, I find that it is a matter determined on, by them, that peace with the Creek Indians shall not take place on any terms whatever; that, in order to prevent my meeting the Indians, parties of militia are constantly kept out between this river and the Oakmulgee, to intercept and destroy myself or messengers; and, doubtless, Indians also, whether friend or foe.

On the 2d or 3d instant, a party of thirteen horsemen, under command of a Captain Stokes, of the militia, went from a place called Long Bluff, on this river, (about thirty miles below this garrison) towards the Oakmulgee, where he found four Indians cooking on the margin of that river. Stokes' party fired on the Indians, and, it is said, killed three of them. Certain it is, he brought off three horses, a quantity of deer skins, and four rifles. My informant, a man of good repute, was a witness to the sale and division of this property amongst the captors, after their return into the settlement. It is said that these Indians had stolen two horses from Long Bluff a few days before, and were followed in consequence. This affair, I fear, has prevented the Indians coming forward, agreeably to my request of the 29th July. Not hearing of any of the Indians being at the Oakmulgee, and being anxious to know the situation of matters, I despatched two trusty persons, in the night of the 11th, through the woods, with a letter to Mr. Barnard, for the purpose of obtaining information. I am not without great fear for the safety of these messengers, or any that may be coming to me from the nation, as several scouting parties of the militia of this country are constantly patrolling between this and the Oakmulgee, in order to intercept either Indians or whites, and to put them to death.

Ever since I have been here, spies are kept about to watch my movements, and threats of the most insolent kind are denounced against me, should I dare to oppose their darling object, *an Indian war*. For a week past, an expedition has been forming in the neighborhood of this garrison, and in Greene county, with intention, as is said, of going into the Creek towns. They call themselves volunteers; they appear to be commanded by the Colonels Alexander, Lamar, and Melton. The party, from the best information, will not exceed two hundred mounted men, with provisions for ten days. They crossed the Oconee, near Shoulderbone, on Sunday, the 15th instant. My opinion is, that they do not mean to go further than the river Oakmulgee, where they expect that the friendly chiefs will be coming to meet me. Should it be the case, and these people fall in with them, the consequence will be dreadful. By what authority this party has been raised and sent out I know not: I can only say, that there does not appear any opposition of this Government, to the violent, unwarrantable proceedings of those frontier settlers.

Whilst such measures are pursued by the people of Georgia, I conceive it would be highly imprudent in me to attempt going into the nation with a view to establishing any thing of a pacific nature with the Creeks, being fully convinced that those restless people would render the whole a nullity, if not bring much censure and discredit on the United States and their servants, with the savages, who cannot clearly discriminate the actions of individual States or people from that of the General Government. The opposition to every measure favorable to peace with the Creek Indians, as well as the pointed disrespect to every person in the immediate service of the General Government, is so conspicuous and general among the inhabitants of this upper country, as, in my humble opinion, to give just reason to fear that the cause proceeds, in a great degree, from a source in this State, which it ought not.

The conduct of some of the people of Georgia, viewed with those of other States in the Union, who are unfortunately engaged in Indian wars, is so extremely opposite as to justify an opinion that there is unfair doings here, and deep design in the business. I am sensible that those opinions, if known, would be very unpopular in some parts of

this country. I believe them just, and, so long as I am employed by the General Government, I will give my opinion, as an honest servant.

I should have wrote Governor Telfair, and requested him to put a stop to those parties of his militia from going out against the Indians at this time, was I not already convinced by his conduct, that no kind of attention would be paid to my application on this, or any other, Indian business.

I have received every attention and assistance I required from Colonel Gaither, and those under his command. His returning with me to this place, (when his health required a change of climate) in order to forward the orders of the President to me, points out the attentive, faithful officer, which I do verily believe him to be, in every instance; and, to my knowledge, he has been most cruelly calumniated by the late Capt. McLean and a Mr. Minor, which will be made appear to you.

The Indians appear to be perfectly quiet in every direction along the frontier of Georgia, and I firmly believe it is their wish to continue so, if not driven to extremes by the people of this country. I shall continue here, until I can hear from the nation, and know what possibly can be done. In the present situation of matters, I cannot attempt any thing with safety. The enclosed declaration, made by James Aiken, who I sent with my packhorses from Savannah, will serve to acquaint you with the temper of the inhabitants of this country towards federal officers, and the risk we run in doing our duty on this lawless frontier.

You will also find enclosed a certified extract of a letter from Lieutenant Sedgwick, commanding at fort Matthews, mentioning that a Captain Williamson, with a troop of horse from that quarter, had gone toward the Oakmulgee, to intercept me or the Indians. I believe it will be found, on inquiry, that a principal part of those parties, who are now out to oppose me in effecting a peace, are those very militia called out by Governor Telfair, for the protection of the frontier, and who expect to be paid by the General Government.

September 22, 1793.—I have delayed sending forward the preceding in hope of hearing from the nation, but, as yet, I have not the least information of what is doing. My messengers having not yet returned, I am of opinion that the chiefs have convened, to come to some determination on my last letter to Mr. Barnard, a copy of which I herewith send you.

The Captain Williamson mentioned by Lieutenant Sedgwick, went as far as the Apalachee with 70 men, but, as usual, a dissension took place between the commanders, and he, with his party, returned. Report says that Alexander is gone toward the nation, but I believe the Oakmulgee will be his utmost range at this time. By such futile expeditions, as have of late been set on foot from this country, the minds of the Indians are disturbed, and their confidence destroyed, either as to our prowess in war, or the sincerity of our declarations for peace with them.

If such men are allowed to act in the style they now do, it is in vain that any measures are pursued to preserve a peace between this country and the Indians. The motive of such conduct with many of the principal actors, as well as a long train of associates, is so conspicuous as not to require further explanation by me.

September 22d, 2 o'clock in the afternoon.—Since writing you as above this morning, I have received an express from the nation, in answer to my letter of the 29th July, and that sent by Mr. Aiken, on the 11th instant.

It affords me exceeding pleasure to be able to inform you, that, from the information I have received, the Creek Indians appear well disposed to comply with my wish of peace, upon terms of equal justice. There appears no obstacle in the way of peace, but the refractory people of this frontier. I shall leave this in four days, in order to meet the friendly chiefs on the Oakmulgee, and go with them into the nation, and yet hope I shall live to see peace established.

I find the Spanish agents have changed their style of talk to the Indians; they are at present favorable. I wish they may be sincere.

I have wrote to Governor Telfair this day, requesting him to put a stop to parties of his people crossing the boundary line. A copy of my letter I now forward to you.  
I am, &c.

P. S. I am sorry to inform you that the Cherokees have sent, twice of late, the *bloody club* into the Upper Creeks, calling on them to join and war against the white people, in consequence of the injury done the Cherokees by people from Governor Blount's territory, in particular that by a Captain Baird, on the Hanging Maw and others. The Creeks positively refused them, and are determined to sit still. I fear the Cherokees will do mischief ere long.

[ENCLOSURES.]

At a council of officers, called for the following purpose, viz: From the information of Mr. Aiken, an express, and a letter from James Seagrove, Esq. that he had sent his pack-horses forward, which he recommended to my care, and from the information of him, the said Aiken, that Mr. Seagrove would, at farthest, be on here by the 7th instant, accompanied by Colonel Gaither, commandant of the federal troops in Georgia, and Captain Freeman, who is public agent for the United States, who brings on pay for the troops, as can be seen by a letter directed to me, signed Henry Gaither, and dated 29th August, 1793, and hearing that Mr. Seagrove was in danger of his life in consequence of his going to hold a treaty at the Oakmulgee, with the nation of Creek Indians, and receiving intelligence that the party of militia stationed at the Rock Landing are fattening their horses at the said Rock Landing, to proceed on the 15th instant, headed by one Jeremiah Oats, and from Aiken's knowing that the treaty must be held on the 10th inst. suspecting that some fatal accident has happened, or may happen, to the aforesaid party, we, the officers, do think it expedient, from the above communication of the commandant, that he, on calling on us, should be justified in sending out a party of federal troops, consisting of one sergeant, one corporal, and twelve privates, under the command of Captain Dickinson, to afford protection, and guard the party to this post, or gain intelligence; and he is empowered to draw provisions for four days, or money, in lieu thereof, furnished by the contractor; or, if necessary, to send an express to Georgetown, and even carry the party, if expedient, to that place.

Given under our hands, this 7th day of September, 1793.

JOSEPH DICKINSON,  
Captain 2d sub-legion, U. S.

JOHN BIRD,  
Lieut. 2d sub-legion, U. S.

P. L. VAN ALEN,  
Lieut. U. S. artillery.

THOS. FARLEY,  
Surgeon's Mate.

R. B. ROBERTS,  
Captain 2d sub-legion U. S. and Commandant.

THO. MARTIN,  
Captain 1st sub-legion.

*James Aiken's Declaration.*

James Aiken, being duly sworn, deposed and said, that, on the 31st of August, 1793, he parted from James Seagrove, Agent of Indian Affairs, being then on the Augusta road, at a place called Lambert's tavern; that this deponent proceeded by way of Waynesborough, toward fort Fidius, on the Oconee, with the pack horses and baggage of the said agent, agreeable to orders received from him, having, as an assistant, a free negro man, named Frederick Charves; that they proceeded by way of the White Ponds, in the county of Washington, where they stopped to refresh themselves and horses; that, whilst at that place, this deponent met with very great insult, and

his life was threatened by several of the inhabitants, because he was in the service of said agent, and it was understood by those people that the agent was going to the Creek Nation to establish a peace; that the people at that place, as well as on his way, appeared very inveterate, and determined to injure the agent, or any body acting under him; and declared they would kill the agent as soon as any Indian; that a man, who this deponent understood to be of the name of Randall Griffin, did actually cock and present a rifle gun at the said negro man called Frederick Charves, and swore, in a very violent manner, that he would kill the said negro on the spot, if he knew with certainty whether he had ever been in the Creek nation, on business for said agent; the negro made no reply, or gave any cause for such usage; that this deponent verily believes, that, had it not have been for the timely interference of the Reverend James Hutchinson, he, the said negro man, as well as this deponent, would have lost their lives; that the conduct of the people of the country through which this deponent passed appeared violently opposed to every thing like peace between this country and the Indians; and, that he conceives the said agent in danger of his life, as he travels through this country; and further this deponent saith not.

JAMES AIKEN.

*Extract of a letter from Lieutenant Sedgwick, Commandant of fort Matthews.*

I this day received information that Mr. Seagrove is to meet some Indians on the Oakmulgee, for to treat with them, and that Captain Williamson, with fifty or sixty militia, was to cross last evening, with an intention to surprise them, if possible.

I certify that the above extract is taken accurately from a letter of Lieutenant Sedgwick, commandant of fort Matthews, directed to me as commanding officer at this post, dated September 16th, and received the 17th instant, which I shewed to James Seagrove, Esq. Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

Given under my hand, this 23d day of September, 1793, at fort Fidius.

R. B. ROBERTS,

*Captain 2d Sub-Legion United States, and Commandant.*

*James Seagrove to Governor Telfair.*

FORT FIDIUS, on the Oconee, 22d September, 1793.

SIR:

This morning an express arrived to me from the Creek nation, with despatches. The letters and talks which I have received, contain such expressions of friendship and ardent desire, in the principal characters, of seeing me among them, as leaves not a doubt in my breast that they anxiously wish for a peace with this country, on terms of equal justice. This your Excellency knows to be the wish of the General Government, and I fondly hope that of my fellow citizens in Georgia.

I shall leave this to-morrow for the Creek towns, where every thing in my power shall be done to obtain full satisfaction for injuries done this country, and to establish a firm and honorable peace.

This I send by express, for the purpose of making your Excellency acquainted with the present situation of Indian affairs, and to request that you will, without delay, put a stop to all armed parties of men from this State crossing the boundary line for any purpose whatever.

I am sorry to be under the necessity of informing your Excellency, that, since I had the honor of seeing you, and of addressing you on the 6th instant, on the subject of Indian matters, there hath several parties of horsemen from this frontier crossed the Oconee, with intention, as is said, of going into the Indian towns. I will not allow myself to suppose that, after the communications I have had with your Excellency on this very point, it is possible you should have had any knowledge of such parties going out, or I should have had advice of the same from you.

Should such practice be continued from your State, whilst I am in the nation, and any injury is done a Creek Indian, the consequence will be, that every white person belonging to the United States, in the power of the savages, will fall a sacrifice, and a general Indian war be brought on this country. To prevent which, as well as the horrid reflection it would bring on our Government, I doubt not your Excellency will use every exertion in your power.

I am happy to say, that, from my information from the Indian nation, a very conspicuous and favorable change hath taken place in the conduct of the Spanish agents who are among the Creeks; doubtless this is occasioned in consequence of orders from the court of Spain.

I find, by my despatches of to-day, that the Cherokees] have called on the Creeks to join them in an immediate war against the white people, but the Creeks refused them for the present. I apprehend that the N. W. frontier of your State is in danger from the Cherokees in their present temper; and, therefore, would advise the people there being put on their guard as soon as possible.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*From James Seagrove to the Secretary of War.*

FORT FIDIUS, on the Oconee, 9th October, 1793.

SIR:

When I had the honor of writing you on the 22d ult. I fully expected the next would have been from the Creek nation, as I then had every thing ready, and should, on the morning of the 28th, have left this, escorted by twenty-five federal troops, to defend me against the outrage of parties of militia of this frontier, and to continue with me until I met the friendly Indians, who were waiting for me on the Oakmulgee; but on that morning, a Captain Sanford, of the militia, who had just returned from an expedition to the Creek towns, under Colonel Alexander, and others, as mentioned in mine of the 17th ult. came to this garrison, and publicly declared, that their party had pursued the track of some horse thieves toward the Indian nation, and on the morning of the 21st surprised a small Indian town on the Chatahochee river, called the Little Oakfuskee; killed and scalped six Indian men, and brought off three women and five girls prisoners; that they also plundered and burnt the said town, which consisted of ten houses. This town and its people being among the most friendly of the Creeks, and no way concerned in stealing horses, they being under direction of the White Lieutenant of the Oakfuskees, it appeared to me an unfortunate event, and much in the way of the business I was going on. Besides, I have every reason to believe it was done chiefly with a view to destroy all hope of my being able to effect a peace. On the same day, I received certain accounts of three other parties of horse being out from this frontier for similar purposes. Indeed, one of these parties passed this garrison, and crossed this river three miles above, and went as far as the Oakmulgee. The commander of said party declared to me, that he would destroy all Indians he came across, whether friend or foe; and that he was opposed to peace. Finding such a torrent of opposition in this country against the business of peace, and not finding that Governor Telfair took any pains to prevent those parties going out, but, on the contrary, that they were acting under orders from him and his generals; and not knowing in what manner the friendly part of the nation would view the late outrage, I concluded not to proceed to the nation until I could hear therefrom, as well as to use my endeavors with the Governor to stop his people. On this matter, I consulted with Mr. Barnard and three white men from the nation, as also Colonel Gaither, who were unanimous in opinion that I ought not, on any account, to



go to the towns until the people of this frontier can be restrained, and until I could have the prisoners lately taken put in my possession, to be returned to their friends on proper terms. From these reasons, I determined to rest my journey, until I can see matters on a better footing.

I despatched Mr. Barnard, on the 29th ult. to the Indians who were waiting for me on the Oakmulgee, with some goods, as presents, and gave him full instruction how to obtain the sense of the nation, and their determination on the late transaction at the Little Oakfuskee, and to transmit me the same without delay, which will govern me as to my further movements.

I now enclose you a copy of a letter, and a set of conditions, which I received from Governor Telfair, and also my letter to him of the 3d instant, which will serve to explain many matters to you, and let you see the opposition I met with. You will find herewith a copy of a letter to me from Major of Brigade Buckner Harris, proving that Governor Telfair did give him orders, to be by him, the said major, carried to General Clarke, ordering offensive operations, as well as defensive, against the Creek Indians. These orders were given by the Governor to Major Harris, in Augusta, two days after I had seen his Excellency, and remonstrated against such things being done. I shall avoid, for the present, making any comment on the very extraordinary conduct of Mr. Telfair, not having a doubt but a little time will unravel many matters.

I momentarily expect to hear from the nation; not an Indian has been heard of, on any part of this frontier, or any mischief done by them, since my last.

I have nothing to add at present, and remain, with every sentiment of respect,

Your most obedient, devoted, very humble servant,

JAMES SEAGROVE,

*Agent Indian Affairs.*

Major General HENRY KNOX,  
*Secretary of War of the United States.*

*W. Urquhart to James Seagrove, Esquire.*

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 26th September, 1793.

SIR:

The Governor has taken your letter of the 22d instant into consideration, and requires that you be furnished with the enclosed.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

W. URQUHART, S. E. D.

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 26th September, 1793.

Conditions that will be required on the part of the State of Georgia, on the establishment of peace between the United States and the Creek Indians.

The captured property to be restored, and all individual contracts with the citizens of this State fulfilled.

The prisoners in captivity to be brought and delivered up within the settled parts of Georgia.

The perpetrators of the murders committed in this State, to the number of thirteen, to be surrendered, as objects of retaliation.

Ten head-men from the Upper and Lower Creek towns, to be surrendered as hostages to the United States, and to be placed in the safe-keeping of the Executive of the State of Georgia, for the due performance of the several stipulations that respect her.

That, under the law of the United States, as well as for the security of this State, the government of Georgia cannot recognise the establishment of peace, without having commissioners at the treaty.

Attest,

W. URQUHART, S. E. D.

JAMES SEAGROVE, Esq.

I do certify the above to be exact copies from the original in my possession.

JAMES SEAGROVE, *Agent.*

FORT FIDIUS, on the Oconee, 31st September, being the day received.

*James Seagrove to Edward Telfair, Governor of Georgia.*

FORT FIDIUS, on the Oconee, 3d October, 1793.

SIR:

The duty I owe my country, and regard for my reputation, obliges me once more to address your Excellency on a subject, which, to me, is truly unpleasant.

By my communications to you of the 3d of August last, from Savannah, and of the 6th of last month, from Augusta, and 2d from this place, as well as by a copy of my instructions, which your Excellency received from the Secretary of the Department of War, you have been fully informed of my intended journey into the Creek nation, as well as the nature and extent of my business. I, therefore, could not doubt, but I should have received every aid from the Government of Georgia, in accomplishing an object, so much desired by the President of the United States, and which tended so conspicuously to promote the true interest and happiness of the people of this State. How far my expectations on this head have been answered, the following statement of facts will explain:

After having had the honor of an interview with your Excellency at Augusta, on the 5th ultimo, and of writing you a letter next day, I set off for this place on the 7th, in order to meet the friendly chiefs on the Oakmulgee, and with them, proceed to the Creek nation. I was not a little astonished, when, on the morning of the 9th, being then about thirty miles from this place, I was met by Captain Dickinson, with a party of federal troops, whom, it appeared, had been despatched, in consequence of a council of all the officers at this garrison, held from the repeated alarming accounts to them, that parties of people were out on the roads, in order to intercept and destroy me; those misguided people having heard that I was going to the Indian nation in order to make peace for this country.

On my arrival here, I received satisfactory information, that the people on this frontier were assembling in bodies, with declared intention of expeditions in different directions to the Creek towns. I could not, for some time, allow myself to suppose it possible, after the remonstrance that I made to your Excellency, to restrain all armed parties from crossing the boundary line, whilst I was on the business of peace with the Indians, without my being apprised thereof from you. But all doubts on this head were soon removed, by the expedition which was sent out from this frontier, under command of Colonels Lemar, Alexander, and Melton, who crossed the Oconee on or about the 15th ult. and on the 21st surprised a small Indian town on the Chatahoocnee, called the little Oakfuskees; which town was under the direction of the White Lieutenant, who is well known to have ever been friendly to this country.

I am informed by one of the Captains, that was of the expedition, that the party before mentioned, killed and scalped six Indian men, and brought off eight female prisoners, plundered and burnt the town, which consisted of about ten houses; and on the 26th of the same month, the party returned to Greensborough, with the prisoners and plunder.

On the 26th ult. a party of horsemen, in the public service, under command of a Captain Carson, crossed the river Oconee, three miles above this place, with intention, as he declared, to prevent my meeting the Indians, and to destroy all or any of the friendly Indians he came across; this party went as far as the Oakmulgee, but did not meet any Indians.



At the same time, I received undoubted information of two other parties of horse being out on the Indian territory from this frontier, all of them with avowed intention of opposing my meeting the Indians, or effecting a peace. To these things, I am sorry to add, that a torrent of unmerited calumny, and insolent threats, are denounced against me, by many of the people of this country, and no pains taken by the Executive of Georgia, to support a Federal officer in the faithful discharge of his duty.

In mine of the 22d ultimo, I informed your Excellency of the very favorable prospect I had, of settling matters with the Creeks on terms of equal justice, and to the satisfaction of our country; and that I should leave this the next day, in order to meet the chiefs on the Oakmulgee. But, on receiving advice of the attack made on the Oakfuskees, and the alarming accounts of so many parties from Georgia being out, and of their views, I concluded it would be best to delay my journey for some days, in order to give your Excellency time to take further measures for restraining such doings. But, to my astonishment, I have since discovered, that those parties who have engaged in offensive operations against the Creeks, are authorized by your Excellency for what they have done, and are doing in that way.

This being confirmed to me, beyond a doubt, I conceived it would have been very improper in me to go into the Creek nation to treat of peace, whilst your Excellency was actually carrying on a war against them.

Whilst in this situation, I received your Excellency's notice, of the 26th ultimo, with the "conditions required by the State of Georgia, on the establishing of peace between the United States and the Creek Indians." Whether it is proper or improper, in the Executive of Georgia, to come forward at this time, and in this manner, with such conditions, is not with me to say; that is a matter which, I suppose, will be determined by the General Government.

On the 29th ultimo, I sent my deputy, Timothy Barnard, and three trusty white persons, into the Creek nation, with instructions to use all possible address in keeping the Indians from taking revenge on this country, for the late injuries done them. Barnard writes me from the Oakmulgee on the first instant, "that he had talked with all the Indians there, who seemed to be disposed still to preserve peace with this country; that he had despatched a principal chief to the White Lieutenant, with a peace talk from me." Upon the whole, I am yet in hopes our country may enjoy the blessings of peace, if we choose it in preference to war; provided you will restrain the people of this State from acting offensively against the Creek Indians, that are our friends.

I continue here, in order to receive advice from the nation, and to act eventually. In the mean time, I have to request that your Excellency will give orders, that the eight female Indian prisoners, taken on the 21st ultimo from the little Oakfuskee town, be sent to me at this place, where they shall be taken care of, and returned in exchange for any prisoners of the United States in the Creek nation.

You will please to excuse my intruding so long on your time, and believe me to be,  
Your Excellency's obedient very humble servant,

JAMES SEAGROVE,  
*Agent Indian Affairs, S. D. U. S.*

His Excellency EDWARD TELFAIR,  
*Governor and Commander in Chief of the State of Georgia.*

I have compared the preceding letter, and find it an exact copy.

JAMES SEAGROVE.

*Timothy Barnard to James Seagrove, Esq.*

OAKMULGEE, 1st October, 1793.

DEAR SIR:

I arrived here last evening late, found all well, have despatched, agreeable to your desire, the Warrior king of the Cussetahs off with a talk in writing, as well as a verbal, to the White Lieutenant of the Oakfuskees; have likewise desired him to gather as many of the heads of the lower towns as possible, and tell them how matters are on the frontiers of Georgia. He has promised to be in the Cussetahs in four days from this; in two more the talk to be with the White Lieutenant, and then endeavor to procure an answer to be sent to you. The Warrior king of the Cussetahs has had no news from the nation since I left him; therefore he says and hopes, if matters are quiet until he gets up, he will do all he can to reconcile the Indians, and keep them from being rash in the present matter. It seems it was the Cowetas that stole the horses, and shot at the white people and killed their horses. All the Indians that are here with me, seem to agree, that those Indians that stole the horses, ought to bear the blame of the mischief done, and suffer for the same. I have encouraged that idea all I can: for, if revenge is but taken on them by the Oakfuskees, who have lost their friends, it will be the means of stopping all stealing, and the like. I shall do all I possibly can, for the good of our country. I have remained here to day to see all the Indians start off for their homes.

I am, &c.

TIMOTHY BARNARD.

JAMES SEAGROVE, Esq. at fort Fidius, on the Oconee.

I certify the preceding to be a just copy from the original, in my possession.

JAMES SEAGROVE, *Agent.*

*Buckner Harris to Major James Seagrove.*

FORT FIDIUS, 2d October, 1793.

SIR:

I apprehend that the party of militia lately out, and which brought in eight prisoners, and killed several Indians, acted consistent with the orders of his Excellency the Governor of Georgia, as his Excellency told me, about the eighth of September last, "that he had given orders to the different officers on the frontier, that they should pursue all parties of Indians that came in and committed any hostilities, or stole any horses. He also told me to inform Brigadier General Clarke to keep up the line of defence, and for the Indians to be pursued wherever they might be found on the frontier, committing any outrage whatever, and kill them."

I have the honor to be, &c.

B. HARRIS,  
*Brigade Major 1st Brigade 3d Division.*

Delivered by Brigade Major Harris, in presence of

HENRY GAITHER, *Major.*

I certify the above to be an exact copy from the original, in my possession.

JAMES SEAGROVE, *Agent.*

I hereby certify, on honor, that the information contained in the following lines, I received on my way to fort Matthews:

Ninety-one men, including officers, set off on Sunday morning (14th instant) on the trail of some horses that had been stolen about a week before, above Greensborough. As soon as the horses were missed, five men pursued them as far as the Oakmulgee. The Indians had encamped at the mouth of a creek, and waylaid their own trail, or, in other words, lay in ambush. As soon as the party had passed them, the Indians fired in their rear, mortally wounded two of their horses, and obliged them to make a precipitate retreat into the settlement. In consequence of this defeat, the above party set out, headed by Colonel Alexander, Colonel Melton, Colonel Lemar, Major

Fauche, Major Adams, and several subaltern officers; they were to rendezvous at the High Shoals of the Apalache. Colonel Alexander expressed a wish to waylay the path between the Oakmulgee and fort Fidius, to intercept any Indians that might be coming in to treat with Major Seagrove. Colonel Melton rather wished to follow the trail into the towns, and destroy that to which it went; from the course of which, they think it almost certain to be one of the Cussetah towns. They were to settle this difference on their arrival at the Appalache. Mr. Adams (near Shoulder-bone) expressed a great wish that Major Seagrove and his deputy, Mr. Barnard, should be both sacrificed; that, instead of pacifying the Indians, they were only encouraging and paying them to destroy our frontier inhabitants; and, as Congress are a set of rascals, and the Secretary of War an enemy to his country, if he had it in his power, he would drown them in the sea; observing, at the same time, that he was confident, the Executive officers of the Federal Government wished that the Indians might destroy the whole State of Georgia. The Federal troops, he supposes, are of no service in protecting the frontier, and laughs at the two hundred men which the Governor is authorized to raise, and put under the command of Major Gaither. One of Adams' sons is a spy or ranger, who patrols over the river. I asked Adams, in his son's presence, whether he supposed any of the spies would kill an Indian or party of Indians, either coming in with a flag, or to hold a treaty of peace with Major Seagrove, by order of the Federal Government? He answered me, they were determined to kill any they saw, let their tribe or business be what it would. I considered the silence of his son as a tacit acquiescence of the declaration.

I inquired by what authority they went out? They told me it was recommended by Colonel Melton.

Mr. Armour (of Greensborough) also confirmed the substance of the above—particularly as to Colonel Alexander's intentions.

Done at Fort Fidius, this twenty-fifth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.

FRED'K DALCHO,

*Surgeon's Mate in the Legion of the United States.*

Attest, JAMES SEAGROVE, *Agent Indian Affairs.*

*James Seagrove to the Secretary of War.*

FORT FIDIUS, on the Oconee, 14th October, 1793.

SIR:

This instant, I am honored with your letter of the 16th ultimo, by which I observe, you had received my letters as far down as the 17th of August. My communications to you, since then, have fully explained, and, I hope, satisfied you, that I have, thus far, done all in my power to accomplish the desire of the President of the United States; and that my being here, at present, is owing entirely to the unruly conduct of the people of Georgia.

I have said so much on this in my letters of the 17th and 22d ultimo, and 9th instant, that I shall not take up your time at present, on so very disagreeable a subject, more than I am obliged. From information which I have from people of this country, I have reason to believe that there are two expeditions on foot on this frontier, against the Creek towns, which will go out in six or eight days; report makes these parties formidable, but, if two hundred men can be got out in each, I think it will be the utmost. One party goes from Greene, the other from Washington county. I am sorry to say, that I do not find any measures taken by the Governor of Georgia, to put a stop to such unwarrantable doings; on the contrary, it appears to be encouraged.

By the enclosed copy of a letter, received yesterday from Timothy Barnard, you will observe, there is a great hope of getting over the late horrid affair on the Oakfuskee village, and it is brought to a pleasant issue for this country, if revenge can but be taken on the Cowetas by the Oakfuskees, for the lives they have lost. But I fear the conduct of the people of this country will destroy all hope of good arising from any measures I have taken. I shall, notwithstanding, embrace every opening to do my duty, disregarding the malignant breath of all the anti-federal and land speculating tribe in this country.

Enclosed, you have a copy of what I wrote Governor Telfair to-day. All is quiet on the whole frontier of Georgia, as to the Indians, which must serve to satisfy you that a war is very disagreeable to the nation, or they would have been out, long ere this, to take revenge.

If Barnard gives me favorable accounts, and no parties go from Georgia, I shall be ready to push into the nation on the shortest notice.

So soon as I have further advice from the nation, you shall be informed.

I remain, most respectfully, &c.

JAMES SEAGROVE, *Agent.*

*Hon. the Secretary of the Department of War, United States.*

*Copy of a letter from Timothy Barnard to Major Gaither.*

FLINT RIVER, 5th October, 1793.

SIR:

This is the fourth day since I arrived at home. Have had no news from the nation worth relating, as yet, but it seems to be the general opinion of the Indians, that those fellows (the Cowetas) that stole the horses from the frontiers, will be the objects of revenge, for those fellows who lost their lives at the Little Oakfuskee village, by the party that went up there. If this should be the case, it will be of good effect. Captain Millegan arrived here yesterday, from Georgia, forks of Altamaha, and proceeds on to Kinnard's, in company with Mr. Aikens and Charves. I have given Mr. Aikens instructions to be here in six days from this, at which time I expect to be ready to send him off with full accounts from the nation. However, as no one at present can positively say what may be the event of this matter, that has been done in the nation, I think it would be proper that you give out orders that the people be on their guard, and do not expose themselves on the river, as, if any of the relations of the injured tribe should take it into their heads to take satisfaction, injury may be done, when not expected or intended by the nation. You and Major Seagrove will consider this, as to both, for reasons I need not mention.

I am, &c.

Taken from the original by

JAMES SEAGROVE.

FORT FIDIUS, 14th October, 1793.

*James Seagrove to Governor Telfair.*

FORT FIDIUS, 14th October, 1793.

SIR:

Yesterday a letter was received by Major Gaither, from Mr. Barnard, an extract of which I now enclose your Excellency, by which you will observe that there is a prospect of the Oakfuskees taking satisfaction from the Cowetas, for the injuries done the former, by people from Georgia. I hope time will be given them for the purpose, and that no act of the people of this country may prevent. I take this opportunity to inform your Excellency of the report which is current on this frontier, and which I have been made acquainted with by respectable men in this neighborhood, which is, that a party of militia are assembling in Washington county, and another in Greene county,

with avowed designs of expeditions into the Creek towns; and that they will go out in six or eight days. I will not absolutely say this is the case; but, I think well to apprize you thereof, that not a moment be lost in putting a stop to such unwarrantable doings.

I, therefore, hope your Excellency will issue your proclamation, strictly prohibiting any person crossing the boundary line without proper authority.

I have not heard of an Indian having been seen or heard of, on any part of this frontier, for five weeks past. I hope this will continue long to be the case.

With respect, I remain, &c.

*James Seagrave to the Secretary of War.*

FORT FIDIUS, on the Oconee, 21st October, 1793.

SIR:

Last evening I received an express, with letters from Mr. Barnard, as late as the seventeenth and eighteenth instant, copies of all which I now send you, in order that you may be as minutely as possible informed of the present temper of the whole of the Creek nation, and the favorable opening there now appears, of placing all matters on a favorable footing, between the United States and them, if the people of this country could be prevented from going into the Creek territory, and committing depredations.

I mentioned in my last, that two parties were going out from this frontier, against some of the Creek towns. I am now enabled to say, with great certainty, that about two hundred mounted militia crossed the Oconee, from Carr's Bluff, about twenty-five miles below this place, on the eighteenth instant, and are gone to the nation. As to the party from the upper part of this frontier, I am not able to inform, with any degree of certainty; but from report, I believe they are about going, or gone, at this day. It is said that they are to be under the command of the Colonel Alexander who I have had occasion so often to mention to you.

What will be the consequence of these parties going out, is impossible to determine at present, further than that it can answer no good purpose, and will probably be attended with many bad ones.

I have wrote Governor Telfair to day, on this subject; a copy of my letter you have herewith, as also one received by Major Gaither, from Lieutenant Van Allen, of the Federal troops, on his way to fort Telfair.

You will also find enclosed, a letter which I received from a Major Flournoy, who lives about twenty-five miles above this station. This letter I send, as it breathes the prevailing sentiment and language of this country. Flournoy is a man who has been an officer in the Georgia State troops, and is a man of some influence and property. Enclosed is my answer to said letter.

Should the parties that are now out from this country, return without doing any injury to the friendly Indians, or working any very material change in the present temper of those people, I shall, as soon as Barnard gives me notice, push into the nation, and do all possible to establish peace.

I am perfectly of your opinion, that a few of the ruling people, sent on a visit this winter to the President and Congress, will be attended with the best of consequences. I shall therefore labor to accomplish it on your principles.

A report prevailed some time since, and which was published in an Augusta paper, that a party of upwards of one hundred Creeks, were gone to war against the Southwestern territory. I am happy in being now able to say that it is without foundation. This being all that offers at present,

I remain, with due respect, &c.

*Copy of a letter from Timothy Barnard, to James Seagrave.*

FLINT RIVER, 17th October, 1793.

DEAR SIR:

Since my arrival in the nation I have done every thing in my power to reconcile the Indians, and I think they seem at present more inclinable for peace than they have been this summer past; and I think that, if the militia could be stopped from coming out to search for Indians, on this side of the Oconee, matters might soon be settled for the benefit of both parties. The Indians have now, I am convinced, stopped all stealing parties from going out; this I think you may rely on, therefore the inhabitants need be in no great dread of hostilities being committed. The whole nation seem to have a desire to have you up to settle matters, (how far you can proceed in that business you are the best judge) as the winter draws on fast, and the Indians will be soon going into the woods. I do not know when I shall be able to come down, as I have been very sick for some time past. The Spaniards and Mr. Panton have advised the Indians strongly to be at peace. Those circumstances, and the small fright they have lately got, will, I fancy, keep them quiet.

I shall expect to hear from you, by Mr. Aikens, how the country is disposed towards the Indians: for, if they still mean to be coming over the Oconee, searching for Indians, it is useless for me to try to bring about a peace; which, if it could be made on good terms, would be more for the good of the country than a war at this time. There never was a better opportunity to settle a peace than at this time. I shall, however, abide by your instructions on this business, as I am convinced you act up to the instructions you have from the President and General Knox; therefore, I think the inhabitants of Georgia, if they studied the good of the country, they would not wish to make a war, contrary to the President's wish; if they do, and have to fight the Indians without the assistance of Congress; they, I fear, will find it a hard task to subdue them. Nothing more occurs to me at present worth mentioning, therefore, wish you health, and I remain, dear sir, yours, &c.

FORT FIDIUS, 21st October 1793.

Copy from the original.

JAMES SEAGROVE, *Agent Indian Affairs.*

*Copy of a letter from Timothy Barnard to James Seagrave.*

FLINT RIVER, 17th October, 1793.

DEAR SIR:

You will receive this by Mr. Aiken, whom I send off express, informing you as nearly as possible of the situation of matters in this quarter, as I judge, before this, you must be very uneasy to know.

The Tussekee Mico, or Warrior King, of the Cussetahs, that was at the Oakmulgee with me, since our return home he has been very attentive in striving to reconcile matters, which I am informed by three men that came out from the Cussetahs to me three days ago, that he has nearly effected. On his arrival in the Cussetahs, he called a meeting of the Lower Creeks, as I desired him, and acquainted them fully of the danger they were in; which I considered would be of more service from him, (the Warrior King) than me. I likewise wrote to the White Lieutenant, with which the Warrior King himself went up to the Tuckaubatchees, and called a meeting there, and sent for the White Lieutenant and chief of the heads of the Upper Creeks, which, by what I can learn, are all for peace; and they all wish much for your arrival in the nation, to settle matters; and I think there is a greater prospect of having it completed, if you come up, than there has been for some time past. One of the heads of the Usechees was out with me about seven days ago, and assured me there should be no more hostilities committed on the frontier by his town, and that his whole town were determined to do every thing they could to settle matters. The Cowetas are likewise promised to lay quiet, which I think may now be depended on, as I think what has been done by the

party that was in the nation. They have given them a fight, and it has been of infinite service. They talk strongly of killing some of the Cowetas; that stole the horses, that got the White Lieutenant's people killed, as every one that are killed and taken are his town's people; he sent a talk down to me, which was brought out by one of the heads of the Cussethas, to beg you would get the prisoners into your possession, and hoped to see them when you come up, but I fear it cannot be done. I expect the Warrior king out in four days at farthest, to go down to conduct you up to the nation, as there is less danger of your being molested than there was when I was with you last; as even the Chehaw people and Usechees are desirous of your coming up, as they all begin to be scared. Mr. Aiken can give you information how they are disposed about Kinnard's; by what I can learn, all the Chehaw people, that live about there, are sorry for what they have done, which I am fully informed of, by one of the heads that has been with me these two days, and has given me up a negro wench, that was taken off when young Gerrideau was killed, belonging to a Mr. Smith in Newport, and, I intend to send her down in a few days, by Captain Milligan, who I expect here every day, on his way home, from the nation. One of the women that was taken is the White Lieutenant's own relation, and wife to a head-man of the town. They say there is ten women and children lost, which, if there are but eight carried in, the other two must have been killed, and perhaps burnt in the houses you can inquire into this matter, as there are certainly that number missing.

I have been afflicted with a third day ague and fever, a complaint I never had before in this country. I was very bad all last night, and am hardly able to set up to write, my head is so giddy; therefore shall refer you to Mr. Aiken for further information, and conclude with wishing you health, and remain, dear sir, yours, &c.

FORT FIDIUS, 21st October, 1793.

A true copy.

JAMES SEAGROVE, *Agent Indian Affairs.*

*Copy of a letter from Timothy Barnard to James Seagrove.*

FLINT RIVER, 18th October, 1793.

DEAR SIR:

After I had finished my despatches to you, yesterday, late in the evening, a man I had sent in to the Usechees, arrived after dark, informing me that the Warrior king of the Cussetahs had returned from the Upper Creeks, Tuckabatchees, where he had a very full meeting with the Upper Creeks, and that all the towns in that quarter were fully determined to do every thing they could to settle a peace with the white people, and that, to show their sincerity on the business, the White Lieutenant, and several more of the heads, were making ready to come down to the Cussetahs, to join the Warrior king of the Cussetahs, to go on as far as the Oakmulgee, to conduct you safe into the nation. They have likewise sent me word to be ready in four days from this, to start with them, which, if my indisposition does not prevent me, shall be with them. Mr. Townsend, I hear, is to be with them. When we arrive at the Oakmulgee, either Mr. Townsend, me, or Mr. Mordecai, will be in with you. The White Lieutenant has again sent out word to me, to beg of you to have the prisoners, women and children, ready to come up. Those towns that have committed depredations on the frontier, are all declined, and seem fully convinced of their error, and I think, I can venture to say, that there will be no more mischief done this winter, as I have had now four of the heads of the Chehaws and Usechees with me, and have all assured me that none of their young people will commit any offences more. The chief part of them are turned out a hunting with their women and children towards the head of St. Mary's, Stangesbre, and left the head men in to settle matters when you come up. The Cowetas and Broken Arrows have likewise agreed with the Cussetahs, firmly to do no more in the horse-stealing way; as they have spilt none of the white people's blood yet, they hope, they say, they can make matters up, by returning what horses they have still in their possession. There is, likewise, strong talks sent down to all the Seminole, on no pretence to commit any hostilities on the frontiers of Georgia. All I can say, is, that if the frontier inhabitants can be governed, and kept from crossing the Oconee, there never was a better time to settle matters than now, as the Cussetahs, our best friends, are so earnest to come out a hunting, as they have been detained in all this summer past, by request of their friends the white people; and when they do get out some of them, as they are so confident in the white people's friendship to them, they will be coming down near the Oconee, or perhaps to fort Fidius, as the want of salt, and the other little necessities of life, is so great amongst them. And if any of our Georgia rash scouting parties should fall in with them, and destroy them, it would overset every good intention, therefore, I think, on receipt of this, it would be necessary for you to acquaint his Excellency the Governor how matters are situated, and perhaps you may prevail on him to issue out his strict orders for none of his militia to cross the Oconee river, as I believe I can take upon me to assure him that no Indians will cross more on this side this winter, to do mischief; so that if his people cross, it will be only to strive to create a war. If any thing should happen, it will be entirely through the means of that rascal John Galphin, who now begins to find his case grown desperate, and is upheld by a few rascals like himself, which I hope will soon be at an end, when you get to the nation. I have two or three Indians now sitting round me, pestering me with their discourse, which has been the case ever since I have been up; besides, I am very unwell, therefore, can hardly collect my sentiments, to write you as fully as I could wish. I shall leave you to Mr. Aiken for further particulars, and remain, dear sir, yours, &c.

FORT FIDIUS, 21st October, 1793.

Copy from the original in possession of

JAMES SEAGROVE, *Agent Indian Affairs.*

*Extract of a letter from Lieutenant V. Allen, of the Federal Troops, to Major Henry Gaither.*

GALPHINTON, ON OGECHEE, 18th October, 1793.

SIR:

Yesterday morning, about forty or fifty horse collected at Mr. Hutchinson's store, at the White Ponds, 20 miles from fort Fidius, under the command of Captains Kitchin, Carson, Wilbern, and Hampton, on their way to Carr's Bluff, the place of rendezvous, where they were to be joined by Captains Harrison, Stokes, and Irwin, making in all, two hundred men, to march against the Chehaw town. In order to justify this excursion, I am told that two or three of them took their neighbors' horses, and brought them over the Oconee, and then propagated that horses were stole, and that their trail appeared toward the Indian country. General Irwin, I am told, ordered them to return, but they paid no attention to him.

I am, &c.

Copied from the original.

JAMES SEAGROVE, *Agent.*

*Major Robert Flournoy to James Seagrove.*

GREEN COUNTY, October 5th, 1793.

SIR:

'Tis generally supposed that a treaty is likely to take place between the Indians and yourself, as agent for the Federal Government; which is disagreeable to the people of this country, for one only reason, to wit: They believe you will be deaf to their interest, whilst, you strictly adhere to that destructive principle of our Northeast-

wardly politicians. Make peace on any terms say they; it is that disposition in our Northern brethren, which was so plainly discovered to the Indians when they were at New York, that has brought all the evils on this country which we have since experienced. The time is at length come, when justice may be demanded—when justice may be had. 'Tis reported that those intrepid young men that has so lately burnt one Indian town, has brought from thence, eight prisoners, which ought to be exchanged on no other terms but that of the Creeks restoring all the property and prisoners they have taken away; if they have sold any part to the Spaniards, let them go and steal them from those, as they did from here. I do not wish to be understood as a man that would presume to dictate to one of your understanding, but as a sufferer, I have a right to speak my mind. It has only been six months since my old father was attacked on the Kentucky road by these very people (on their way, as it is supposed, to join the Northern tribes) when he, and four others, were killed and scalped; and I have at this time, I believe, a young negro fellow in the Creek nation, who formerly waited on me, in quality of a servant. He ran away from my store, on the 4th of September last, and was assisted across the river by an old man and his son, who are living at this time one mile above Old Tom's Path, (four miles above fort Fidius.) I have not, as yet, brought him to his deserved punishment, for want of positive proof; but if you will do me the favor to demand him amongst others, you will, I believe, put it in my power to punish those that conveyed him off, and lay me under obligations to yourself, which I shall ever glory in acknowledging. The fellow is nineteen or twenty years old, slim made, with remarkable small legs, branded on the breast I S, scarcely visible; he is very black, and has a down look; I call his name Cooper.

I am, Sir, &c.

*James Seagrove in answer to Major Robert Flournoy.*

FORT FIDIUS, 15th October, 1793.

SIR:

I have just received your favor of the fifth instant; in reply, permit me to assure you, on my word of honor, that no treaty is even in contemplation between the United States and the Creek nation.

I am sorry to find my fellow-citizens very generally possessed with the idea of a treaty.

I will go so far to satisfy you or any other gentleman of this country, by declaring, that my orders from the President of the United States are expressly to obtain full satisfaction from the savages for all injuries done this country, as a preliminary to all measures to peace. This, I should suppose, if generally understood by the people of Georgia, could not fail to give satisfaction; but, it is to be lamented, that our Governor, who is possessed of, and has full power to promulgate, those matters, has not done it. Respect for the Government of Georgia hath hitherto prevented my interfering.

I attend to what you say respecting your negro boy. Duty, as well as inclination, leads me to do all in my power, on that head. The manner in which you have been deprived of your respected father, is truly affecting, and I sympathise in your feelings on the occasion. I shall ever be happy, either in the line of my duty, or, as a private gentleman, to render you, or any of your friends, any agreeable service,

And am, with respect, yours, &c.

*James Seagrove to Governor Telfair.*

FORT FIDIUS, 21st October, 1793.

SIR:

I had the honor of writing you on the 14th instant; since then, this frontier has continued free from any Indian depredations; not an Indian hath been heard of, on this side of the Oakmulgee, for several weeks. It is with pleasure I am enabled to inform your Excellency, and the citizens of Georgia, that, by an express which I received last evening from my deputy, Mr. Timothy Barnard, I have very favorable accounts of the disposition of the whole of the Creek towns at this time, and that they are very desirous all matters should be immediately settled. The friendly towns have brought those who have been doing mischief to desist altogether, and to deliver up all the stolen property, and make other satisfaction. There is a very great prospect that the friends of those people who were killed at the Oakfuskee village, are about to take satisfaction on the Cowetas. The Oakfuskees declare they will not trouble the white people on that account.

The white Lieutenant of the Oakfuskees, and other principal chiefs, are very desirous that the prisoners you have, should be sent home as soon as possible to their friends. I hope your Excellency will see the good policy of such a measure, as those prisoners belong to some of our best friends in the nation. As I have already asked for them, I hope they are on their way to this place. Your Excellency may rely that an equal number of prisoners (if as many in the Creek nation belonging to the United States) shall be delivered for them, as well as every other arrangement favorable to this country that rests with me to do. Enclosed you have extracts from Mr. Barnard's letters to me of the 17th and 18th instant, which will serve to point to your Excellency how favorable the present moment is to give peace to our country; and how unpardonable it would be not to embrace it by every just means in our power; and how much more so to throw any impediments in the way.

I am sorry to be again obliged to inform your Excellency that I have reason to believe several companies of horsemen, from the county of Washington, are gone on an expedition against some of the Creek towns. The enclosed extract of a letter from Lieutenant Van Allen, of the federal troops, to Major Gaither, will further explain the business. That such things should be done after the express order to the contrary, which hath been received from the President of the United States, is truly unaccountable. I hope, for the honor and happiness of Georgia, that your Excellency will soon be able to put a stop thereto, and that we shall once more enjoy peace. I shall hope for your Excellency's answer by the return of the express, and that I shall be informed the prisoners are on their way to me at this place.

I am, &c.

*Letters from Major Henry Gaither to the Secretary of War.*

FORT FIDIUS, April 7th, 1793.

SIR:

The Governor of this State is often calling on me to order out the militia to guard the frontier, and mentions murders and depredations committed by the Indians, that I cannot hear from any other person; I have not, neither do I mean to order them out, unless I know them to be within our limits, and in force; I have forwarded three of the Governor's letters, and two of Timothy Barnard's letters to me from the Creek nation. The complaint of the Indians is at this time groundless; I have, during my command, given to the Indians that came to me on business, ninety-five rations, forty pounds of tobacco, and twelve gallons of rum.

I expect a friendly visit from McGillivray, The Mad Dog, and Joseph Cornell, in three weeks; what their business is, I cannot learn; but have heard the Creeks and Chickasaws are at war, and all the Upper towns are our friends, except the Cowetas, and Savannahs, or Old Delawares.

I have the honor to be, &c.

HENRY GAITHER, Major.

[ENCLOSURES.]

*From Governor Telfair to Major Henry Gaither.*

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 4th March, 1793.

SIR:

The recent outrages committed by some whites and Indians, are such, as render the situation of many innocent defenceless families on the frontiers, critical and dangerous; under this expression, I feel every obligation to afford the best possible protection from savage barbarity; and to this end, I have to require of you, full information with regard to the number of militia now in actual service, the place or places at which they are stationed, and the tour of duty assigned to them. In addition to which, it now becomes necessary, that ten foot militia, under the command of a sergeant, be stationed at each of the following places, viz: Norris' Station, Bush's Station, Hillhouse's Ironworks, and at a Station between fort Mathews and Greensborough; which, I trust, will suffice as a temporary defence for the present emergency, or until further communications from the President of the United States be received on this subject; which I have reason to expect in a short period.

I am, &amp;c.

EDWARD TELFAIR.

*Governor Telfair to Major Gaither.*

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 28th March, 1793.

SIR:

I have received information of the Creek Indians having committed murders and outrage in the county of Glynn; I have, therefore, to call on you for an explicit declaration of what aid can be obtained on the part of the General Government, in order that I may be more fully enabled to make arrangements for the emergency.

I am, sir, yours, &amp;c.

EDWARD TELFAIR.

*Timothy Barnard to Major Henry Gaither.*

BUZZARD ROOST, 18th February, 1793.

SIR:

I have not the honor of your acquaintance, but the present situation of affairs in this quarter dictates to me, that it is truly necessary you should be informed of that, which, if not obstructed, may shortly prove of very fatal consequence to the frontiers of Georgia, which is as follows: I have certain information that the inhabitants on the upper frontiers have drove over a number of cattle into the fork of the Tullapatche, which ground the Indians look upon as theirs; therefore, are determined to go down and drive off all the stock they can find there; and if they meet with any opposition, will kill those that oppose them, as you may be sure there will go a body large enough to execute their designs. I have prevailed on the head-men to restrain them for twenty days; and am setting off to the towns to do the same there; and am in hopes they will be stopped that long, till the people can get their cattle back, but there is a great probability that the hunters in the woods may collect and endeavor to drive them off; if so, those people that have put their cattle over must abide by the consequence, as they have no right to carry on such irregular proceedings. I am amazed at the heads of the country, that they will not oppose such measures at this critical juncture. There is now ten Indians from the Northward nations trying all they can to set the Creeks on the frontiers of Georgia, and such proceedings as these will be the effectual means to make the Creeks take their talks, besides ever putting it out of the power of any person to have a boundary line; I have to beg, as it is for their own good, assistance for the settlers on receipt of this, to drive their stock back; if they do not, I have now discharged my duty, and they must abide by the ill consequences that may and will attend.

I am, sir, &amp;c.

TIMOTHY BARNARD.

P. S. The bearers of this, three of the head-men of the Cussetahs, beg they may have a keg of rum a piece, and some corn and tobacco, to bring with them, as I have got them to take down these letters. If you give them a few articles, the Governor will not be against paying for it, as I can assure you, if those cattle are not removed, soon, the owners will lose them all, and some of their lives too; it is in vain to strive to keep the peace, when the white people go so head-long to work, before the boundary line is settled.

*Timothy Barnard to Major Henry Gaither.*

CUSSETAHS, March 4th, 1793.

SIR:

You will receive this per Mr. George Cornell, son of Joseph Cornell, who was linguister for the United States, upon business from the Mad Dog of the Tuckaubatchees, to this town, which is much in favor of the States, to mention that the Upper towns were of the same opinion respecting the Americans, as they were, and not to be deluded with the Shawanese talks, as they were such as would bring destruction on the land. As there might not be a linguister with you, I thought proper to acquaint you who he was, and that he is, with several white people, going into Georgia, upon business of their own. As this man is of considerable note in this country, his being well treated will be much in favor of the States; and should he be in want of provisions, &c. hope you will not let him want. The minds of the people here seem much agitated, owing to many different talks among them, particularly of the gangs of cattle being drove into the fork, which is in dispute; but hope that matter is cleared up before this, as I have wrote down to you upon that head.

Should the cattle not be drove back ere this, I fear the consequence will be serious; as they are determined to drive them off, and should they meet with opposition, perhaps blood may be spilt.

I will thank you to inform His Excellency of this; that there are many talks in the nation, but cannot determine what steps they may take.

The Cussetah king says, he hears there are many horses stole from your quarter; but may depend upon it, that its none of his people, but must be Coweta people; he also says, the white people have threatened the first man they find, to kill him, after losing their property; but hopes that you will be aware of such proceeding, and not let the innocent suffer for the guilty, especially those who have always been, and are still, your friends. I myself look upon this as a necessary precaution, and hope there will be proper attention paid.

I am, sir, yours &amp;c.

TIMOTHY BARNARD.

N. B. All the hunting camps near you are the people of this town; those that do the mischief are in their towns.

*Letter from Major Henry Gaither to the Secretary of War.*

FORT FIDIUS, 17th April, 1793.

SIR:

Since I had the pleasure of writing you last, I have had certain accounts of the Indians having murdered two white persons, and robbed a store of goods, at Trader's Hill, on St. Mary's, and that Mr. Seagrove has demanded of the head-men and warriors of the Creek nation, not only the murderers, but the whole party concerned in this mischief; and that the Indians of that nation appear at this time much divided on account of the demand made by Mr. Seagrove. I have had a message lately from Timothy Barnard, advising me to stand well on my guard, until I may hear from him again; this I have wrote to General Clarke, and other militia officers in this State; and this day sent back the express to Timothy Barnard. I have enclosed Barnard's two letters to me.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

[ENCLOSURES.]

*From Timothy Barnard to Major Henry Gaither.*

FLINT RIVER, 8th April, 1793.

SIR:

I was honored with your letter of the 21st February, at the Cussetah town, which I explained to the heads then assembled, which proved of no small service in convincing the Indians how far the leading men of the United States were from wishing to encroach on their territories. I did myself the pleasure to write to you from the Cussetahs, but am under some apprehension that my letter has not reached you, from what has happened since; at my meeting the Cussetahs, with a number of the heads of the Lower Creeks, and some of the Upper, every matter seem to conclude with a fair prospect of peace, between our red brethren and the United States; as the voice of the nation was for me to send off an express for Major Seagrove, to be up in thirty two days from that time without fail; from the last day of the meeting, in two days after, I arrived at my own house on Flint river, and next day was preparing to despatch an express off to Major Seagrove, which, before I had finished, came the dreadful news up to me from a town below me forty miles, on Flint river, that two parties out of said town, and four or five villains from a town a hundred miles below, that had just arrived from St. Mary's and Settilla, with four or five scalps from that quarter, and a great deal of plunder; those that have committed those violations, are settlements near Jack Kinnard's, and the part of the nation that Major Seagrove has given Kinnard instructions to endeavor to govern, which I cannot say but Kinnard has made use of every means in his power to keep them quiet; but the talks they get from this villain Willbanks, and from those Northward Indians, has put some of the Indians, I believe, nearly out of their heads. Willbanks, at that very time expected a vessel in, where he just at that time went down to meet her, and assured the Indians all along as he went, that she would arrive, which I could never have believed, that people would have been so mad, as to send goods on such uncertain plans; but, to my great surprise, am fully informed, that the vessel arrived on the coast with several Indians on board, that went to Providence to protect her from the insults of the Spaniards, but nevertheless the Dons acted as any other Power in such a case would, and ought to have done; took the vessel, goods and all, and conducted her to St. Mark's garrison, and it seems, bound some of the Indians fast for two or three days, which I imagine were a little insolent; they have since sent them home. A lucky circumstance for our frontiers this vessel was taken, or I fear it would have been the means of more hostilities on our frontiers. What's happened, will, I now hope, put an end to that business, and disannul all hopes of ships landing on that quarter. Poor Captain Fleming, at Captain Robert Seagrove's store on St. Mary's, fell a sacrifice to savage cruelty, and the store plundered of every thing they could take off; one other young man fell at the same place, and who he is, I cannot learn; and three more on Settilla's, near Mr. Cashin's store; that store, I hear, remains unhurt. I make no doubt, but before this you have more particular account of matters from that quarter than I can render you. Kinnard has sent off an express to Major Seagrove, respecting the business; at the same time I forwarded the peace talks from the heads of the nation, from which Major Seagrove will be able to judge, that what has been done, is far from being the voice of the whole nation. Since those villanous murderers arrived at their own towns, they have been bullied and despised by all that were in the town; Major Seagrove will, I imagine, first demand satisfaction; what will be the result I cannot take upon me to say; however, I think the inhabitants in your quarter may still remain quietly on their farms, as yet without danger, as it would be very distressing for them to break up at this time of the year. I need not, sir, have wrote you so particular, as the bearer is a very intelligent man, and a citizen and friend to the United States, and will give you every information you may stand in need of, from this quarter; and as he wished to go down that way, I thought it would be better to employ him to take this to you, than an Indian. The Indian White Fish king, as I find he styles himself to you, was desirous of going back with letters to you, but he is such a noted liar and a villain, I did not choose to trust him. Any favors you confer on the bearer, Mr. Garvin, will be gratefully acknowledged by

Sir, yours, &amp;c.

TIMOTHY BARNARD.

FLINT RIVER, 10th April, 1793.

DEAR SIR:

Since I finished the enclosed to you, I have received an express from Major Seagrove, demanding satisfaction for the violations committed on ———; and as he has made a large demand, though no more than just, I do not know how matters may turn out; therefore should not wish the frontiers to lay too much unguarded for a while, as a short time will determine how matters are to be in this quarter; the bearer, Mr. David Garvin, can inform you with particulars, relative to this matter; nothing more, but remain,

Yours, &amp;c.

TIMOTHY BARNARD.

*From Major Gaither to the Secretary of War.*

FORT FIDIUS, 19th April, 1793.

SIR:

Since writing you last, I have received certain information from the Bird king, and the Cussetah king, that the Half Way king and his warriors are actually out, and determined to spill human blood before they return. On this information, which I received late yesterday, I wrote and sent expresses to the militia officers, informing them of their dangerous situation, and desiring them all to be well on their guard, and wait for orders. Some of them came voluntarily and offered their service, and are now out on a scout with orders not to cross the river. There are many fires now in view on the Indian side of the Oconee. I mean this night to send a spy for information. I have sent a copy of this letter from the friendly kings, which, if real, is truly friendly.

The soldiers are as healthy as I could expect them any where; and perfectly reconciled and attentive to their duty. I have got all the stores from the Rock Landing, and ordered the guard from this place to join me to-morrow.

I am, yours, &amp;c.

HENRY GAITHER, Major-commandant.



[ENCLOSURE.]

CUSSETAHS, *April 13th, 1793.*

DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER:

I heard that the Half-way king was going to do mischief, but I did not believe it; but this day I am informed, and I know it to be the truth, that he is gone. I have been talking to the head commander; which the commander told me, if I should hear any thing respecting the nation, to inform him. The warriors are out upon the Oakfuskee path; whether they fall above, or below, I cannot tell. You may think it was the wish of the nation to be at war, but there is no such thing; it is only one town, the Half-way house king, and obstinate mad persons, that will not hearken to advice. We all hold the talks that were delivered to us last, and mean to abide by them still, until Major Seagrove comes up, when we expect matters will be settled upon good terms, both for yourselves and us. You may think, they divide themselves, the warriors, in two parties, (there is two towns) but that is not the case. I am your friend, and always have been; if any thing was to happen, I was to inform you; and, if any thing was to happen your side, you was to let me know likewise.

I have sent you this talk, and wish you to send the talk to your brother officers, above and below you, that they may be upon their guard against any thing that may happen.

The three rivers have talked, and wished for peace, and to have things settled to the satisfaction of both sides. It is only this one mad town, that is led astray by their obstinate king, which is not to be governed, nor advised. It is a pity that our nation, and your country, should suffer by a party of bad people. I send you now, to let you know my talk, that you may expect bloodshed in a few days; which I advise you to guard yourselves as much as possible, and, if they should do any mischief, punish them as you think proper; fight them, but do not come over this side the river, unless you find them coming upon you.

FRIEND, BROTHER, and FATHER: The Cussetah people are your friends, and are always passing backwards and forwards a hunting, and do not wish to be troublesome to any person. We have not taken any bad talks. If there should be any blood shed, we have no hand in it; neither will you find us to join them, is our determination. My young people are out upon this side the Oconee; if you should see any of them, they are my friends, do not hurt them.

My town, and all the other towns, are sitting still, waiting the talks of Major Seagrove, when he comes up. This one mad town has brought us into this trouble, and you likewise.

From your friends and brothers,

BIRD KING,  
CUSSETAH KING.

Allick Cornell, Tuckaubatchees, wishes, as he has two brothers at the Rock Landing, that you will be kind enough to send them safe up; George, and little Tommy.

To Major HENRY GAITHER, *Commanding Officer, Rock Landing.**Major Henry Gaither to the Secretary of War.*FORT FIDIUS, *6th May, 1793.*

SIR:

Since I had the honor of writing, the nineteenth of April, we have been frequently alarmed by the inhabitants, and without real cause. The Indians have stolen horses, and crossed the river about one mile above the fort; they have killed a family of six in number, within five miles of fort Matthews, and have killed the son of a Mr. Pugh, about twenty miles below this.

I have enclosed the last accounts from Timothy Barnard; the one without a date, the bearer informed, was wrote the 26th April. I am often called on by the inhabitants to call out militia; and those I called, suffered their horses to be stolen by the Indians, and no alarm given.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

[ENCLOSURE.]

*Timothy Barnard to Henry Gaither, Major commandant.*FLINT RIVER, *April 20th, 1793*

SIR:

I received yours a few days ago by George Cornell; I now forward this to you, by way of the Buzzard Roost, to be conveyed down by Captain McKenzie and Mr. Hutchinson, who, I hear, are now there. I should have sent an Indian off express, but, on hearing of their being at that place, thought it a better opportunity. I have to inform you, that matters here seem to have a much worse appearance than when I wrote you last, by Mr. Garvin; not but that there is more than three parts out of four of the nation, that seems fully determined for peace, and say, that if those who have committed violations on the frontiers still continue, that they must defend themselves against the white people, as they are determined not to take any part with them, in a war with the United States. At a meeting the other day, held at Cussetahs, in conjunction with some of the Upper Creeks, they have concluded to give satisfaction for the murders done on St. Mary's, and have pitched on the men that's to die for it. Mr. John Galphin, who was a principal hand in the business, is one; and I fully believe, had it not been for him, there would have been nothing of it. I have a white man now here with me, from the Upper Creeks, sent express from the heads of the nation in that quarter, down to Major Seagrove, to allow them time to fulfil his demand respecting satisfaction, as they say the time he fixed on was too short; those two towns of the Upper Creeks, that slipt out to do mischief on the frontiers of Georgia, was done unknown to the other Upper towns, as they were off, and two days' march on their way, before it was known. I sent off men from the Cussetahs to stop them, which I find they have effected with one party; those that went after the others, are not yet returned, but am in hopes they are stopped. Should have immediately sent off an express to you respecting the business, but was in hopes of their being stopped, therefore, did not wish to give too great an alarm to the country; besides, expecting from what had been before heard and done, would put the frontiers sufficiently on their guard. I was likewise informed, yesterday, that a party of the Cowetas was discovered doing mischief on the Oconee, near where the Upper trading path crosses. They were seen by the Buzzard Roost people, who brought me this information, and say that the Cowetas mean to commit hostilities on the frontiers, and make off toward Buzzard Roost, on purpose to get the white people to kill some of the Cussetahs; which is to get the Cussetahs to take part with them, which the Cussetahs seem fully determined not to do; and has requested of me to mention to you, to speak to the officer of all the scouts, that if any mischief should be done, and the trails come towards Buzzard Roost, that they may be sure it's not the Cussetahs, and not for any one at the Buzzard Roost to be molested; as they say they hope the white people does not mean to punish the innocent with the guilty, and, if they find this takes place, are determined to lay neuter. I have, therefore, assured them, that I was convinced that you, and every officer in that quarter, would endeavor to make a distinction with them, which I think would be very necessary, as the Cussetahs are daily expecting themselves to pacify and stop all violations, and give me every information of what's going forward. They have run Mr. Willbanks out of the nation; and he has cleared out towards the Cherokees, and, I imagine, means to get to Detroit. All I can say at this time, is, for the frontiers to be as well guarded as possible, as, from one thing to another, it may grow worse. Those that went out from the Upper Creeks, it's thought, was through the persuasion of a white man in that quarter, which, the heads of the Upper Creeks say, if proved on him, shall be killed for it. These times makes the young, wicked in-

clined, turn out and steal horses, and there is no stopping them, which, I fear, will be a principal means of making matters worse, as some of them will, before long, undoubtedly get killed, as I hardly know how they have escaped it so long, as what's been done is unsufferable; a little time hence will convince us how matters are to be, war or peace. I have done all I can to open the eyes of those short-sighted wretches, but it seems all to be in vain with some of them, after so much lenity shown them by the President of the United States.

There is near on two thousand gone out in one body, against the Chickasaws, of the Upper Creeks, which, I imagine, will give them a hard stroke, though we hear the Chickasaws are all fortified, at a place called the Chickasaw Bluff, on the bank of the Mississippi.

Am at present much hurried; just sending off to Major Seagrove. Shall be punctual in sending you every necessary information in my power. You have all here that occurs to me at present worth mentioning.

Sir, yours, &c.

TIMOTHY BARNARD.

*Timothy Barnard to Henry Gaither, Major Commandant.*

SIR:

Since I wrote the enclosed, and sent it up to the Buzzard Roost, to go down with Mr. Hutchinson, times are much altered for the worse. On finding that Mr. Hutchinson was gone, and knowing that there was information gone to you of what was going on in this quarter, deferred sending till I could find what part of the nation were like to take. Mr. Hutchinson is again arrived here with Mr. Garvin, which, I think, was very imprudent in him, when he knew the danger he had just escaped. I have now got two Indians to conduct him, and Mr. Garvin, and Mr. Holmes, down to the Rock Landing, which is the only safe course they can take at this time, as there is several parties now out against the frontiers; and am afraid they mean to continue committing violations till they are checked by an army coming against them, as I am afraid matters are gone to too great lengths to be checked in this quarter by giving up the offenders, as there are too many concerned in the business. Therefore, it cannot be expected that the United States will put up with such unprovoked insults without revenging the cause of their injured, peaceable citizens. I cannot say that the matter yet, has any appearance of being general, as there are, as yet, only four towns in the Lower Creeks, and two in the Upper, that are concerned in the mischief that has been done; the rest seem, as yet, very quiet, especially the Cussetahs, who are determined to have no hand in the business, which they have desired me, repeatedly, to mention to every commanding officer on the frontier; and say they hope that, if the other wicked inclined towns should, by their bad doings, as they are in a fair way for it, provoke the United States to march an army against the nation, the Cussetahs hope there will be a distinction made betwixt their towns and those that are enemies; as they have now called in all their young people, and mean to keep them together, that they may not join with any of the offenders. I am apt to think, that if an army was to come soon, if there should be a necessity for it, that a number of the towns would lay still, and not take up arms, if they could be sure of not being molested by the white people. The Mad Dog of the Tuckaubatches, Upper Creeks, and the head-men of the Thirteen Towns, from that quarter, have sent a very good talk down to Major Seagrove, informing him, that they are determined to remain in peace with the United States. The express, I expect, will reach St. Mary's this day; as I sent two Indians, by order of the heads of the Upper Creeks, from this quarter, to guard the white man down with it.

I have just had a man arrived here from the Cussetahs, who informs me that there was a large party of the Cowetas had set off to do mischief on the frontiers, but that the Cussetahs had sent after them, and turned them back, and, that they had now agreed to lay still.

By the best information I can get, there is still a large party, from one town in the Upper Creeks, which are gone high up the Oconee. There are likewise several small parties out from this quarter; therefore, the inhabitants cannot be too much on their guard, as those villains that began the mischief, will strive to keep the matter as long as they can.

There are now near upon two thousand of the Upper Creeks gone out against the Chickasaws. The bearer of this, Mr. Garvin, has agreed to proceed on to St. Mary's with an express to Major Seagrove, as I think it necessary he should know how matters are going on here. Therefore, have to beg you will give him every necessary assistance he may stand in need of, for that journey, as far as Newport.

Should be glad of a small hint of your opinion, what steps, you imagine, will be taken with respect to retaliating on those savages for what they have done; whether you think, if an army comes, that there will be a possibility of making a distinction between friends and enemies? as I have assured the Cussetahs they may expect it, and what few of my own family that are about me; and, if I thought it would prove to the contrary, should be sorry to deceive them.

I have enclosed you a copy of a talk I gave the heads of the nation, from myself, at a public meeting, for your perusal, for your own satisfaction. This I told them, and a great deal more, at the same time, and at every other opportunity, for their good. I have let the wretches want for no information, respecting their downfall, if they would have listened to it.

I am, sir, &c.

TIMOTHY BARNARD.

*Major Henry Gaither to the Secretary of War.*

FORT FIDIUS, 23d May, 1798.

SIR:

We are and have been in alarm ever since the 18th April; many of the inhabitants, on the frontier of this State, have left their homes; the most industrious of them are fortified on their own soil; many of them I have furnished with arms, and the militia generals have ordered them rations; the contractor for supplying the federal troops issues to them about two thousand rations per day; the male negroes, in some of those families, are included in the provision returns. I have been called on to certify those issues by Major Habersham, which I refused to do, for these reasons: I expect there will be great abuses in this business, and not knowing whether it will be a State or general charge. Governor Telfair, I am informed, will, in a few days, form an encampment at the mouth of Shoulderbone, on the Oconee, which is about 20 miles above this. After getting the militia there, he means to advance into the Indian country, with those that will go voluntarily. I am in a very disagreeable situation here, occasioned by a suspicion, among the people, that I have power to call the militia into service, and afford them protection. If my conduct, during my command here, has met your approbation, I care not what those people may think or say; otherwise, it is my wish to be relieved as early as may be convenient.

I am, sir, &c.

HENRY GAITHER, Major Commandant.

*Major Henry Gaither to the Secretary of War.*

FORT FIDIUS, 9th June, 1798.

SIR:

Major General Twiggs, with Brigadiers Irwin, Clarke, and Blackburn, with about 600 inferior officers and privates, the half of them mounted on good horses, crossed the Oconee yesterday at this place, and marched this day against the hostile Indian towns. I believe the General means to avoid all those towns that have sat still this summer, and proved friendly to us. On my first hearing of this intended expedition, I informed Mr. Seagrove, and this day received his answer; shortly after the troops marched, I immediately sent Ensign Sedgwick after the

General, with the names of the six inimical towns, which Mr. Seagrove sent me; I expect Ensign Sedgwick will get up with him this night.

I have the honor to be, &c.

HENRY GAITHER, *Major Commandant.*

June 11th, 1793.

SIR:

Since the departure of General Twiggs, which I mentioned the 9th, I am informed the General don't mean to discriminate between the friendly and inimical Indians, the Cussetahs only excepted; should this be the case, I fear he will do much mischief to the United States on this expedition, as many of his command have been in open rebellion against the General Government, ever since the first of November; in violating the treaty with the Indians, firing their rifles at the sign of the President, and publishing the most barefaced falsehoods against the virtuous citizens of the Union, &c. &c.

I have the honor to be, &c.

HENRY GAITHER, *Major Commandant.*

FORT FIDIUS, June 14th, 1793.

SIR:

The expedition, under Major General Twiggs, returned to this place yesterday; they only crossed the Oakmulgee, and laid out a fort, and the most of the command mutinied and returned. The General informed me he saw very little sign of Indians on the march.

I have heard lately of two families, in Franklin county, being killed by the Indians, but those reports so often prevail here, without foundation, that I am fearful of writing to confirm them, until they are properly authenticated.

I have the honor to be, &c.

HENRY GAITHER, *Major Commandant.*

FORT FIDIUS, July 15th, 1793.

SIR:

I have the pleasure of informing you that no recent depredations have been committed by the savages, and I hope that the frontiers will enjoy a peace. The last accounts of hostilities being committed by the Indians, I received from General Twiggs, on the 8th ultimo, who informed, that three families, to the amount of thirty, had been killed in the upper part of the State, not far distant from fort Matthews. I have very strong reasons for doubting the veracity of this report; there is no talk of it in the country; and Lieutenant Bird, who has just been relieved from fort Matthews, knew nothing of it.

The militia are not yet discharged; the whole of the frontiers are lined with them.

I have been informed that a party of militia are to set off this day for the Creek nation, and are to cross at the Old fording place, above the mouth of Shoulderbone; but it is so great a secret, that I cannot hear who is to command them.

I have the honor to be, &c.

HENRY GAITHER, *Major Commandant.*

*Major Henry Gaither to the Secretary of War.*

FORT FIDIUS, July 20th, 1793.

SIR:

There is nothing new in this quarter, more than is contained in two letters from Mr. Barnard, which I have the honor of enclosing you. The militia of this State are yet in arms, and I cannot hear when they are to be discharged. The Governor has published an order he has received for raising one hundred militia cavalry, and one hundred infantry, both to be under my immediate command, for the defence of the frontier of this State. This, I think sufficient, provided they are judiciously posted, and arranged agreeably to a hint I have already received. The militia officers are by no means pleased with this order. They say the numbers are not sufficient to cover them, and why give the command to a federal officer? I suspect they will not allow the two hundred men to be raised, if murmuring will prevent it.

I have the honor to be, &c.

HENRY GAITHER.

*Timothy Barnard to Major Henry Gaither.*

FLINT RIVER, 21st June, 1793.

SIR:

I am under the necessity of sending down to your station, therefore think it my duty to give you information of the situation of affairs in this quarter, which is as follows: I arrived here four days ago, from the Cussetahs. The head-men of the Cussetahs, and likewise head-men from chief of the towns in the Lower Creeks, had just come from the Tuckaubatchees, principal town in the Upper Creeks, where they had a full meeting of all the whole Upper Creeks, and may say Lower, and it seems their conclusion was, to take every step in their power to make a peace, and settle matters with the United States. They fixed on the men that were to die for satisfaction for the murders done on the frontiers of Georgia. There were men sent off to execute the business, and I believe it would have been done, had not that old villain Panton sent up some talks, which were immediately spread about by some of his friends, which has, for a while, put a stop to it; but, the heads of the Upper Creeks seem determined to pursue what they begun. There was one of the head-men of the Upper Creeks set off yesterday from my house, down to Major Seagrove, to receive his full instructions, to know particularly what he would have done. He wants, likewise, to strive to get Major Seagrove to come up with him, if he can; but I do not imagine he will venture up, though, if he was to come up with that man, he would be perfectly safe. The Indians, at their meeting at the Tuckaubatchees, agreed to gather all the horses that have been stolen from Georgia, that they might be sent down to their owners, to the frontiers of Georgia. But, the Cowetas and Chickasaws, as soon as they got back to their own towns again, I find have refused to comply. Those two towns are the chief offenders, and them it was that began all this disturbance. The Upper Creeks and Cussetahs seem determined to force them to give up the property. If they still refuse, how far they may proceed in that business, a little time will bring about. This resolution that the Upper Creeks and Cussetahs have fell into, seems to have put a stop to hostilities for a while, as I do not find that there has any parties gone out for some time past to do mischief on the frontiers. There may be a horse-thief or so, out, but no gangs as I can hear of, have gone out, or going, for war. How long it may hold so, I will not take upon me to say; but, I am apt to think, that if Major Seagrove was to come up himself, that matters might still be settled, and he would get almost any satisfaction he could demand. The Spanish agent and old Panton are very busy in the Upper Creeks. I have said all I could say against them, and would have gone up there and faced them, but have been very unwell for these twenty days past. I have been taken down with a head pleurisy, attended with a violent cough, which has reduced me very low, and have not yet got better of it. Besides, I labor under one very great disadvantage, and that is, that I have no commission from the President of the United States, nor from none that is in authority under him; therefore, if I was by chance to fall into the power of the Spaniards, they would show me no quarters. Besides, the Indians are

daily threatening to kill me, or rob me of my property, which, if they should only rob me, it would be hard upon me to lose what I have, on account of my services to the United States, and nothing to show that I was in that service. I am under some apprehension that I should not be made whole, as the appointment was verbal from Major Seagrove, at which time, he told me that a commission would come on from Congress to me, which was in November last, and have not had a scrape of a pen from him about it since.

Reason must dictate to you, sir, that such neglect as this is enough to make any man backward in risking his life and property to pursue the country business, especially one that has before, by paying attention to the service of the unthankful State of —, at the risk of my life, and got nearly ruined by it, and never any retaliation made me. I have likewise sent to Major Seagrove for a few goods to support me, and to defray public expenses that I have been under the necessity of borrowing goods to defray, and, I think I find myself somewhat neglected in that part, as I have never had a rag of goods sent me since I left St. Mary's. I was obliged to borrow part of the goods the other day, to relieve this poor woman that I now send down to you, from one of the Spanish subjects, a trader in Cussetah, Thomas Carr, who, I must give the character of being a good friend to the United States. You will see, when this poor woman gets down to you, whether she was in a situation to stay long in this quarter. I have been trying to get her ever since she has been up, which has been a month, and never could effect it till about seven days ago, and was then obliged to get two head-men out of the Cussetahs, and one that came down from the Upper Creeks, to go down to the Chehaw rascals that had her, and demand her, besides paying a great deal for her, and still they were loath to give her up. I could wish those five towns, the Cowetas, Broken Arrow, which live nearly together, within a mile I may say, as partly one town, the Cussetahs and Chehaws, which are twelve miles below that, and on the same side of the river, which is three miles above, the Chehaws, on the same side, west side of the river, if they could be made to suffer, it would be the most effectual means to settle a peace. But, if men come up and fall on, without distinction, and kill any of the Cussetahs, which are still our steadfast friends, it will bring on a very hot war, and make the matter general. Besides, as all the Upper Creeks are laying quiet, it would be a pity to put all on a footing, which would be the case. That, if they are drove out of these lands, they would move over the Coosa river, which is never fordable, and get down amongst the Spanish territories, where they would not be easily come at, and would then be desperate, and the Spaniards would make the Choctaws and Chickasaws join them, and then they would become a worse terror to Georgia than the Shawanese are to the Northward States. I was informed a few days ago, that some of the scouts from the upper parts, have come out as far as this side of the Oakmulgee, on the Cussetah path, which has frightened the Cussetahs a great deal. They have begged of me to mention to you to speak to the captain of the scouts not to trouble any one along that path, as they are their friends, except any parties should do mischief, and come back that way; in such case, to follow them, and do as they please with them, as they may know then they are Cowetas that does it; as none of these people will offer to fetch a horse, or do any mischief, but not to fall on any hunting camps about on this side of the Oakmulgees, as these people are so much distressed for provisions, they are obliged to go out that way to hunt. I shall leave you to the bearer, Mr. Mordecai, for further particulars, and remain, sir, yours, &c.

TIMOTHY BARNARD.

Major HENRY GAITHER.

FLINT RIVER, July 7, 1793.

SIR:

This goes by express by Carr's bluff, by General Twigg's man, that arrived here several days ago on business to me, who I have fully informed of matters in this quarter, which, I think, has a worse appearance than when I wrote you last, chiefly owing to a rash piece of murder I expect is committed on the body of David Cornell, a head-man of the Tuckaubatchees, a friendly town to the United States, as was nearly all the whole Upper Creeks. This young man was sent down by the whole Upper and Lower Creeks, on important business to Major Seagrove; the thirteenth day after he passed my house, two of the men that went with him, returned back to my house, naked, and almost perished, and informed me, that when they got within about thirty miles of Major Seagrove's station, on St. Mary's, the rascal of a white man, one McDonald, that conducted them down, pushed off a-head, and left them still to proceed on, four of them in number, David Cornell, and an Indian boy, and those two men that made their escape back, which informed me, that when they got within three miles of the station, they discovered a company of horsemen riding up towards them; Cornell never halted, but, as he was on horseback, foremost, rode on, the boy was just returned, driving three pack-horses; neither Cornell nor he had a gun in their hands; as Cornell had no gun when he past my house, which could not appear to be enemies; the other two fellows were a small distance behind, a-foot, and say, that when the white people came up within thirty yards, that those that were a-head began to speak out loud, and one man lit off his horse and stepped to a tree, and presented his gun at Cornell, who stood still till the gun fired, and then turned his horse about and ran, and the boys followed him; the whites pursued them past; pursued those two that were a-foot; but they both got to a branch that was thick, and saved themselves. One got a small cut on his arm by a sword, as he entered the thicket, and was fired on as they entered the swamp; one says, as he lay concealed, he saw one of the white people come riding up to the rest, with Cornell's hat in his hand, which was easily known, as it was stuck full of white and read leathers; from those circumstances, we may judge he is no more. This business has been done, I judge, by some of Major Seagrove's enemies, or by some rascals that want to bring on a war with the Indians, and then will run off and never wait to see the end of it. This piece of cowardly, shameful murder, it can be styled nothing else, I fear will prove of serious consequence to the United States, as I fear it will make some of our best friends our enemies; and it will, likewise, give full room to these four mischievous towns to do as they please, as the town Cornell belonged to was taking every step to make them all lay quiet, which there was a great probability of their effecting. A general war with those Indians may appear trifling to uninformed men, but, it is my shallow opinion, that, if it's once seriously begun, there will not be an end to it for several years; but what the State of Georgia or South Carolina both can do, that will put an end to it, as once they come to be drove from these quarters here, which may soon be done, they will move over the Coosa river, near the Dons, and will by them be supplied with every implement of war they stand in need of, which they are obliged to do as their allies, and according to treaty ten years ago, which is what they do daily; they will then be ever an unpassable stream, except in boats, near the Spaniards, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, which, by the Spaniards, will be forced to join them, as the Spaniards have the command of these supplies; being drove from these lands, they will then become desperate, and without the Dons are routed out of that country, there will be an endless savage war. This, I know, the heads of affairs in our country are better acquainted with than I can be, but it is not the opinion of our land hungry men in the State of Georgia; they will be better acquainted with the matter when there comes to be a trial of it, which, I fear, is now in a fair way. It is useless for me to try to pacify matters, when such rash steps are taken to destroy every good intention of the Indians; though the Indians has done some murders, they have been set on by a set of worse savages than themselves to do it, and whether or not we are not savages to copy after them, to take revenge on the innocent. This, I hope, will serve to inform you how matters are here, that you may be a little more on your guard, as I fear some of them will be turning over to do mischief soon.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

TIMOTHY BARNARD.

Major Henry Gaither to the Secretary of War.

AUGUSTA, 28th August, 1793.

SIR:

There were eight or nine Cherokee Indians came to the store of Mr. Whitney at Ward's Mill, about the 25th of October last, in order to trade off skins and procure winter goods for their families. After being there four

or five days, they were fired on early in the morning, by unknown white men, three of them killed, and one squaw wounded, the other Indians escaped. This very much alarmed the inhabitants, and caused many to move their families, expecting the Indians would take satisfaction on some of them.

The first of November following, David McClusky, with fifty-eight men, advanced into the Cherokee nation, and in the morning of the fifth attacked the town Chinstotee, killed three or four Indians, plundered and burned the town, returned and reported this to me at fort Matthews, the 8th. This gave the inhabitants a second alarm, and caused fifty-six frontier settlers to leave their homes. On the Governor's hearing this, he sent express to me to call out the militia. This I forwarded to the fountain-head, the 19th November, 1792. I waited on the Governor, and we concluded that Captain Fauche, already in service, (by the Governor's former order to me) and Captain Williamson, and Captain Woods, should be called into service, until the inhabitants got over their panic. These three troops were ordered to fort Matthews, and there take orders from Captain Roberts, who was by me instructed to arrange and provide for them. Captain Woods never raised his troop, and Captain Phinize offered his service to Captain Roberts, who received and continued him in service instead of Captain Woods.

I have enclosed a letter from the Upper and Lower Creeks to the President. There are now, and have been the greatest part of the summer, about one hundred and eighty horse, and about five hundred infantry, of this State, in service, by order of the Governor, and who is, or pretends to be, at this time preparing an army to go against the Creeks; this army is to consist of four thousand five hundred men—one thousand cavalry, and fifteen hundred infantry, from this State, and two thousand infantry from South Carolina.

I have the honor to be, &c.

HENRY GAITHER.

[ENCLOSURE]

A talk from the heads of the Upper and Lower Creeks, by order of the Mad Dog of the Tuckaubatchees, given out at the Cussetah square, at a meeting of a number of the Lower Creeks, this 21st of July, 1793—to be forwarded to his Excellency General Washington, President of the United States.

We, the heads of the Creek nation, wish to acquaint your Excellency that we are just informed, by a runner of our own people, from the Chickasaw nation, that there was some of the Chickasaws just arrived, who had been holding talks with Governor Blount, and that, from Governor Blount, they came to Cumberland, and that they had agreed with Governor Blount to send six thousand men to station at the Muscle Shoals, on the Cherokee river; and that the Cumberland people had agreed to send five hundred more men, to join the Chickasaws, to station at a fort in the Chickasaw nation; and that the Cumberland people had already sent off three pound great guns to said fort, and that five hundred men were to be there in a short time. We, the heads of the Creek nation, wish to hear from General Washington whether it is desired that Governor Blount, and these Cumberland people, should go on, or whether they are people that are under the government of General Washington or not. This we, the heads of the nation, would wish to know as quick as possible. We, the heads of the Upper and Lower Creeks, wish to inform the President of the United States, that we have give out talks, to put a total stop to all our young people going out to commit any hostilities against Cumberland or Kentucky; therefore, if it's the wish of the President of the United States that his people, and we, the red people, should be at peace, we hope he will immediately restrain Governor Blount and his people from joining the Chickasaws; 'tis not that we are in great dread of the consequences of those proceedings, but, as we have had a long wish to settle all disputes, we hope that our friend and father, General Washington, still remains in the same opinion.

We, the heads of the Creek nation, likewise, wish to inform the heads of Georgia, that, if they still have a wish to settle matters with the red people, we hope they will, on seeing this, immediately send off to Governor Blount, to restrain his people, till his Excellency General Washington's pleasure is known.

CUSSETAHS, 3d July, 1793.

Interpreted by

TIMOTHY BARNARD.

*Major Henry Gaither to the Secretary of War.*

FORT FIDIUS, September 23d, 1793.

SIR:

On my way from Augusta, from which place I wrote you last, and in company with Mr. Seagrove, within thirty miles of this place, we met with Captain Dickinson, with a detachment of soldiers from this post; on inquiry of him, I was informed Captain Roberts had received information of our being on the way, and, supposing Captain Freeman to be with us, with a large sum of money, and Mr. Seagrove on his way to meet and treat with the chiefs and head-men of the Creek nation, and hearing that the ungovernable inhabitants of Georgia loudly threatened Mr. Seagrove's life, induced Captain Roberts to order out this party for our protection. However, we arrived without molestation, and found the soldiers healthy, and all in peace. I have since been informed that Colonel Alexander crossed the Oconee, with about one hundred men, at the old trading ford, one mile above the mouth of Shoulderbone, the 15th instant, and the same day Captain Charles Williamson, with his troop, crossed the Oconee, near fort Matthews: both those parties, I am informed, are looking out to intercept Mr. Seagrove's despatches to and from the nation, and to attack the friendly Indians that may wish to treat with the superintendent of Indian affairs, and thereby prevent a treaty. These people have been (as they say) in the service all the summer, and expect to be paid by the General Government for doing mischief. I do not mean to muster, or take any notice of them, nor any other militia, unless I call them, or know that they were called by proper authority from the United States, without I am instructed so to do.

The assistance I expect from Captain Freeman and Mr. Whitney, is truly pleasing to me, and by them promise myself great relief. I have twice waited on his Excellency Governor Telfair, and requested he would appoint the officers, and give orders to raise the one hundred cavalry, and one hundred infantry, agreeably to the President's orders, to which I could not get a direct answer. This induced me to write the enclosed letter to his Excellency, and to this I have not been favored with a reply.

I have the honor to be &c.

HENRY GAITHER.

[ENCLOSURE.]

*Major Henry Gaither to his Excellency Governor Telfair.*

AUGUSTA, September 7, 1793.

SIR:

The militia now in service on the frontier of Georgia, I have long considered more than is actually necessary for its defence, and I am yet of opinion, the addition of one hundred cavalry, and one hundred infantry, to the Federal troops I have the honor of commanding, if properly managed, would be sufficient to guard and protect the inhabitants thereof.

The above addition has long since been ordered, by the President of the United States, to be raised by your Excellency, and put under my command. There have been no appointments yet made by your Excellency, nor any measures taken in compliance with the President's order, neither can I get an answer whether there will be any or not.

You promised me yesterday an answer in twenty four hours, which I have not yet had the pleasure of receiving; but hope your Excellency will answer me this day, as my business calls me elsewhere to-morrow.

I have the honor to be, sir,

HENRY GAITHER *Major-commandant.*

*Major Henry Gaither to the Secretary of War:*

FORT FIDIUS, 11th October, 1793.

SIR:

Yours, of the 5th ultimo, I have received, and shall strictly attend to the contents thereof; rest assured I never had the most distant thought of acting contrary to my instructions, neither had Governor Telfair any right to intimate any such thing: for, he well knew I would not obey him in any order contrary to the orders I have heretofore received from the General Government. There are no preparations yet made by the Governor, for raising the hundred cavalry and hundred infantry, so long ordered; neither do I expect there will, from his letter to me, dated the 7th September, which I have enclosed. We are all in health and peace, at present.

I have the honor to be &c.

HENRY GAITHER.

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, September 7, 1793.

*Ordered,* That Major Gaither be notified, that the critical situation of the frontier settlers, at this period, will not admit of any departure from the present arrangement.

Attest, W. URQUHART, *S. E. D.*

*Extract of a letter from Major Gaither to the Secretary of War, dated*

AUGUSTA, September 3, 1793.

The militia now in service appear to me to be improperly called by the Governor, and in a greater number than is actually necessary. I have urged the necessity of making an experiment for the defence of the frontier with the Federal troops, and the hundred cavalry and hundred infantry ordered to be raised and put under my command, by the President of the United States; and, should that number prove insufficient to guard the frontier, then to call out as many militia as would be thought necessary. These measures did not meet with his approbation, nor has he made any appointments, arrangements, or any attempts to raise that number of men. Therefore, I do not wish to have any thing to do with the militia now in service, unless they are subject to my orders.

*Communications from Constant Freeman, Jun. Agent to the Department of War, in the State of Georgia, to the Secretary of War.*

AUGUSTA, September 4, 1793.

SIR:

I informed you, in my last, that the arms and ammunition intended for the militia of this State were put on board a flat for this place. They may be expected to arrive in about ten days.

On the road from Savannah I met with Major Gaither, who was going to St. Mary's for his health. He returned with me, and, to-morrow, he will accompany Mr. Seagrove to fort Fidius, to assist him in his proposed interview with the Indians, on the 10th instant, at Oakmulgee.

I have not had the honor to see the Governor of this State; he is now in Burke county, and will not return until to-morrow. I cannot, therefore, inform you of any measures being taken to pay those militia dragoons, whose pay rolls I have brought with me. As soon as I shall have placed the money for this purpose, in the hands of the paymaster who may be appointed, and concerted with the Governor and Major Gaither measures for the future musters of the militia now in service, I shall proceed to fort Fidius, and pay the regular troops, agreeably to your instructions.

I am informed, that there are, at this time, about six hundred militia in service, who are distributed upon the frontiers. I am not able to transmit you a return of them; I shall request one from the Governor when he returns, and forward it to you. The hundred cavalry and hundred infantry which you, some time ago, authorized the Governor to call into service, have never been raised. I cannot assign the reasons why your orders have not been complied with.

I have not heard any thing of consequence relatively to Indian affairs. Mr. Seagrove assures me, that the Indians have not committed depredations upon the frontiers for these two months past, and that the majority of the Creeks are well disposed, and desirous of continuing at peace with the United States. But, sir, it is proper I should inform you, that the Executive of this State thinks differently. Preparations are now making to march into the Indian country a powerful body of militia, to chastise the refractory towns. In consequence of your letter to the Governor, of the tenth of June last, he called a council of general officers of the militia, which was held on the eighth ultimo: the result was, that an expedition should be carried on this autumn against the Creeks. Accordingly, five thousand men are to be ordered for this service, in the following proportions, to wit: one thousand cavalry and fifteen hundred infantry, from this State, to rendezvous on the Oconee, at a place called fort Twiggs; one thousand cavalry and fifteen hundred infantry, from the State of South Carolina, to rendezvous at Petersburg, at the junction of the Broad with the Savannah river. As the contracts for supplying the troops in this State with provisions, &c. is confined to the limits of the same, the Governor has, in the name of Major Habersham, entered into a new contract for the purposes of the intended expedition. The same price is to be allowed for the ration as heretofore, but the transportation is to be at the expense and risk of the United States, after the militia shall have crossed the Oconee. I will endeavor to procure a copy of this contract, and transmit it by the next post. The time fixed for the rendezvous of the troops is the fifteenth of next month, and the term for which they are to be engaged sixty days.

It would have afforded me satisfaction if I could have given you the above information with greater certainty; but, as I have not seen the Governor, I am obliged to send the best I can procure; you will undoubtedly receive it more perfect through other channels.

Mr. Seagrove apprehends that little good can be expected from his intended meeting with the Indians on the Oakmulgee, while these preparations are making to carry on war against them. The expedition is the subject of conversation in all parts of the State, and appears to be a very popular measure.

I am induced to believe there must be some mistake in this business, for I do not, sir, recollect that you mentioned any thing of the kind to me before I left you.

Perhaps, the posture of affairs in this quarter may require some farther instructions to me; particularly I should be obliged to you to inform me, whether it will be expected that I should accompany this expedition.

I have the honor to be, &c.

AUGUSTA, 11th September, 1793.

SIR:

I had the honor to write you by the post, on the fourth instant, a duplicate of which I forwarded by the way of Savannah.

I have since had an interview with the Governor, and have laid before him all the necessary information, relative to my business in this country. I expect that, in few days, a paymaster will be appointed by him for the militia, and that orders will be given for the mustering those now in service.

The same numbers, sir, are posted on the frontiers, as when I wrote you last. I have not been able to procure a return of the number employed. The Governor thinks that it is absolutely necessary that the present force should be kept up, and that, if he were to reduce it to the hundred cavalry and hundred infantry, required in several of your letters to him, that the people on the frontiers would leave their habitations, from fear of the Indians.

I informed you in my last, that it was then contemplated to march a large body of militia into the Indian country. Your letter to the Governor, dated in July, which I handed to him, has put a stop to any further preparations for this expedition. The Governor informs me, that Major Habersham has forwarded to the Secretary of the Treasury, a copy of the contract which had been made on this occasion.

On the seventh instant, Mr. Seagrove proceeded to fort Fidius, on his way to the Oakmulgee, accompanied by Major Gaither and Mr. Whitney. The Governor is fully of opinion that no good will result from his meeting with the Indians, and declares that nothing but chastisement will bring the Creeks to reason; he therefore strongly advocates an expedition into their country, and asserts that this is the very moment, and ought not to be neglected. This would certainly be very grateful to a majority of the people of this State. There are, however, some who differ in opinion from his Excellency, and assert that it would, in the end, prove ruinous, should such an expedition fail of the most perfect success.

The Indians have lately been troublesome on the frontiers. On the first instant, they stole two horses from Long-bluff, Washington county; the next day they were pursued by Captain Stokes and thirteen men, to the Oakmulgee, where he came up with them. He fired upon them; the fire was returned. The whole of the Indian party, consisting of three, were killed, the horses retaken, besides three rifles, and other booty. They have also plundered a Mr. Cribbs and a Mr. Hill, in Greene county, and stolen ten horses; this information was given to me yesterday by the Governor.

I have the honor to be, &c.

CONSTANT FREEMAN, Jr.

AUGUSTA, 18th September, 1793.

SIR:

The Indians have been quiet since the depredations mentioned in my last. It has been reported here, that a trail of forty has been discovered on this side the Oconee; but we have not yet heard of any mischief done by them.

I received, the day before yesterday, a letter from Mr. Seagrove, a copy of which I have the honor to enclose you. By this, sir, you will learn what hopes there are of keeping the Indians quiet, by any negotiations he can have with them. I would wish to believe that his apprehensions of personal danger, and his opinion of the opposition of the frontier inhabitants to pacific measures, are rather exaggerations. The people might possibly offer violence to him, but they cannot be so mad as openly to oppose the Government. It is certain, that a war with the Creeks would be very popular, and that not a few are disappointed that the late intended expedition did not proceed. It is, however, an unfortunate circumstance, that Mr. Seagrove is not a favorite with these people. He says, it arises altogether from his being an officer of the Federal Government, and because he has, at all times, shewn himself zealous in preserving peace with the Indians. I shall not attempt to give an opinion upon this dispute. I have thought it my duty to transmit a copy of his letter to me, that, if there should be any real foundation for his fears, you might have timely intimation thereof; and I have, also, for the same reason, mentioned to you the relation in which Mr. Seagrove stands with the people of this country. I know, sir, that I may write to you in the most perfect confidence. If it were to be known that Mr. Seagrove had written the above mentioned letter, the whole State would be inflamed against him.

Since writing the above, the western post has arrived, who reports, that a Mr. Alexander has gone out, with ninety men, with the determination to prevent Mr. Seagrove having any communication with the Indians; and the people on the frontiers are generally opposed to any meeting with them.

I have the honor to be, &c.

CONSTANT FREEMAN, Jr.

*James Seagrove to Constant Freeman.*

FORT FIDIUS, 11th September, 1793.

I have this moment heard of a wagon going to Augusta, and therefore shall just tell you, that we are all got safe here, notwithstanding the plans meditated for my destruction. I was informed, whilst in Augusta, that it was determined I should not reach this place alive; that I was a most dangerous man; that I was taking measures to keep this country in peace. This may be considered by some, a crime of the deepest dye; but, as such, I did not conceive it, and therefore determined to pursue my direction to that effect.

We got on very quietly, and without any great appearance of danger, until within thirty miles of this station, when we were met by Captain Dickinson, with twenty continental troops, detached by the officers, in consequence of information that parties of villains were out on the road, determined to destroy Colonel Gaither and myself. The officers here had, I have reason to think, just ground for their fears for our safety. We, however, left the troops, and arrived at the garrison about 7 o'clock on the ninth instant. I found every body here well, but the country in a most determined state of opposition to all Federal measures. There are several parties of horsemen out, to prevent my having any intercourse with the Indians. They publicly declare, they will oppose every attempt that can be made to peace. Some parties of horse have actually had the insolence to appear before the garrison, and forbid any person going to the nation. I shall, however, despatch Aiken and the black fellow, this evening, to go forward to meet the Indians, and know their determination. I do not, yet, know whether or not the Indians are coming on to meet me. I have not time to be particular. I give you this unconnected line, just to let you see what a blessed situation I am placed in.

I am, &c.

JAMES SEAGROVE.

AUGUSTA, September 25, 1793.

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th instant, and to enclose a duplicate of mine to you, of the eighteenth.

I am happy that I anticipated your orders, as far as I was authorized, in not concurring in any arrangements for invading the Creeks. From the moment I arrived in this State, and heard of the late intended expedition, I gave it as my opinion that nothing contained in your letter to the Governor, of the 10th of June, could justly be construed as



authorizing him to carry on an offensive war against the Creeks, by marching an army into their country. This I did from a conviction, that, had any such invasion been contemplated by you, you would not have suffered me to have left Philadelphia entirely unprepared for such an event. I do not recollect that I ever saw your letter, above alluded to.

As you could not, sir, foresee that I should be called upon to act in a business of this nature, you have not instructed me to interfere in any measures concerted by the Governor upon Indian affairs. I have, however, thought myself authorized to declare, that the true construction has not been put on your letter, and this also has been the opinion of several of the general officers who assisted at the council, mentioned in mine to you, of the 4th instant.

I have endeavored, sir, to transmit you the best information on public business. What I have written relatively to the force and destination of the militia who were to have been employed against the Creeks, I had from a general officer, one of the council before mentioned. Mr. Seagrove's letter to me, of the 11th, is the only authentic communication I can make relative to the state of the frontiers.

Reports circulate, which confirm, in part, what he has written. I am induced to believe that his person is really in danger. One of the Governor's secretaries, who has lately returned from the frontiers, informs me, that, from what he heard, while he was there, he makes no doubt that, should Mr. Seagrove attempt to go to the Indians, he would lose his life. It is certain that the people have great prejudices against him. They entertain an opinion that he has misrepresented the state of Indian affairs; and that, while the Indians were making depredations, he has reported them as peaceably disposed. Mr. Seagrove appears to me to have great zeal in the public service; he may, however, have erred in the measures he has pursued.

It will not, however, be in his power to preserve the peace by any interview he may have with the Indians; and his attempts, for this purpose, will fail, because of the strong disposition which the people of this country, generally, and of the frontiers in particular, have to a war with the Creeks; and it cannot be long before the flame will break out. It is with difficulty the people are now restrained; they had calculated upon the late intended expedition; that failing, their disappointment is excessive, and should any Indians unfortunately fall in their way, they would be sacrificed. The Indians are continually making depredations; and though I do not hear of their killing any person, yet scarce a day passes but we are told of some theft committed by them. These exasperate the people; they are generally pursued, and, when overtaken, killed. Add to these causes of discontent and animosity, the intrigues of certain malicious whites, who reside in the Creek nation, and who are continually insinuating the Indians to acts of hostility, and misrepresenting the conduct of the United States toward them. This seems to be the present state of the frontiers.

The militia have not been reduced since I have been here. I have made frequent applications to the Governor for a return of the force at present in service, but without effect: he says that the Adjutant General has not yet made his returns to him. It doth not appear that it is his intention to raise the hundred cavalry, and hundred infantry, for the present, but to continue the force now employed. He urges the necessity of this measure, to protect the inhabitants from the depredations of the Indians.

I have the honor to be, sir, &c.

AUGUSTA, 2d October, 1793.

SIR:

Mr. Seagrove has communicated to the Governor, that, on the 22d of last month, talks had been received by him from the Creeks, expressive of their desire to have a conference with him, and to treat upon the measures of preserving the peace. He complains to the Governor against the parties of volunteer horse, who have gone over the Oconee, to prevent him from fulfilling this important object. He also informs him that the Cherokees have invited the Creeks to join them in a war against Cumberland; and that the northern frontiers of this State are in danger from the former. And he requests the Governor to suggest to him any thing he may wish to be made an object at his proposed interview. In consequence of this letter, the Governor has written to him, and pointed out the particulars, for which he is to insist, on the part of Georgia, as preliminary conditions to a peace. I have the honor to enclose you an attested copy thereof. When the Governor gave me this paper, he observed to me, that he had made the demands high, but that he did not expect they would all be complied with. You will be pleased to observe, by the enclosed extract of a letter from Major Gaither to Mr. Meals, of this place, that Mr. Seagrove intended to set off from fort Fidius on the 29th ultimo, and that the danger from parties of militia has been altogether ideal.

In my letter to you of the 18th of last month, I have mentioned that a certain Mr. Alexander had gone out with a party of militia, to prevent an interview between Mr. Seagrove and the Indians, and that a trail of forty had been discovered on this side the Oconee. I have now to communicate you the true state of these reports. It appears by a letter from Colonel Melton to General Irwin, dated 27th ultimo, from which I have extracted what follows, that, on the 7th, the Indians stole five horses from Greene county, near fort Clarke, above the Rock Landing; that they were pursued by a party of five men, whom the Indians ambushed, and obliged to return without their object, and with the loss of their horses killed: that, on the 11th, Colonel Melton, with Captain Fauche's dragoons, and Captain Milton's riflemen, crossed the Oconee, at the Skull Shoals: that, on the 16th, near General Clarke's battle ground, on Jack creek, he was joined by Colonel Alexander, of Wilkes, with eight men, and Lieutenant Colonel Lamar, of Greene, with twenty-six men, chiefly officers. Fauche had his Cornet and thirty-six non-commissioned and privates; Captain Milton had fourteen; the whole party, including the commanding officer, amounted to eighty-eight: that they proceeded on the trail of the aforesaid Indians until the 21st, when they were stopped by a large river, and from the sound of bells and the crowing of cocks, they supposed themselves near a town; with some difficulty a ford was discovered by Major Adams, of Lamar's regiment: that, just before day, they crossed the river, and made an attack on the town, but not before the Indians had taken the alarm, and fled to a neighboring swamp. Six warriors were killed; the number wounded unknown. Eight women and children were made prisoners and brought off. The militia lost one killed and one wounded. The town was destroyed. That, on their return at Flint river, they left a talk for the Indians, whose town they had destroyed, a copy of which the Governor transmits you by this post. The prisoners report that a number of warriors had gone from the Creeks against Cumberland. One hundred and five warriors were in the town when it was assaulted.

It is not ascertained what town has been destroyed: it is supposed to have been the Upper Cowetas, on the Chatahochee river. I make no doubt but this stroke will put a stop to any meeting with Mr. Seagrove. The Governor thinks, that Colonel Melton has acted conformably to orders heretofore issued, for repelling the Indians.

He has ordered the prisoners to be sent to this place.

[ENCLOSURES IN THE FOREGOING LETTER.]

*Copy of the conditions to be required of the Creeks, as preliminary to a treaty.*

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 26th September, 1793.

A letter from Timothy Barnard, Esq., dated Creek nation, the 18th instant, and also a letter from James Seagrove, Esq., of the 22d instant, were received this day and read: Whereupon, it is

Ordered, That each of them be served with the following:

Conditions that will be required on the part of the State of Georgia, on the establishment of peace between the United States and the Creek Indians.

The captured property to be restored, and all the individual contracts with the citizens of this State fulfilled.

The prisoners, in captivity, to be brought and delivered up within the settled parts of Georgia.

The perpetrators of the murders committed in this State, to the number of thirteen, to be surrendered as objects of retaliation.

Ten head-men from the Upper and Lower Creek towns to be surrendered as hostages to the United States, and to be placed in the safe keeping of the Executive of the State of Georgia, for the due performance of the several stipulations that respect her.

That, under the law of the United States, as well as for the security of this State, the government of Georgia cannot recognise the establishment of peace, without having commissioners at the treaty.

Attest,

J. MERIWETHER, *Sec'y E. D.*

*Extract of a letter from Major Gaither to Mr Joshua Meals, Merchant, Augusta, dated at fort Fidius, the 28th of September, 1793.*

"Major Seagrove, it is probable, will leave this to-morrow for the Oakmulgee, where the chiefs and head-men of the Creek nation are now waiting for him. There are, at this time, several parties of militia now out, that have threatened the lives of those concerned in making peace, and any Indians they may fall in with. I mean to furnish the agent of Indian affairs with a guard, pack-horses, &c., and very probably accompany him to-morrow. I should write Captain Freeman, but having reason to believe he is on his way to this place, I have declined it."

AUGUSTA, 7th October, 1793.

SIR:

I have had the honor to receive a duplicate of your letter of the 5th ultimo. Enclosed is a duplicate of mine to you, of the 2d instant.

I received, on the 3d instant, a letter from Mr. Seagrove, dated at fort Fidius, the 28th of last month, which confirms the account of the militia having destroyed an Indian town. He differs from Colonel Melton in the relation of the affair. I should rather suppose the account of the latter ought to be the most relied on, as Mr. Seagrove has obtained his information at second hand from the Indians. I enclose you extracts from this letter.

It appears from the reports of several persons from the Westward, that Mr. Seagrove has not gone to meet the Indians as he proposed, but that he remains at the fort; and that, since the return of Colonel Melton, many of the frontier settlers have removed, and that all are putting themselves and their stations into a state of defence. We may expect every day to hear of the Indians having made retaliation, though it is generally believed that they will be quiet as long as their women and children are detained prisoners. There is not, however, any prospect of peace, and this country may now be considered as in an actual state of war. I am extremely sorry that the intelligence I have hitherto communicated has been of the disagreeable kind.

I forgot to mention to you in my last, that the conditions to be required on the part of Georgia, on the establishment of peace between the United States and the Creeks, have been published in the newspapers of this part of the country. It does not appear to have been done officially.

I have the honor to be, sir, &c.

[ENCLOSURE.]

*Extract of a letter from James Seagrove, agent of Indian affairs, to Constant Freeman, dated at*

FORT FIDIUS, 28th September, 1793.

I am most unpleasantly situated with respect to the business I set out on. I find that I am opposed by the armed force of this frontier militia, in my endeavors to give them peace. Parties are continually out between this and the Oakmulgee to intercept me, or any Indians or messenger from or to me. As yet, they have not been successful. I have received expresses from the nation since I have been here, and, from the appearance of matters in that quarter, I am led to believe I can settle matters to the satisfaction of the General Government, if not counteracted by the bad conduct of the people of Georgia. A party of about one hundred men, under command of Colonel Alexander, and others, went from Greene county on the 15th instant, and, on the 20th, entered a small Indian village on the Chatahoochee river, about forty-five miles above the Cussetah town, killed one Indian man, and brought off, as prisoners, one man and four women. This information I have received from Tim. Barnard, who is now here. He had it from two Indians who were sent express after him, and overtook him on the road the 27th instant. I cannot find that the white party lost any men. I cannot discover by what authority those parties are sent out, but I think it very unwarrantable. I have wrote Governor Telfair to put a stop to such practices in his State. But, as usual, I have no reply to my request, or any notice taken of so serious an application. There is a number of Indians now waiting for me on the Oakmulgee, who came forward with Barnard and Allen to escort me into the towns. I shall leave this to-morrow, with a guard of federal troops, and hope to have Colonel Gaither's company as far as the Oakmulgee, from whence I will write you, if I have time, by the return of the troops. The conduct of the Spanish agent in the nation is much changed in our favor.

FORT FIDIUS, October 14th, 1793.

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th ultimo, which I received this day by express from Augusta, and to enclose you a duplicate of mine of the 7th instant.

I arrived at this post in the evening of the 10th. I found Mr. Seagrove had not gone to the Indian country, for the reasons which he has assigned you in his letters upon the subject.

I have very little news to communicate to you upon Indian affairs. The agent of this department has transmitted all the information to be obtained. I must, however, sir, observe, that a war with the Creeks is inevitable. Such is the spirit of the frontier inhabitants, unless the General Government should, in some public and decided manner, express their disapprobation of the measure, it is dangerous to advocate the cause of peace.

The success of Colonel Melton's invasion has given the people a strong desire to penetrate into the Indian country, in hopes of destroying their towns, and bringing off prisoners. For this purpose, we are informed that there are now two parties making preparations to cross the Oconee. I cannot vouch for the truth of these reports, but it would be extremely unfortunate if they should take place, as all accommodation with the Indians would then be at an end. They seem at present greatly embarrassed what measures to pursue, but are rather inclined to peace than war, as appears by Tim Barnard's letter to Major Gaither, a copy of which Mr. Seagrove transmits you.

I am induced to believe that the Governor would forbid the above mentioned parties from entering the Creek country, if he should be informed in time of their intentions; for though he conceived that Colonel Melton could be justified by the general orders he had heretofore issued for repelling the Indians, as I wrote you on the 2d instant, yet he would not countenance any further expeditions, unless authorized by the General Government. The Indian prisoners have been ordered to Augusta, where they arrived on the 12th instant.

I have the honor to be, &c.

FORT FIDIUS, 21st October, 1793.

SIR:

An express arrived last evening at this post from Timothy Barnard, Mr. Seagrove's deputy in the Creek nation, by whom we learn that the Indians are very well disposed to renew the peace with the United States, and that nothing can, at this favorable juncture, prevent perfect reconciliation, but the lawless conduct of the

frontier inhabitants of this State. I mentioned to you in my last, that parties were preparing to cross the Oconee, for the purpose of breaking up the Indian towns. It is now reduced to a certainty, that one of these parties has crossed the river, four days ago, about twenty-five miles below this post, at a place called Carr's Bluff. It is to be hoped that they may be prevented from doing any mischief. Mr. Seagrove will communicate to you fully upon the present state of Indian affairs.

Agreeably to your instructions I have requested Major Gaither to appoint some fit person to inspect and muster the militia. He says that, if there are any now in service, under the authority of the United States, he is ignorant thereof, and that he cannot pretend to appoint an inspector until he shall have been regularly and officially informed that those now on the frontiers have been called into service in pursuance of such authority. He also informs me that he has written to you upon this subject.

I have, in several of my letters, informed you, that I could not obtain a return from the Governor, of the force actually employed for the defence of the frontiers, although I had repeatedly made application to him for the same, and that no measures had been taken to comply with the orders of the United States, relatively to the one hundred cavalry and one hundred infantry, which he had ordered the Governor to bring into service. I should presume that it cannot be the intention of the United States to pay from four to six hundred men, when two hundred are the extent authorized. It is also necessary to observe, that Captain Fauche, and several others, who were with Colonel Melton in his expedition against the Indians, are considered as in the service at the expense of the United States. If that expedition was a violation of the President's orders, they certainly ought not to be paid for any such service. I therefore, sir, request that you will be pleased to give me the most ample instructions on this interesting subject, and that Major Gaither may be directed how far he is authorized to muster the militia now in service. I shall communicate to the Governor the result of my demand to Major Gaither, and inform him that I shall wait your further orders before I proceed in the business.

I have the honor to be, sir, &c.

*Letters from the Secretary of War to William Blount, Governor of the territory of the United States, south of the river Ohio.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 8th February, 1793.

SIR:

The President of the United States is highly desirous that John Watts, the Little Turkey, and as many others of the real chiefs of the Cherokees as you may judge proper to form a real representation of the tribes, should pay a visit to this place, where they shall not only be abundantly supplied with such articles as they may require themselves, but also for their nation. He wishes you to accompany them.

He conceives that the result of such a journey would have a powerful tendency to remove all causes of hostility, and prevent the repetition of such a crisis as has existed for some time past.

As to the presents promised at the proposed meeting on the 17th of April, the true cause may be assigned why their chiefs may choose them at Philadelphia. If the meeting actually takes place, some expense must be incurred. These must be regulated by your judgment, you being considered as responsible that they shall be as small as the nature of the case will possibly admit. Perhaps you may make a new arrangement, and obtain the deputation of a few of the most respectable chiefs, without the expenses which must attend a conference with a great number; but you must be the judge of this proposed alteration. The general measure, however, of obtaining a number of chiefs to repair to this place, and for you to accompany them, is considered as highly proper, and even indispensable. For their expenses, or other indispensable expenses in the case of the conference, you may draw bills, for which you will be held accountable; but I trust the amount will not be large.

I hope you have directed the militia to be regularly mustered, according to your instructions. The pay abstracts ought to be formed immediately.

I hope soon to forward the agent mentioned before.

If the formalities of the Indians, and their mode of doing business, would allow it, the meeting proposed to be had with the Cherokees on the 17th of April, might, on account of the expense, be dispensed with altogether: for, if the most influential characters in different districts are designated, and the interpreters sent to them individually, with an invitation to come to the seat of the General Government, about the time the treaty is holding with the Western Indians, say the middle of May, of which you were informed in my letter of the 25th ultimo, all the purposes, unincumbered with the expense of that meeting, will be equally well answered; but whether such a mode of proceeding comports with their customs and manner of doing business, or whether characters designated by us, would be considered by them as a representation duly authorized, without a formal ratification of their own, is a query of importance, and ought to be well ascertained.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Governor BLOUNT.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 14th May, 1793.

SIR:

Your several favors, by Mr. Allison, were received some days past, and submitted to the President of the United States.

The affairs being in the train as stated by you, it seems unnecessary to reply particularly to your several letters, as the hope is indulged of seeing you in this place so shortly.

But Colonel Winchester, who has been here, and who has presented a memorial to the President of the United States, from the inhabitants of Mero district, seems to render it necessary to write to you upon the subject of defence of the citizens in that quarter.

You have been fully informed of the difficulties which have existed to prevent the President of the United States from giving orders, in consequence of your representations, for the most vigorous offensive operations against the hostile Indians.

If those difficulties existed while the Congress were in session, and which it was conceived they alone were competent to remove, they recur, in the present case, with still greater force: for all the information received at the time Congress were in session, were laid before both Houses; but no order was taken thereon, nor any authority given to the President of the United States; of consequence, his authority remains in the same situation it did on the commencement of the last session.

It is indeed a serious question, to plunge the nation into a war with the Southern tribes of Indians, supported as it is said they would be.

But, if that war actually exists, if depredations are repeated and continued upon the frontier inhabitants, the measure of protection is indispensable; but that protection can only be of the defensive sort. If other, or more extensive measures shall be necessary, they must, probably, result from the authority expressly given for that purpose by Congress.

Hence, if it shall be your judgment that the Cumberland settlements require the assistance of the militia of the other parts of your government, you will impart it to them for such time, and in such a degree, as shall be commensurate with the occasion, always taking care to report the number actually called into service, and the time for which they shall be engaged, and that they be dismissed as soon as the danger shall cease.

Perhaps, if Captain Kerr's company, or part of them, (although it would be prejudicial to their discipline to separate them) were ordered to Cumberland, it would be judicious.

Doctor Williamson has repeatedly spoken of the danger of the communication between Washington and Mero district, and that it would be obviated, in a degree, by a small post at the crossing of Cumberland river. This, however, and all other points of defence, must be referred to your judgment.

Colonel Winchester represents the great want of arms and ammunition. May you not, with propriety, send part of those you have to General Robertson, taking care to guard the return of them, as mentioned in my former letters on this subject?

I enclose you a return (a) of stores which General Wayne has been directed to send to the Chickasaws, in consequence of your representation, and as an evidence of your friendship for them.

Your arrival will still be anxiously expected, and that you may be able to bring with you the heads of the Cherokees. Be assured, sir, that, if you can quiet the troubles in your vicinity, by pacific measures, you will render a most acceptable service to your country, and great honor to yourself.

Of every important event you will render information: for the solicitude is great which is excited for the security of the inhabitants of your government.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Governor BLOUNT.

[ENCLOSURE.]

(a) Supply for the Chickasaws:

500 stand of arms,	1,500 bushels of corn,
2,000 pounds of powder,	50 pounds vermilion,
4,000 flints,	100 bushels salt,
4,000 pounds of lead,	100 gallons whiskey,
1 armorer and tools.	

WAR DEPARTMENT, 26th June, 1793.

SIR:

My last letter to you was dated the 14th ultimo, and transmitted by Colonel Winchester, a duplicate of which is enclosed. Since which, I have received your several letters, dated the 9th, 23d, and 24th ultimo.

The measure of ordering Major Beard's party to the Cumberland settlements, for their protection, appears to have been highly proper, and, it is to be hoped, will be attended with salutary effects.

It is difficult to foresee the precise result of the late unprovoked and unexpected outrages of some of the Lower Creeks, on the frontiers of Georgia. Mr. Seagrave had excited a very different expectation.

The Governor of Georgia has ordered into the field a considerable force of militia, but, as it is presumed he will only act upon the defensive, and the frontiers only be invaded by small parties of savages, it is probable he will find one hundred horse, and the same number of infantry, which he has been authorized to call into service, under the orders of Major Gaither, as sufficient for defensive purposes as a greater body of men.

It really seems as if no permanent arrangement of peace could be made with the savage tribes, liable as they are to the impulses of bad men, and to other policy than that of the United States. The very Indians, who no longer ago than the last autumn were prevented from suffering the extremes of hunger, by the bounties of the United States, were, by information, of the number who have recently been either stealing horses or murdering defenceless women and children. Although these hostilities may be attributed to a particular cause, yet there are reasons of a powerful nature, as connected with the present state of European politics, which prevent a public development. Among a number of inevitable evils, the least is to be chosen. But the time may arrive when both the interest and dignity of the United States may render it expedient and proper to unfold the causes of the evils which are at present suffered by our frontier citizens. In the mean time, it is the part of wisdom to accommodate to present circumstances.

It may be depended upon, that the President of the United States has the protection of the exposed parts of the frontiers near to his heart, and that it will afford him great satisfaction when they shall be in perfect security. Humanity would rejoice were this security to be the effect of pacific arrangements with the Indians, founded upon the principles of justice and humanity.

The commissioners appointed to treat with the Northern tribes, at Lower Sandusky, arrived at Niagara the latter part of May; but they received information that the Indians would not be ready to assemble until towards the first of July. This detention, among other causes, has been probably owing principally to the desire to wait the arrival of the Shawanese ambassadors. What will be the event of this treaty cannot be conjectured at present; nor will it be known until some time in September.

If the Cherokees shall certainly have refused to enter into the confederacy, as well as the Upper Creeks which you mentioned, it may have a good effect to induce the Northern Indians to be moderate in their conduct.

It would probably be attended with the happiest effects should you be able to persuade the principal chiefs of the Cherokees to repair to this place. And at no time has there been so fair a prospect of their compliance, as at the time you wrote. If you are so fortunate as to effect this object, you will give me timely information of the visit.

As Mr. Allison will shortly return, I propose to transmit you by him a sum of money, to defray the expenses of the journey of the said Indians.

The persons who fired on the friendly Indians, near your house, deserve, and I am persuaded will receive, severe punishment; at least it is to be expected that nothing within your power will be omitted to bring them to the punishment which the laws shall decide they merit.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Governor BLOUNT.

WAR DEPARTMENT, August 26th, 1793.

SIR:

I am instructed, by the President of the United States, to express to you his extreme concern at the late violent and lawless inroads of several parties of whites, from the Southwestern territory, into the peaceable part of the Cherokee nation. He requests that you would, upon your return, make known his sentiments on the occasion, and that you would use your highest exertions, that the authors and perpetrators of such disgraceful outrages should be brought to immediate trial, and receive the punishment which the law shall direct.

Unless such crimes be punished in an exemplary manner, it will be in vain for the Government to make further attempts to establish any plan or system for the administration of Indian affairs, founded on the principles of moderation and justice. Treaties will be at an end; and violence and injustice will be the arbiters of all future disputes between the whites and the neighboring tribes of Indians; and, of consequence, much innocent blood will be shed, and the frontiers depopulated.

It will, therefore, behove every man in the Southwestern territory, who wishes to live under a government of law and order, to exert himself in obedience to the directions you may issue for the trial and punishment of the offences, which have been recently committed against the Indians.

If too many of the inhabitants of your government have not been concerned in the outrages in question, and, if it be possible for the majority to persevere in a reasonable line of conduct, it will then become a subject of your deliberation to pacify, if possible, the injured Indians. If the laws should condemn the offenders, and the powers of government should be sufficiently strong to execute the laws, it is possible the Indians may be satisfied, because they would then see that the promises made to them were not mere delusions.

But, if this should not be the case, you will be constrained to have recourse to other expedients, which, although it is highly proper they should be tried, the result may be doubtful. In order, therefore, that you may avail yourself of any favorable disposition of the Indians, David Allison, the storekeeper and paymaster, has been furnished with the quantity of goods you have estimated for this purpose, amounting to five thousand seven hundred and eighty-four dollars and seventy-one cents.

It is, however, to be understood, that you are not to issue these goods to the Indians, unless it shall be apparent to you that it will have the effect to pacify the relations of the murdered Indians, and thereby prevent further hostilities. The Executive of the United States are anxiously desirous of a peace with the neighboring Indian tribes, for the many reasons which have been given to you, both verbally and in writing. But, if the United States are constrained to enter into a war with any tribes, it ought to be under the auspices of justice, as it is not to be supposed for a moment that they will support the expenses of a war brought on the frontiers by the wanton, blood thirsty disposition of our own people, or any other unjustifiable conduct.

You will please to be frequent in your communications of all circumstances necessary to be known to the President of the United States, and you will please to bear strongly in your mind, always, that nothing can be more satisfactory to him than peace with the Indian tribes, founded in humanity and justice.

*Letter from the Secretary of War to Daniel Smith, Esq. Secretary of the Territory of the United States south of the river Ohio, dated 27th August, 1793.*

SIR:

Your several letters of the 17th June, 19th, 27th, and 30th July, with their several enclosures, have been submitted to the President of the United States.

The excesses which you state, are a subject of extreme regret to the President of the United States, and seem almost to preclude the hope of establishing order and peace, upon the frontiers, between the whites and the Indians.

Your situation must have been painful indeed, to have been a witness of such lawless violence, without possessing the power of remedying them. However, your good intentions, and the approbation of the President of the United States, must be to you a great consolation.

It is unnecessary to be particular in replying to your letters, as Governor Blount, who will be the bearer of this letter, will be charged with instructions from the President, to endeavor, by every possible means, to establish order in his government.

*Message from the Secretary of War to the Hanging Maw, sent by Governor Blount.*

BROTHERS:

Your father, General Washington, the President of the United States, has directed me to acknowledge the receipt of your message, dated at Coyatee, the 15th of June last.

Be assured, Brothers, that the misfortune that has befallen you, has deeply afflicted your father the President, who desires that his red children should be treated with the same humanity and justice as his white children.

He expresses his highest indignation at the base attack which has been made upon you during the moments of peace; he has directed Governor Blount to endeavor, by the course of the law, to bring the perpetrators of that wicked affair to full punishment.

It is sincerely desired by the President that those bad men should not escape the law, and that you should see or know, from evidence upon which you could rely, that justice has been done you and your nation.

But, Brothers, while the laws are the protection of all good men among us, yet, sometimes, the bad escape unpunished, by the cunning of the criminals, or for want of strong evidence. In such cases, we do not permit an individual who has been wronged to be his own avenger. This is never allowed among the whites, when the society is well regulated.

Now, Brothers, listen! If the laws should not condemn the murderers of your friends, is there no other mode by which you could be satisfied? Governor Blount will talk to you upon this point, and endeavor to find some mode by which we shall still be friends.

It would afford your father great satisfaction to shake you by the hands, this fall, in Philadelphia, and, he hereby, strongly urges you, and the other chiefs of your nation, to undertake the journey. He will direct that you shall be comfortably accommodated on your way, and farther, upon your arrival here, he flatters himself, that, by being face to face, the remembrance of all former injuries will be done away, and that we may establish a firm and lasting peace and friendship.

Given at the city of Philadelphia, this twenty-seventh of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

*Letters, with their several enclosures, from Governor Blount to the Secretary of War.*

KNOXVILLE, JANUARY 14, 1793.

SIR:

The better to be understood, in reply to several parts of your letter of the 26th November, I beg leave first to quote them.

"It is considered that, in the minds of the Indians, there must be some pretext for the enmity of the Indians to the Cumberland settlers. I find that the Little Turkey and the Bloody Fellow, when here, and a letter from Mr. McGillivray, of the 9th of October, all unite in complaining of that part of the country;" and request me "to define explicitly what I know on the subject of their claim."

I am happy in having anticipated, in part, the answer to this question, in my letter of the 8th November, and shall now give what information I then omitted, or since obtained on that head.

At the beginning, and previous to the late Revolution, the Cherokees lived in towns, either on the head waters of the Savannah River, (Keowee and Tugelo) or on the Tennessee, above the mouth of Holston. At that time, the country which now forms the counties of Franklin and Elbert, in Georgia, several of the western counties of South Carolina, several of the western counties of North Carolina, the district of Washington, in the territory south of the Ohio, and a part of the district of Washington, in Virginia, were a part of their hunting grounds; the remainder of it was down the Tennessee, on the south side; they very rarely went on the Cumberland waters, and when they did, they considered themselves as hunting on grounds not their own. At that time they had no need of the Cumberland country to hunt in, for they had enough of a much more open and agreeable country. That, in the year 1776, General Williamson marched an army from South Carolina, and destroyed the towns on the Keowee and Tugelo, among them old Seneca, a very principal one, and erected fort Rutledge on its ruins. That General Rutherford marched another, from North Carolina, and Colonel Christian, a third, from Virginia, and destroyed most of the principal ones on the Tennessee. That, shortly after the return of these armies, two treaties were held with the Cherokees, one at Duet's corner, by commissioners appointed by the States of South Carolina and Georgia, at which a large tract of country was claimed by these two States, and ceded by the right of conquest. The other at the Long Island of Holston, by commissioners appointed by the States of North Carolina and Virginia, at which also a large tract of country was ceded to these two States, are facts with which you cannot be unacquainted. The lands by these treaties ceded, are those above mentioned, on which the western counties of Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and the district of Washington, in this territory, are formed. The Cherokees being thus burnt out of their towns, and by these treaties very much curtailed in their hunting grounds to the eastward and northward, shortly began to erect new towns, lower down the Tennessee, and on the waters of Mobile river. The most bold and active part settled on a creek called Chickamauga, 100 miles below the mouth of Holston. The whole of this party being averse to peace, attended neither of the treaties. This afforded a pretext to the parts of the nation that did, to say, whenever injuries were done to the citizens of the United States, commit them who would,

that it was the Chickamaugas, and would often add, as a proof of their sincerity, why did not the white people cut them off? they were murderers and thieves, and they who treated had nothing to do with them. In the year 1782 they abandoned Chickamauga creek, believing it was infested with witches; some returned to the old towns, others went lower down the Tennessee, 40 miles, and laid the foundation of the five towns, now generally called the five Lower towns on the Tennessee, to which since have repaired and settled, the young and active, more or less from every town in the nation, and have now become the most formidable part of it, not only from their disposition to commit injuries on the citizens of the United States, but from their ability to perform it. Every move made down the Tennessee was so much nearer the Cumberland settlements, which were formed in the year 1780, consequently the Cumberland lands became more an object with them, and especially so, as they had ceded such large quantities, which were actually their own; that is, unclaimed by any other tribe at the before mentioned treaties. I have given this account of the settlements of the Cherokees at the commencement of the Revolution, their then hunting grounds, and the progress of their settlements since, down the Tennessee, to shew the improbability of their claiming the Cumberland lands at that time, and the probable reason why they have since done it.

I shall now offer some reasons, shewing that the right to the Cumberland lands, at the time the Revolution commenced, lay in the Chickasaws, in preference to the Cherokees.

1st. The Chickasaws, prior to the Revolution, (how long I do not know) lived a considerable part, if not the whole, (and which I know not), on the north side of the Tennessee, at least fifty miles lower down the Tennessee than the present lowest Cherokee town. The greatest contiguity to hunting grounds, and the prior use of them, seems to be the best claim Indians can establish to them.

2d. The Chickasaws claimed and ceded the Cumberland lands at the treaty held by Donnelson and Martin, (I believe) under the authority of Virginia, in the year 1782.

3d. They did the same by the treaty of Hopewell, as well as the Cherokees.

4th. They did the same at the late conference at Nashville, in presence of the Cherokee agents, who did not deny their claim; they only said, they did not know before, that red people divided land like white people.

5th. That, when the minutes of the conversation that passed at the late conference at Nashville, was read at Estanaula, the Cherokees there present admitted the Chickasaw claim was just. James Carey, the interpreter, first gave me this information, as it has since been confirmed by George Paris. Paris bore a captain's commission in Brown's Florida rangers, and is a man of veracity.

6th. A Cherokee chief, at the treaty of Long Island of Holston, expressed himself in the following words: "You, Carolina Dick, (Richard Henderson) have deceived your people; you told them we sold you the Cumberland lands; we only sold you our claim; they belong to our brothers, the Chickasaws, as far as the head-waters of Duck and Elk rivers."

For this quotation I am indebted to Colonel Tatham, of Richmond, who recorded the proceedings of that treaty. It will be observed that the line here described well agrees with that described as bounding the claim of the Chickasaws, by the Mountain Leader, at the conference at Nashville.

Against the claim of the Cherokees to the Cumberland lands, may be offered, that the Northern tribes have ceded all the lands north of the Tennessee, by two or more treaties, to the crown of Great Britain.

By the Little Turkey's complaint, I understand you to allude to his speech made in the council at Estanaula, in June last, because I have neither seen nor heard any thing else of or from him that could be so understood. I have since asked John Thompson, the interpreter, and the Little Turkey's bosom friend, what he could mean or intend by such a speech, adding, that he certainly must know the President could not grant him the line he asked. Thompson answered, yes, the Turkey knew it very well; he only meant to please the young warriors, who were always grumbling that the old chiefs had sold their land, and they had none to hunt on.

The nature of the Indian government, or, more properly, the total want of it, often subjects the chiefs or head-men to the necessity of acting as the Turkey appears to have done on this occasion. There is ever among them, young warriors, wishing to rise into consequence, and nothing so like to effect it as complaining against chiefs for having sold their hunting grounds. This, at once, pulls down the chiefs, makes way for themselves, and gives them popularity with the young and rising part of the nation, with whom alone popularity is of any worth; and such is the fear of the head-men of losing their consequence, that it is very rare that one of them, on such occasions, will declare they did sell lands; and, if they do admit they did, to save their consequence, will say they were wrong advised by some bad man, or deceived by the purchaser, and, in either case, Indians do not consider the bargain binding. I will recite a circumstance within my own knowledge: At the return of the head-men from the treaty of Hopewell, finding the ceding of lands to the south of Cumberland was displeasing to the young warriors, they declared that the Cumberland river was the line, and that they had ceded no lands to the south of it; and at the treaty of Holston, the Hanging Maw, who was a signer to that of Hopewell, had the assurance, in council, to deny, in my presence, who was a witness, that the Cherokees, by the treaty of Hopewell, had ceded any lands south of Cumberland, and to insist that the Cumberland was the line, and after, in private, confessed to me that he knew the line did go to the south of Cumberland, as I had asserted, but, he was obliged to deny it before the young warriors.

Under these circumstances, it is not to be wondered at, that the young and rising generation should claim the lands which their predecessors have fairly ceded. They ever have, and probably ever will, while their present want of government exists.

I shall now make some observations on the speech itself of the Little Turkey. He only expresses a wish that the line should run as he described, not upon the principles that he claims the land such a line would give, but on the score of pity, and in consideration of the Long Island of Holston, to which, he says, he has a just claim, and which he would give in exchange. At the treaty held at that island, the Cherokees certainly reserved it as a place to hold beloved talks forever, although they ceded a body of lands lying below it. At the treaty of Hopewell, where lands were also ceded lying below that island, they made no exception, nor said any thing about it, until the treaty was signed. At the treaty of Holston, Watts spoke of the claim to it, and I believe would not have signed the treaty, had I not promised him that the matter should be stated to the President, and he would do what was just on the occasion. I conceived that I had complied with my promise by forwarding the minutes, or journal, of that treaty, and, in the additional annual allowance of five hundred dollars, I had supposed a consideration for the island was intended by the President.

That the Bloody Fellow complained against the Cumberland settlers, when at Philadelphia, I was never before informed.

Upon what ground M<sup>r</sup> Gillivray can found his complaints, I am at a loss even to conjecture. Unquestionably, the Creeks have no claim to the Cumberland lands, nor from any thing I have ever heard, to a foot of land on the north side of Tennessee. There is not a Creek village within less than two hundred miles of the Cumberland settlements, and M<sup>r</sup> Gillivray himself, who may be said to live in the centre of the Upper Creeks, is at least three hundred miles distant from Cumberland. The facts respecting the Cumberland settlers and the Creeks, are, the Creeks, since the treaty of New York, have killed many of the Cumberland settlers in their houses, and about their ordinary business, regardless of age or sex; that they have carried into captivity Miss Thompson, a young lady of handsome fortune, and Mrs. Caffray, and her child, whom they treat as slaves; and, that they have stolen hundreds of their horses; that the Cumberland settlers have never done the Creeks any injury, except in defence of themselves, or in immediate pursuit of such as have injured them. In this, I see no cause of complaint on the side of the Creeks.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Gillivray to me, in which he expresses his approbation of the treaty of Holston. If the Creeks had claimed any part of the lands ceded by the Cherokees, instead of approving, would he not have disapproved, both of the treaties of Hopewell and Holston? You will recollect I have forwarded to your office copies of two letters which I wrote him; the first by your order, on the subject of the injuries done the Cumberland people by the Creeks, both of which have been delivered to him, but to neither have I received an answer. This is mentioned to inform you that he has failed, on his part, in that friendly correspondence you recommended to us.



Is it known to you that the Cherokees, constantly, and without interruption, and sometimes a part of the Creeks, hunt on a large space of the best hunting grounds in America, containing at least from five to six millions of acres, which they have long since ceded, that is, the unsettled country between Virginia and Kentucky, and between Kentucky and Cumberland? This is an indulgence for which they ought to be thankful, instead of complaining, without a cause, of encroachments.

To conclude on this head, I declare that I have never heard, or been informed, of any complaints from the Cherokee nation, or any part or member thereof, against the Cumberland settlers, except the speech of the Little Turkey may be so understood.

Again you say: "The number of militia which you appear to have called into service, might probably, at the moment of danger, have appeared to be necessary, and justifiable by the occasion, but it is of the highest importance they should not have been in service any longer than circumstances render indispensable. This is a point to which I am directed to request your serious attention.

"But prior to the expected invasion in September, it has appeared, at this distance, that rather a greater force has been kept up than the danger rendered indispensable for defensive protection."

To the last paragraph, as it is first in point of time, I shall first reply. That you may perfectly understand the situation of Mero district, which this force was principally kept up to protect, I will give you a description of it.

The settlements of Mero district extend up and down the Cumberland river, from east to west, about eighty-five miles, and the extreme width, from north to south, does not exceed twenty-five miles, and its general width does not exceed half that distance, and, not only the country surrounding the extreme frontier, but the interior part (which is to be found only by comparison with the more exposed part) is covered generally with thick and high cane, and a heavy growth of large timber, and where there happens to be no cane, with thick underwood, which afford the Indians an opportunity of laying days and weeks in any and every part of the district, in wait near the houses, and of doing injuries to the inhabitants, when they themselves are so hid or secured that they have no apprehensions of injuries being done in return, and they escape from pursuit, even though it is immediate. This district has an extreme frontier of at least two hundred miles.

The protection of that district, the most difficult to protect in the Union, of its size, as well as every other part of the territory south of the Ohio, was confided to me by the President. This placed me between the Government and the people of the territory, answerable to the Government that I did not incur too great an expense in giving protection to the frontier inhabitants, nor yet suffer them to be killed or robbed of their property; and to the people themselves, who looked to me, from the nature of my appointment, that I should not suffer them to be murdered and robbed.

A recurrence to the list of killed and wounded, forwarded to your office with my letter of the 28th November, I trust, will afford sufficient evidence of the indispensable necessity for keeping up the force by me ordered prior to the invasion; and, comparing the protection given by the Federal Government, to the frontiers of Georgia, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, with the sufferings of their citizens, I conceived myself not only justified in giving the protection I did, to the frontiers of this territory, but that it was my indispensable duty so to do.

The greatest force ever afforded the exposed and suffering frontiers of Mero district, at one time, was two hundred and twenty-five. Besides the example of the protection given to the other frontiers by the Federal Government, and a knowledge of the sufferings of the people of Mero district, was the clamor of the people against the Government for not giving protection, which alone appeared to render the degree of protection I gave that district indispensable. I can truly say, all faith appeared to be lost in Government, until Sharpe's battalion was ordered into service.

If the observations, on the little use of block-houses, or stationary troops, are intended to point out the impropriety of my disposition of the troops ordered into service for the protection of Mero district, I beg leave to request your attention to my order to Major Sharpe, by which you will see, that the persons at the block-houses were directed to patrol and reconnoitre, &c. which was done for the protection of the frontiers; and, as a justification of my disposition of them, to inform you that it met the approbation of the people they were intended to protect. The block-houses were only intended as barracks for them, and to give an advanced situation from the frontier houses, from which they could range with more advantage than from the frontier-houses.

Morgan's and Nash's companies, who immediately preceded Sharpe's battalion in service, ranged from the frontier houses, and, it was believed, had not afforded so great a degree of protection, as they would have done from block-houses more advanced on the frontiers.

The necessity of a Major or field-officer, in preference of independent companies, was, that the troops were from Washington, altogether unacquainted with the frontiers of Mero district. Major Sharpe was of Mero district, and perfectly acquainted with the frontiers; and, besides, there appeared to me a necessity for such an officer, to pass from station to station, to see that the officers at the respective stations did their duty.

I come now to reply to the first paragraph; by which I understand, I am called upon to assign reasons for ordering and continuing in service the militia, commanded by Brigadier General Sevier. The time when ordered into service, and when discharged, I have already informed you; their greatest number, as appears by General Sevier's monthly report, was eight hundred and thirty. My reasons for ordering them into service were, that I had received authentic information, contained in the letters of the Little Turkey, other principal chiefs, the interpreters Thompson and Carey, and in the narratives of Jo. Deraque, and Richard Finnelson, that the five Lower Cherokee towns had declared war against the United States; that they would be joined by a large number of Creeks, and that, with their united force, they would immediately attack the frontiers of this territory, and that both were supported by the Spaniards.

My reasons for continuing them in service, were to give protection to the people of this territory, which had been confided to me, in their persons and property, against a numerous body of Indians, who had declared war against them, not only in words, in a more formal manner than Indians ever did, to my knowledge, before, but by a powerful invasion of a part of the territory, by at least seven hundred warriors, headed by the bold and enterprising John Watts, and by many other acts of hostility. Let it be supposed I had discharged the militia, and the party who had declared war, and from whom I had no right to expect any thing but war, had fallen on the unprotected citizens, should I not have deserved, and received, the heaviest censure of the Federal Government, and the execrations of the people?

It is a received opinion, that nothing inclines people at war more readily to peace, than a belief that the adverse party are also prepared; this afforded another reason, and, I trust, the effect will be found to justify the measure.

It will, no doubt, be observed, that General Sevier's brigade of militia is not equal to a regular regiment in numbers, consequently, that there must have been an over-proportion of officers. In reply to this I have to inform you, that the militia were called out under the militia-law of North Carolina, and I conceived it essential to form them into a brigade, otherwise I could not have had the services of General Sevier, whose name carries more terror to the Cherokees, than an additional regiment would have done.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*McGillivray's letter, enclosed in the foregoing.*

LITTLE TALLASSEE, 30th July, 1791.

SIR:

I had the pleasure of your letter, by Captain Heth. The Little Turkey sent in a copy of the treaty, for my information; in return, I sent him a talk approving of the same, with some advice to have the same observed, and which will be given out in the beloved town of Estanaula, where a general meeting is to be held in next month.



I observe what you say respecting the establishment of a post on Bear creek. Such a measure would immediately give discontent to the Indians, as they would suppose it was a beginning of the intended settlements of the Georgia company; so, in my opinion, it had better be deferred for a time.

Young Thompson informs me of some conversation that happened between you, respecting his acting in a public capacity. He is of a considerable family, and well liked by the Turkey and his party. I therefore take the liberty of advising to put him in office.

I am, with respectful regard, &c.

KNOXVILLE, January 24th, 1793.

SIR:

I enclose you minutes of a conversation between Captain Handley and myself, as information respecting the strength and disposition of the five Lower towns of the Cherokees, and of the disposition of the Upper Creeks towards the Cumberland settlers. It appears, the party that attacked Captain Handley on the 23d day of November, on Cumberland mountain, on his way, with forty-two men of his company, to the district of Mero, there to act on the frontiers, for the defence thereof, consisted of fifty-six Cherokees, Creeks, and Northwards, mostly of the former, commanded by the Middle Striker, a signer of the treaty of Holston. They treated him very roughly, after their manner, until the thirteenth day of his captivity, when it was determined in council, at Will's town, on the third day of its sitting, that his life should be spared, and after, in a most brotherly manner, from the Lower to the Upper towns, he was escorted, by the Middle Striker himself, and eleven other warriors, who went from the Upper to the Lower towns for that purpose; to each of whom I have thought it good policy to give, at this critical time, four covers, a blanket, a shirt, a pair of leggins, a flap, and binding for the two latter. Watts committed his answer, to my letter of the 26th day of December, to an Indian who came up with Handley, with orders to deliver it to the Hanging Maw, and for the Maw to bring it to me, which, as yet, he has delayed to do, owing to his being too indisposed to ride. But, from the information I have received from Captain Handley, and Arthur Coody, who lives in the lower towns, and came with him, the same who was interpreter at the treaty of Hopewell, and before a British interpreter, and John Thompson, who is also here, I have the most sanguine hopes that the measures I have and shall take, will bring about a peace with the Cherokees. Coody agrees with Captain Handley in the account of one hundred and fifty Creeks having lately gone against Cumberland.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*Minutes of a conversation between Governor Blount and Captain Handley, just returned from captivity among the Cherokees.*

*Governor Blount.*—During your captivity with the Cherokees, in the Lower towns, did you become acquainted with John McDonald? \*

*Captain Handley.*—Yes.

*G. B.*—Did you become acquainted with Alexander Campbell? †

*C. H.*—Yes.

*G. B.*—Did you experience any civilities and friendship, from both, or either?

*C. H.*—Yes, very great from both—all their situation admitted of.

*G. B.*—Do you suppose they wish peace with the United States?

*C. H.*—I am confident they both wish it.

*G. B.*—Did you hear both, or either of them, say, whether or not the Spanish officers had encouraged the Indians to go to war, or whether they gave them ammunition?

*C. H.*—They at first denied both; but afterwards, in conversation, they acknowledged they had learned that the Spanish Governor told them, that he did not bid them go to war; but, if they were imposed upon, then he would furnish them with arms, ammunition, and men, to recover their country to the old line—the line made by the British.

*G. B.* What do you suppose to be the numbers of the five Lower towns?

*C. H.* Messrs. McDonald, Campbell, and Adair, compute them at seven hundred, exclusive of old men; that Watts had had a list drawn, and that appeared to be the number.

*G. B.* Did they appear to be well armed?

*C. H.* Yes; taking them collectively, better than I ever saw the same number of militia men.

*G. B.* Have they any powder and lead in store?

*C. H.* Plenty.

*G. B.* From whence do you suppose they obtained their ammunition?

*C. H.* From the Spaniards, so they say.

*G. B.* Did you understand that the Indians had formed any companies of cavalry?

*C. H.* Yes; three companies.

*G. B.* Who commands them?

*C. H.* John Taylor and Will. Shory command two, the third I do not know.

*G. B.* Did you see any swords and pistols among them?

*C. H.* Yes; I saw some. The pistols and holsters were new, the swords were of the British dragoon kind.

*G. B.* During your captivity did you see or hear of any parties of Creeks passing through the nation, for war against Cumberland?

*C. H.* Yes; I heard of several, particularly one of 150 lately.

*G. B.* Was it understood in the Lower Towns, that the Creeks were at peace with the United States?

*C. H.* No; it was understood the Upper were at war with the United States.

*G. B.* Do you think Watts is sincere in his overtures for peace?

*C. H.* Yes; except as to Cumberland. It is my opinion that small parties of Creeks and Cherokees will continue to infest that district.

KNOXVILLE, February 1, 1793.

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose you a copy of my order to Lieutenant Colonel Kelly, of the 23d, of my proclamation of the 28th, and of a letter from Colonel White, of the 30th ultimo; by which you will be informed, that a second attempt has been made by a number of people to invade the Cherokee country, and the result.

Previous to the issuing the proclamation, great exertions were made by myself, and every influential character, public and private, that I could move on the occasion, not only at Gamble's, (where I was in person on the 27th) but in every other suspected part of the country, to prevent the people from collecting together; otherwise, there is abundant reason to believe, there would have been at Gamble's at least three hundred, instead of eighty or one hundred; and, admitting "a mistaken zeal to serve their country" had been the cause of their gathering, I am apprehensive they would not have dispersed before they had destroyed as many as they could of the Cherokee towns. I can

\* McDonald was a deputy superintendent under Colonel Brown, now certainly has a perfect knowledge of what the Spaniards say to the Cherokees, and possesses much of the confidence of the Lower towns.

† Campbell is an old British trader, who possesses a large share of the confidence of the Lower towns.

truly say, my feelings were never more agitated than they were on this occasion. I considered my reputation as an officer, in a great measure, the reputation of the country over which I have the honor to preside, and my prospects of returning peace, all at stake upon the event.

Besides giving orders to Colonel White to order out part of the infantry of his regiment, to act eventually in case the party persisted in their determination to invade the towns, I found it necessary to order a lieutenant of cavalry and fifteen men to range from Holston to Little river, on the frontiers. This destroyed one of their strongest arguments, "that they had no protection." Two such bold attempts to violate the existing treaty between the Cherokees and the United States, seem in strong terms to point out the propriety and necessity of some tribunal being established in this country for the trial of offenders against treaties. The judges of this territory have informed me they have no authority to try offenders of that description.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*Order to Lieutenant Colonel Kelly.*

KNOXVILLE, January 23, 1793.

Sir:

I have heard and lament the killing of Pate as much as any man. Captain Tedford informs me, the people in the neighborhood where he was killed, are so incensed, that they are determined to fall on the near towns, for, what is foolishly termed, satisfaction; the folly and ill consequences of such conduct must be evident to you. It would be punishing the innocent for the guilty; it would be bringing on a general war at a time when I have no force in the field, and when there is no provision to be had to support one, and will be a daring insult to Government, that must not go unpunished.

You, sir, on the receipt of this letter, will consider it as my order for proceeding without delay to Captain Joseph Tedford, and from thence to such place or places on the frontiers, as you shall judge most proper, to prevent any citizen or citizens of the United States, living on the frontiers, or elsewhere, from going with arms into any town or towns of the Indians, and from crossing the river Tennessee. You are, as a civil and military officer of the country, to forbid their crossing the Tennessee, or entering any Indian town. I intreat you, as you value peace, order, and the good of the people at large, and particularly of the party attempting to go into the nation, that you use your influence and authority to prevent them from going into the towns.

I am, &c.

*By William Blount, Governor in and over the territory of the United States, South of the river Ohio:*

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas I have received certain information, that a number of *disorderly, ill disposed* persons, are about to collect themselves together, with an intention to go into the Upper Cherokee towns, on the Tennessee, to destroy the same, and kill the inhabitants thereof, regardless of law, human and divine, and subversive of the peace and order of Government:

Now, I, the said William Blount, Governor in and over the said territory, do hereby command and require the above described persons, and every of them, immediately to desist from such their intention, and to disperse, and retire peaceably, to their respective abodes, within one hour from the moment of the promulgation of this proclamation: and I do, hereby, command them, and every of them, not to go within the limits of the country guaranteed to the said Cherokees by the treaty at Holston, which is in full force and use, as they will answer the contrary at their peril. And I do command all officers, civil and military, to exercise and exert that authority, with which, by law, they are vested, to prevent so daring a violation of the law, and of the existing treaty with the said Cherokee nation.

Given under my hand and seal, at Knoxville, in the said territory, this 28th day of January, 1793.

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

*Letter from Lieutenant Colonel White to Governor Blount.*

KNOXVILLE, January 30th, 1793.

Sir:

On the 28th instant I returned, agreeable to your order, to Gamble's station, accompanied by Lieutenant Colonel Kelly, Captain Singleton, and William Hamilton and John Hackett, justices of the peace; where I found a number of persons, from eighty to one hundred collected, well armed, and plentifully provided with corn for their horses, and provisions for themselves, avowing their determination to go and destroy as many Cherokee towns as they could, and declaring that they momentarily expected to be joined by a much larger number from different parts of the district of Washington, offering for reason, that people were frequently killed, and horses daily taken by Indians, while they were unprotected by the Federal Government, and not permitted to take any satisfaction. Upon Mr. McKee's arriving with your proclamation, I read it with a loud voice, to which great attention was paid, and no insult was offered, either to the Government, the proclamation, or the officers of Government: They did not disperse within an hour, as the proclamation required, but determined in the evening that they would, and on the morning of the 29th, actually did, and returned to their respective homes. It is a justice due to these people to inform your Excellency, that the greater part of them appeared to have assembled upon a mistaken zeal to serve their country, not foreseeing the consequences that would attend such conduct.

Pursuant to your order of the 25th, I found it necessary to call into service Captain Ewin's company of militia, to have acted eventually in case the party had persisted in their determination of invading the towns; but I am truly happy they did not, and believing they are returned home perfectly sensible of their error,

I have the honor to be, &c.

KNOXVILLE, February 12th, 1793.

Sir:

The enclosed list of depredations was received last night from General Robertson, of Mero district. They, in all probability, must have been committed by the Creeks, mentioned as having passed the Tennessee on their way to Cumberland, by Captain Handley, and no doubt aided by a part of the Lower Cherokees.

The General speaks in strong terms of the distress of the people of that district on the occasion, which I consider unnecessary to repeat, as it can as easily be conceived as expressed.

Since writing you on the 1st instant, I have despatched Mr. John McKee, a particular friend and acquaintance of Watts, to him, to stay with and about him, in order to use his influence to the establishment of peace; Mr. McKee stands also high in the esteem of the other chiefs of the Lower towns, and is a man from whom every thing may be expected by the Government, that can be expected from any man in such a character, and the better to enable him to succeed in the objects of his mission, I furnished him with some Indian articles, to be disposed of as from himself, to Watts and other leaders of the war party. To have given them directly from the Government would have appeared in the eyes of those who had behaved friendly, as a reward for murdering and stealing, and might encourage or provoke them to do likewise.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*A list of murders and depredations committed by Indians, from the 16th to the 26th January, 1793, in the District of Mero.*

16th.—Colonel Hugh Tinnan, badly wounded on the north side of Cumberland, not far from Clarksville.

18th.—Major Evan Shelby, brother of Governor Shelby, James Harris, and a negro of Moses Shelby's, killed, and a number of horses taken on the north side of the Cumberland, near the mouth of Red river.

19th.—Two boys fired on in a canoe on the Cumberland, near Clarksville, of the name of Davidson.

22d.—Captain William Overall and — Burnet killed on the track from Kentucky to Cumberland, at the Dripping spring. The flesh was cut from the bones of Overall and carried off; nine horses loaded with goods and whiskey, were taken at the same time. They were pursued as far as Cumberland river; without being overtaken.

24th.—A salt boat from Kentucky and a French pirogue, were fired on, on the Cumberland, at the mouth of Half pome. In the salt boat, killed Malachia Gaskins and David Crow; wounded John McLugen in five places; his life is despaired of. Robert Wells, his arm broke; St. Clair Pruet, shot through the knee; since dead. In the French boat, two killed and one mortally wounded.

26th.—Thomas Heaton and Anthony Bledsoe, son of Colonel Anthony Bledsoe, both shot through the body, but are yet living, on the north side of Cumberland, near Nashville.

KNOXVILLE, *March 20th, 1793.*

SIR:

The enclosed report, and information of James Carey, one of the interpreters of the United States for the Cherokees, and a copy of a letter from a Mr. Townsend, contain the last information I have received from the Creek and Cherokee nations. The information they contain, is of so important and alarming a nature, that I have judged it necessary to forward it to you express by Mr. Carey himself, who can more fully explain to you verbally, the grounds on which he has given his answers to my questions, than could possibly be done on paper.

Truth, in all inquiries, is hard to obtain, and, in none in which I have been engaged, so much so as in what respects Indians. Of all people, they use the most deception, and are greater masters of it; but Mr. Carey, from his long and intimate habits, understanding their language, and connexion with them, has a perfect knowledge of their present intentions, and from the many proofs I have had of his veracity and his firm attachment to the United States in preference of the Spaniards, although I have every reason to believe greater offers have been made him, induce me to pay full credit to what he says.

Enclosed, also, is a list of the murders committed near this place, on the 10th and 18th instant, and lately on the Kentucky road.

I have not heard from Cumberland, Mero district, since my letter to you of the 12th February, enclosing a list of murders and depredations, from the 16th to the 26th of January, a duplicate of which is enclosed.

My apprehensions for the unhappy, exposed, and too defenceless people of that district, founded on the information of Carey, on similar information respecting Cumberland from the Hanging Maw, on the delay of an express, (James Donelson) to return to me, and on the non-arrival of several parties who have been expected here, since the 25th of the past month, are very great, and truly distressing—I mean as to what they must have already suffered.

The two young men killed on the 19th, were no doubt killed by the party mentioned in Carey's answer to my 4th question. One of that party lives next door, neighbor to the Hanging Maw, within thirty miles of this place.

If there is a friendly Indian in the Cherokee nation to the United States, it is the Maw, and he is a very great beloved man. Yet, his next neighbor, with others of the nearest towns, have killed two innocent, unarmed young men, or rather lads.

This affords a strong proof, that the old men, who are, ostensibly, the rulers of the nation, have no real government over the young warriors.

These recent murders, committed on the frontiers of the counties of Jefferson and Knox, have induced, I may say compelled me, to order out rangers for the protection thereof. Notwithstanding which, several families have quitted their habitations and crossed the French Broad, and such as have not, are generally collected at stations or block-houses, for their common defence. In fact, such have been the fears of the frontier inhabitants, who, generally, from a variety of concurrent circumstances, understand the true disposition of the Indians, that they have not left the stations to which they collected, immediately after the declaration of war in September.

The compulsion to turn out rangers, beside the absolute necessity for defence, was the quieting the people, whose sense of injuries is such, that it is with the utmost difficulty they can be restrained from embodying, going and destroying the Cherokee towns, as many as may be in their power, and, particularly, about the time these murders were committed. John Tipton, heretofore Colonel of Washington county, was actually using his endeavors to raise a large party, for that purpose, and boasted that he should be joined by at least nine hundred. His rendezvous was Jonesborough, about seven miles from his own house, on the 10th instant, where only five men appeared. This so discouraged him, that he did not proceed towards the frontiers only a few miles. But, had he come on at this unfortunate moment, it is to be feared that he would have been joined by a number of the frontier people.

The judges, upon my causing proof to be made of the intentions of Mr. Tipton to disturb the peace and order of government, have issued a warrant for apprehending him, which is probably, before this, executed. They have also issued warrants against several other turbulent characters, who appeared to be engaged with him.

What is to be the future fate of the unhappy Cumberland settlers, judging from their past and the present impending danger, is a very serious question, not only to themselves; but to me, to whom their protection is confided.

My first step will be, to give Gen. Robertson notice of the danger that awaits the district, and the necessary orders for the best possible state of defence that the number of the militia and the exposed and dangerous frontier will admit of. And, should I not receive information, that the intended invasion is desisted from, I shall order a body of cavalry or mounted infantry from the district, to their relief, to rendezvous at Southwest Point, between the 10th and 15th of the ensuing month, and to march in such direction as to intercept the Indians on the track that leads from the Lower towns to Nashville, as they advance, or to pursue them so closely in their rear, to the Cumberland settlements, as to afford those distressed and much injured people relief.

At this time, I am informed of — Taylor's being killed this morning, at Pidgeon, Jefferson county, by Indians. Many guns were fired at him; so many, that those within hearing of them, thought the adjacent station had been attacked in force.

Before this reaches you, I presume Mr. Shaw will have arrived at Philadelphia, whose conduct will be placed in its due point of view to you, by the report of Mr. Carey, and such other information as he can give you touching his transactions since he left Philadelphia.

I shall also say something on that head in my own justification. When I received your letter, authorizing me to discharge him from the service of the United States, if he was guilty, as he had been charged to you, of inebriety and great want of prudence, he was at this place, and the contents of your letter was made known to him. He pled, that he was here among strangers, without money, without clothes, and without a horse, and, that the two latter were at Seneca, General Pickens', and assured me he would immediately return to this place. Motives, as they respected Mr. Shaw, which required a better return than he appears about to make, induced me to lend him a horse and twenty dollars, to enable him to regain his clothes and horse, and return to this place.

The next I heard from him, was a letter, of which you have enclosed a copy. Finding he had returned into the nation; and, that his father-in-law, a fellow called the Half-breed, of some consequence, was attached to him, as was natural enough, I thought it imprudent to remove him at so critical a time, and wrote him a letter of instructions on the 8th January, a copy of which you have also enclosed. The original was delivered him by Mr. Carey, as he will inform you.

Whether Mr. Shaw's conduct will prevent Mr. McKee from engaging a number of chiefs of the war party, to accompany me to Philadelphia, as you had instructed me, I cannot positively say, as I have not heard from him since his departure, but judging from his conduct, Mr. Carey's information, and the many recent murders and depredations, I conceive no hopes are to be entertained on that head.

I have the honor to be, &c.

I also enclose you a copy of my letter to Mr. Shaw, of the 7th February, the delivery of which can also be proved by Mr. Carey.

*Report of James Carey to Governor Blount.*

KNOXVILLE, March 19th, 1793.

SIR:

With your letter of the 8th January last, addressed to the head-men and warriors of the Cherokees, the Standing Turkey, the Big Fellow, the Warrior's Son, George Paris, and myself, proceeded to Estanaula, where the head-men of that part of the nation were assembled, and it was read and explained to them, and met their approbation. They also desired, as you had instructed me, that it should be forwarded to Watts, and the chiefs and warriors of the River towns, meaning the towns situate on the Tennessee. This gave a hope, that the nation would have come into the proposed measure of a conference.

Motives of preservation prevented my going with your letter to Watts, but George Paris, the Standing Turkey, the Big Fellow, the Nettle Carrier, the Warrior's Son, and the Broom, went with it, and met Watts at Willstown, where, for want of some person to read it, they could do nothing until Mr. Shaw came, after which, the letter was handed him to read, which was done, and explained to Watts, who appeared to be satisfied with the contents, as well as the young warriors, and all present. Shortly after, Watts asked Shaw, what he thought of Governor Blount's proposals? Shaw answered, that he did not know that the Indians had any right to go to Governor Blount, as he was only a servant of the United States, as he himself was, and, that he ought not to mind Governor Blount or his letters; that they had better apply to Congress, for he knew that the United States, as soon as they had heard rightly how Governor Blount had wronged them out of their lands, he was satisfied they would restore them to the Indians again, and send commissioners to run the line to their liking. If you go to treat with Blount, you will be as far from getting your lands as ever; but can't you see, how your father, the President, wants to treat with you? for times are so with Congress and foreign Powers, that they will treat with you on good terms, and restore you all your lands again.

Observe how much better the Lower Creeks are treated than you are; that is because they have got a good man to do for them; that is more than you have got; but this is still unknown to your father the President, who loves all his red children; therefore, I request you all not to treat with Governor Blount. You know I was sent here by your father the President, to do you justice, and justice you shall have, as far as in my power; I am sure Congress does not know how you are treated by Governor Blount, neither was the matter fully explained by the Bloody Fellow, and others, when they went to Philadelphia. See how Governor Blount has run the lines, without your knowledge, or being present; heretofore I could not act as I would have wished; Governor Blount prevented me, though I know my authority is as great as his; but I will no longer be controlled by him. I will go to Congress, and recover your lands for you, to the old line; which I can easily do, as the lines of Hopewell and Holston have never been run, and I will bring commissioners with me to run the old line. Upon this, Watts jumped up and took Shaw by the arm, saying, are you an officer among us all this time, and never before told us that our lands were recoverable to the old lines? Your offering is good to us, and we wish you to go to Congress and do it for us; although you are a stranger to us, and we to you, yet, if you do that for us, we will then take you by the hand as a brother for ever. Shaw then requested that they would be still during his absence, which would be seventy-five days, and do no injury to the citizens of the United States, but hold themselves in readiness; if he did not get that line, he would return to them, and share the same fate with them; that something must be done, and they ought to be in readiness for the purpose. Shaw told them they ought not to war with each other, for perhaps they would want each other's assistance when he returned; provided he could not recover the lands for them, they must then do the best they could; he would keep nothing hid from them, and would join them in protecting their country. Watts then gave him his word that nothing should be done during that time.

Watts then commissioned the Broom, as ambassador from himself and the Lower towns, to go with Shaw to Estanaula, and consult with the Badger and other chiefs there, as to the place where the line should be. When they came to Estanaula, Shaw opened the council, telling them that Watts was opposed to treating with Governor Blount, and urged them to be also of that opinion, mentioning the Governor's running the line, as cause of the inducement thereto; to which they also agreed, and described the old line to Mr. Shaw, which he has in writing, and taken with him to the Secretary of War, and to which I subscribed as interpreter.

It is a justice due to the Indians, who accompanied me, to inform you, that they entered on the business of their mission with great zeal and warmth, and expressed in strong terms in council their disapprobation of Mr. Shaw's advice and conduct, and urged the Indians to pursue the wish and proposed plan of Governor Blount, as more advantageous to their nation. The King Fisher, Captain Dick, the Old Prince, and Captain George Miller, joined them in this opinion. They accompanied me as far as Chota, and would have come to this place, had not the recent murders excited an apprehension of danger to their persons from the frontier inhabitants. They will wait at Chota, until they hear from you in expectation of the promised rewards for their services.

I am, sir, &c.

*Information by James Carey, one of the interpreters of the United States in the Cherokee nation, to Governor Blount.*

KNOXVILLE, March 20, 1793.

1. *Governor Blount.*—Have you heard, or do you know of any parties of Cherokees, or Creeks, going lately to Cumberland, to kill or steal?

*James Carey.*—Yes, both; since the 25th February, as many as five parties, one from the Running Water, of eight Cherokees, and six or seven Creeks; another from Long Island village, of Cherokees and Creeks, the number not particularly known, not exceeding sixteen; two other parties from the Look-out, of five Cherokees each; the fifth headed by Tuckalateague or *Double Head*, consisting of a number not certainly known, but there were eight from Cusawatee, and the remainder from the Look-out.

2. *G. B.*—Have you heard of any other parties being about to go to Cumberland for war?

*J. C.*—I have heard, and believe it is true, that forty Creeks had arrived at Will's town, thirteen days past, on their way against Cumberland; and I saw and heard of several small parties, consisting of from three to six, going to that quarter.

3. *G. B.*—Do you suppose these Creeks will be joined by any Cherokees?

*J. C.*—There is reason to believe they will.

4. *G. B.*—Have you heard, or do you know of any Indians, Creeks or Cherokees, intending to commit murders, or steal horses from the district of Washington?

*J. C.*—Yes, I know that nine Cherokees passed the Tennessee at Coyattee on Sunday last, the friends of the Buck and Black Fish, who were killed at their attack on Byram's station, declaring they were going for satisfaction for the Buck, and the Black Fish; that they would take hair and horses from the frontiers, towards Clinch, and proceed on and join the Northern nations for war.

5. *G. B.*—In what town did these nine fellows live?  
*J. C.*—Three are from Hiwasee, one the next door neighbor to the Hanging Maw, one from Toquo, and the others from Chilhowee.
6. *G. B.*—Did you hear of no other party?  
*J. C.*—Fourteen Cherokees lately passed the Tennessee at Chestowee, declaring their determination to take hair and horses on the frontiers of Washington district, and on the Kentucky trace, and proceed on and join the Northern tribes in war.
7. *G. B.*—From what part of the nation were these fellows?  
*J. C.*—Part of them from Coosawattee, some from Hightower, Salicoe, and Long Swamp or Newtown.
8. *G. B.*—Have you heard or been informed of any Creeks coming against the district of Washington, and what part?  
*J. C.*—The head-man of Hiwasee informed me, that four had passed just before me, intending to take horses and hair on the head waters of the Little river, Knox county.
9. *G. B.*—Do you know who killed James and Thompson Nelson, on Pigeon, in Jefferson county, on the 10th instant?  
*J. C.*—The party consisted of six or seven Cherokees, headed by Towaka, of Nickajack, and the Breath's nephew, the same who killed Richardson's family, near that place, in January last, at whose house they left the war club now in your office.
10. *G. B.*—Do you know, or have you heard, who it was that killed two people near the Dripping spring, on the road from Kentucky to Cumberland, in January last? They had with them whiskey and other articles, which the Indians who killed them took; the two persons above named, are Captain Overall, and ———.
- J. C.*—Yes, Double-head, and Bob Bengé, the Red-headed half breed, nephew to Watts, and other Cherokees.
11. *G. B.*—I have heard, that when Double-head, Bob Bengé, and others, carried the scalps of these two people into the nation, that war dances were held at several towns. Is it true?  
*J. C.*—It is true, first at the Look-out Mountain, then at Will's town, and lastly at the Turnip Mountain, as there were fellows of the party from each of those towns.
12. *G. B.*—If the inhabitants of the towns in which these war dances were held, had been opposed to war, or disposed sincerely for peace, would they permit war dances to be held in them in the manner these were held?  
*J. C.*—No, they would not.
13. *G. B.*—There has been a number of murders and depredations committed in the month of January last, on Cumberland, besides the killing of Captain Overall.  
*J. C.*—I know that a white man and a negro were killed at a hunting camp, by Cherokees of the Running Water, and that other scalps, and five negroes, have lately been brought into the Lower towns, by Cherokees.
14. *G. B.*—Do you know, or have you heard of any horses being lately brought into the nation, I mean such as you suspect to be stolen from Cumberland or Kentucky, by Creeks or Cherokees?  
*J. C.*—Yes, I do. They may both, with great truth, be said to be in the daily practice of horse-stealing, from those countries.
15. *G. B.*—In what manner do the Indians dispose of stolen horses?  
*J. C.*—Generally they sell them to the traders for a trifle, who run them out of the nation in a different direction to that from whence they came, and barter them off for negroes, or articles of merchandise.
16. *G. B.*—Do you know, or have you heard, in what manner the Creeks received the Shawanese ambassadors, meaning the nine fellows, and the white man who passed the Lower Cherokee towns?  
*J. C.*—The Creeks have built a new square, in honor of them, to receive their talks, and mean to introduce them into it, on their backs.
17. *G. B.*—In what part of the Creek nation is this new square said to be erected; is it in the Upper or Lower Creeks?  
*J. C.*—In the Lower, near a town called the Broken Arrow.
18. *G. B.*—Have you heard whether the Shawanese have given out their public talks to the Creeks, or when they will do it?  
*J. C.*—From the best information I have received, they were to deliver them on the 7th or 8th instant, at the new square.
19. *G. B.*—From what you have heard of their conduct, since they have been among the Creeks, what do you suppose will be the object of their public speeches?  
*J. C.*—To excite the Creeks generally for war against the United States, particularly against Cumberland.
20. *G. B.*—Is it yet expected by the Cherokees, that these Shawanese will return through their nation, and hold a public council?  
*J. C.*—Yes, that is agreed on, and will take place in sixteen or seventeen days from this time at farthest, probably at Will's town.
21. *G. B.*—Have you heard any intimations from the Cherokees, as to the probable objects of the Shawanese, in holding the council with them?  
*J. C.*—Yes, to lay a plan for a general war against the United States, and to commence it by a powerful attack upon the Cumberland settlements.
22. *G. B.*—From your general knowledge of, and long acquaintance with, the Cherokees, do you believe, if that should be the proposal of the Shawanese, that they, the Cherokees, will accede to it, and go heartily into the war?  
*J. C.*—Yes, I verily believe that the whole of the Lower towns, and the young warriors of the nation, generally, will.
23. *G. B.*—What did the Cherokees say, when they were informed from me, that the Northwards had determined to treat with the United States this summer, and that a number of their chiefs had arrived at Philadelphia, on a visit to the President of the United States?  
*J. C.*—That it was a lie; and immediately dispatched five warriors to the Northern tribes, to inquire into the truth, who are to be back by the first hoeing of corn.
24. *G. B.*—Have you heard any thing of the disposition and determination of the Upper Creeks, as they respect the United States?  
*J. C.* I saw at Estanaula a Natchez warrior, who lives in the Upper Creeks, in company with several Creeks, about thirteen days past, and conversed with him fully on that subject; (he spoke Cherokee.) He said the Upper Creeks had held a council shortly before his departure, and had determined to march in great force against Cumberland, in such time as to arrive there about the full of the ensuing moon, (26th of April) that they would pass through the Cherokees, and expected to be joined by a large party of the Cherokees in the invasion of that country; giving, for reason, that they were going to take satisfaction for the injuries sustained at the attack and repulse at Buchanan's station, in September last, and that, in the mean time, small parties would be continually out on that quarter, for mischief.
25. *G. B.*—What credit did you pay to such information?  
*J. C.*—I verily believed it.
26. *G. B.*—I have heard that the Upper Creeks have lately sent a war club to the Lower Cherokee towns. Is it true?  
*J. C.*—Yes it is, and now it remains at the Running Water.
27. *G. B.*—Did you understand in what manner this club was received by the Lower towns?  
*J. C.*—With gladness; saying they would take hold of it, join the Creeks in war, and would take it with them to Cumberland.
28. *G. B.*—Have you heard any thing from the Lower Cherokees, since their conference with Seagrove, at St. Mary's?  
*J. C.*—Nothing, except their having built a new square for the reception of the Shawanese ambassadors.

29. *G. B.*—What do you think as to the disposition of John Watts—is he for peace, or war, with the United States?

*J. C.*—In my opinion, he will not oppose the wish of the young men, who undoubtedly generally wish a war; and rather than lose his consequence and influence with them, will join and lead them to war.

30. *G. B.*—Have you heard what is the disposition and determination of the Northern tribes towards the Cumberland settlers?

*J. C.*—I verily believe, that they mean, if the Creeks and Cherokees will join them, to cut off the whole of those settlers this summer.

31. *G. B.*—Do you know, or can you conjecture, the cause for attacking the Cumberland settlers with such vengeance?

*J. C.*—All parties claim it as their hunting grounds; and say these people are in their way, and interrupt their communication with each other, and that they are determined to destroy them, and seize their property.

32. *G. B.*—Have you heard the Indians ever say, what they supposed were the reasons why the United States so patiently and tamely bore the injuries they had done them, without retaliation?

*J. C.*—Yes, often; they suppose that the United States must be so situated with foreign Powers, that they dare not enter into a war with them, or they certainly would not be offering and begging peace, in return for murders, bloodshed, and robbery, daily committed on their citizens. This, say they, convinces us of the truth of what the Spaniards have told us, that the United States had not money to carry on a war, and that we need not fear to do them injuries.

33. *G. B.*—I have heard that the Northern tribes, while the Bloody Fellow, yourself, and others, were at Philadelphia, sent to the Cherokees the war hatchet—was it true?

*J. C.*—Yes, it was.

34. *G. B.*—What has become of it?

*J. C.*—When we returned from Philadelphia, it was at Estanaula, and the Kingfisher, fully impressed with peaceful sentiments towards the United States, destroyed it.

35. *G. B.*—In what light have the Cherokees viewed this act?

*J. C.*—Highly censured it, and, since the arrival of the Shawanese ambassadors, a new one has been ordered to be made, as near like the one destroyed as possible, and is completed, and is now at the Running Water, to be produced to the Shawanese ambassadors on their return, as an evidence of their disposition to join them in war.

36. *G. B.*—Have you heard any thing of a war between the Creeks and the Chickasaws?

*J. C.*—Yes, there was a talk of it, and they have killed of each other, but I believe they are about to make it up; the better informed of the Creeks and Cherokees, foreseeing the danger of such a war, interposed to put a stop to it.

37. *G. B.*—Have the Bloody Fellow, John Taylor, Fool Charles, the Bold Hunter, and the Breath, returned from their visit to the Spanish Governor at New Orleans?

*J. C.*—They have not, but Moses Price, who went with them, is, and he reports that they, at the request of the Governor, are returning through the Chickasaws and Choctaws, and, that the Bloody Fellow has with him a commission of superintendent, for Mr. McDonald.

38. *G. B.*—From your long acquaintance with the Cherokees, and knowledge of their dispositions, manners, and customs, and their present disposition towards the United States in competition with the British and Spanish Governments, do you believe, if the United States were to give up the land, (their land as they term it) to the old British line, that it would induce them to desist, for six months, from killing the frontier inhabitants?

*J. C.*—I believe, verily, it would not. No price, in my opinion, would induce them to desist from assisting the Northern tribes, if they continue the war with the United States.

39. *G. B.*—What can have raised the Cherokees to such a degree of insolence and hostility with the United States?

*J. C.*—The promised support of the Spaniards, the expected support of the British, and the victories obtained by the Northern tribes, over the armies of the United States, in which numbers of their nation have acted their part, and returned, boasting their feats.

40. *G. B.*—I have heard that some Cherokees were engaged in the attack upon Major Adair, near fort St. Clair; do you know whether it is true or not?

*J. C.*—It is true. I saw two of them who had returned to the nation; they say it is nothing to fight white people in regimentals—they are such men as Grant brought many years ago against the Cherokees.

JAMES CAREY.

KNOXVILLE, March 20, 1793.

*Jacob Townshend to Governor Blount.*

ESTANAULA, February 15, 1793.

By these, I can assure you, that every thing seemed favorable in the Creek nation, in respect to the United States. A firm peace was agreed upon by the whole of the *Lower towns*, and a Virginia man became a favorable character, and would have remained so, had not the Shawanese chiefs arrived, and made it to the reverse, by their designing insinuations; their great talks as yet are a mystery to the world, but will be given out in public in the full of this moon, and if the most *strenuous and early* steps are not taken to confound their designs, I fear they will be attended with the most dangerous consequences to the frontiers of the United States. The Upper Creeks, by the bad management either of the superintendent or his express-carrier, were not in due time invited to the treaty, therefore never appeared, and felt themselves a little neglected by that piece of disappointment, will both be a handle for those ambassadors and Spaniards, whose bad talks have been the cause of all the bloodshed on the frontiers; for their superintendent, without any reserve, told the Indians to go and shed blood. The particulars of their talks may be procured for you, if you wish to have them collected, and you may depend that they are insufferable, and ought to be resented by the injured and bleeding States, who, it appears to me, are afraid of the consequence that might attend public retaliation; but if this be really the case, it would be easy to take a private one, by the following opportunity, and it would be done with a trifling expense, viz: there is a character that was the fictitious General Bowles' Captain, who, let the Spaniards do what they will, or say what they will, he contradicts, and keeps Bowles' party still ripe for satisfaction; he by no means is an enemy to the States, neither does he take any step towards their prejudice, but rather wishes to get in their favor; and, would some man of distinction give him a little encouragement, with a little assistance, and promise him an asylum, he would fall upon them immediately, and that would be the means of their attention being drawn from doing the States any injury for some years. This, you may depend, might have been completed long ago, if the superintendent at St. Mary's would have taken a broad hint. This character I have been mentioning, is a man of good opportunity, and, undoubtedly, a man of trust; for, since General Bowles was judaised by the Spaniards, he has had his letters and papers in possession, which the Spaniards and Panton have taken every method, both of bribe and entreaty, to get from him, but all their efforts have been in vain. The person's name is Willbanks. He is now down at Oakalocknea, on the sea-board of West Florida, a-building houses to receive goods brought in British bottoms, for the supply of the Creek nation; has hoisted a standard of English and Indian colors mixed, which he has been supplied with for that purpose, but by whom, it is as yet a secret; but this far is certain, that he is constantly receiving packets from the Bahamas, which he tells the Indians are from their Great Father over the water, which has so far influenced the Indians in his favor, that the Spaniards are alarmed, and know not what to be at. His proceedings at the present, make a great noise, and puzzle the greatest politicians, to think what is coming upon the carpet. Even McGillivray; about a month ago, demanded Bowles'

papers, but he gave him so satisfactory an answer, that I believe he was sorry he had made such a demand. However, let his plan be what it will, he undoubtedly is a sworn enemy to those Spaniards, who, I believe, are the last of the Lord's creation, and will at any time, let the consequence be what it will, take any step to help the Lord away with them, or to drive them on the west side of the river Mississippi; for, among rational beings, they ought not to live. These, and the like, will ever be the sentiments of your Excellency's unknown humble servant,

JACOB TOWNSHEND.

His Excellency WILLIAM BLOUNT.

N. B. There is an absolute demand made upon General McGillivray. The question is, will or will you not fill the commission given you by the United States? When the letter arrived, he was absent; the answer is not yet made, but I was informed by his friends, that he intends resigning every commission, and retiring to private life. If so, something must be done in time by the States.

On the back of the foregoing letter is endorsed as follows:

KNOXVILLE, March 20, 1793.

Upon inquiry, I find Mr. Townshend, the signer of this letter, to be an Englishman, about four years in America, and the last six months a resident among the Creeks, at a town called New York, at the house of Steven Sullivan, a man who perfectly understands the Creek language. Mr. Townshend carried his goods into the Creek nation from St. Mary's.

WM. BLOUNT.

*A list of murders and depredations committed on the frontiers of Jefferson and Knox counties, in Washington district.*

February 26.—The Indians stole ten head of horses from Cozby's creek, in Jefferson county, from William McKissack and Peter Every.

March 9.—James Nelson and Thompson Nelson, (brothers,) were killed and scalped by Indians, on Little Pigeon, about twenty-five miles from this place. The Indians had formed an ambuscade, on a path near Mrs. Nelson's house. These young men were struck by eight balls, from which it is conjectured there were that number of Indians, at least, and was headed by a fellow called Towahka, who also headed the party that killed Richardson's family.

March 18.—Two young men by the name of Clements, were killed and scalped about sixteen miles below this place, by nine Cherokees from the Upper towns. These young men had just left their father's house, unarmed, in search of cattle. They likewise carried off twelve head of valuable horses, the property of Captain Amos Byrd.

March 20.—On Pigeon, in Jefferson county, thirty miles from this place, — Taylor was fired on and killed, by a party of Indians, who had formed an ambuscade on a path he was travelling, near a station. The number of guns fired by the Indians at that time, was such as to induce the people out of the station to believe it was an attack by a powerful party.

On the Kentucky road, in an early part of the month of March, a man and woman were killed, and a child taken prisoner, supposed to be done by the Cherokees.

Taken from Lowe's station, about twelve miles from this place, about the 19th instant, two horses, which were enclosed in a pen, within three or four poles of the door, by Indians.

Governor Blount to Leonard D. Shaw.

KNOXVILLE, January 8, 1793.

SIR:

My public address to the head-men and warriors of the Cherokees, of this date, will show you the spirit and wishes of the United States: I have only to instruct you, to act in conformity thereto. I shall expect to see you at the appointed time and place of meeting, namely, at Southwest Point, on the 17th day of April. James Carey's endeavors in favor of the Cherokees, deserve their particular notice and thanks, and so you will please represent him to them. Speak to James Vann, and tell him, I depend on his exertions to restore peace and good order, which is the earnest wish of the United States.

I am, &c.

Leonard D. Shaw to Governor Blount.

SIR:

When I left Knoxville last, I expected to have been back in about three weeks; but, several circumstances, that I shall now relate, put it out of my power to fulfil my intentions. I had to perform a tedious journey of two hundred and fifty miles, over the Bald mountain, before I reached Seneca. Just before my arrival, the Georgians had committed their first murder, which, together with their subsequent exploits, rendered it madness to think of visiting the nation. I employed myself as actively as I could, in endeavoring to deter the insurgents from such conduct in future, and was not sparing in denouncing the vengeance of the United States against them. I was supported by the most respectable characters, and, for the purpose abovementioned, spent a considerable time on the frontiers of Georgia. On my return, I despatched an Indian into the nation, with letters from General Pickens and myself, at the same time ordering him to bring out my horse and some of my clothes, that I had left at Allejoy. On the return of my messenger, I received intelligence that a runner was on the road from Estanaula, with letters from the Indians, that I afterwards, on perusal, found contained suspicions respecting my dismission, that ought not to be suffered to remain. The letter I will shew you when convenient; the Indians pressed my return, and I flattered myself that it might have a happy tendency, in keeping the people on the frontiers more quiet. Besides, I could think of no plan so eligible to return your horse, as taking him through the nation. About this time, likewise, I was informed of General McGillivray's return, and I instantly resolved to visit him, let the danger be what it would. The Charleston papers had given information of the pacific state of the Creeks, and that three ships, loaded with goods, had ascended the St. Mary's. I then found I had been every way unfortunate in my communications, and (if possible) felt my feelings more particularly hurt, from the last idea, than even the communication you made me. To inquire into the affairs of the Creeks, has for a long time been my favorite idea; now, that I have it in my power, and my official veracity is called in question, go I certainly will. I thought proper to give the negative to the idea circulated amongst the Indians, that I was broke; on that point I shall make no comments—my motives will readily suggest themselves to your Excellency.

It is my intention to return to Philadelphia, as soon as I possibly can; but I shall certainly see you before I go; when I do, I fancy you will be satisfied of the propriety of my conduct. I shall endeavor to acquire an accurate knowledge of every thing necessary to be known, respecting the Creeks, the Spaniards, and Bowles. My journal you shall see. My situation is distressing, to a degree you can form no idea of. I rush into danger to avoid disgrace, and feel that sullen kind of courage that makes a person despise life, and ardently desire some honorable occasion to throw it away. How I came into my present situation I will not pretend to determine, and long, long could I wish



to defer the discussion; but, when once engaged in it, I hope I shall discover integrity and firmness, if not ability, or strict prudence. I thank you, again and again, for the kindness I experienced from you when last at Knoxville, and, I assure you, I have suffered not a little, from the idea of abusing it, by detaining your horse so long; but, I believe you will suffer my situation to plead my excuse. Should I never return from the Creeks, be so good as to communicate the motives of my journey to the Secretary of War, lest malice and ill nature, which have so severely persecuted me, should subject me to unmerited censure, by ascribing motives to me foreign to my heart. Mr. Carey will tell you the news. Your horse, I expect will, by him, be returned. I hope he will arrive safe; I assure you I took much pains to keep him in order.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*Governor Blount to Leonard D. Shaw.*

KNOXVILLE, February 7, 1793.

SIR: Peace with the Cherokees, is the object of the United States, as I have before informed you, and, I repeat again, use your efforts to that object. Mr. McKee comes in with Thompson, with letters, on his way to the Lower towns, who will be able to render some assistance in the restoration of peace and order, as Watts has much confidence in him. The enclosed proclamation will inform you how the President thinks of the destruction of the Cherokee town, by the Georgians, and the difficulty I have experienced in restraining the people of this quarter from committing a similar outrage.

I am, &c.

KNOXVILLE, March 23d, 1793.

SIR: Yesterday my expected express, James Donelson, returned from Cumberland; his delay was owing to the waters of that river being very high, for many days nine feet above what was ever heretofore known, by whom I received a letter from General Robertson, of the 12th instant, and a letter of the 13th February, from the whole of the chiefs of the Chickasaw nation, copies of which you have enclosed, together with a list of murders and depredations committed in Mero district, from the 1st of February, to the 12th of March.

Three Chickasaws started with James Donelson, to come on to this place; one arrived with him, and two lost their horses at Bledsoe's station, who will probably be up in a few days.

The object of their visit to me, is to obtain a supply of a part of the articles mentioned in their letter of the 13th February, and to know from me, in decided terms, what part the United States mean to take in the war against the Creeks; and, as I am without the honor of your instructions on that head, I shall endeavor to detain them at my house until I shall receive such as you may please to give.

The Chickasaw who is with me, gives the following particulars of the cause of the war against the Creeks. Four Chickasaws were in the hunting grounds fifteen miles from the towns, where a party of Creeks fired on them, and killed one, and, besides scalping him, as is usual, they very much hacked and mangled his body, and threw it into a pond of water.

The Chickasaws immediately called a national council, and, on the fourth day, which was the 13th February, *unanimously* determined to make war against the Creeks, and Tatholah, or the confidant of the Mountain Leader, the same that was with me last spring, on the 14th, marched in search of the Creeks, with forty warriors.

The hacking and mangling the body, is ever intended as an insult to the nation of whom the deceased was.

At this council, the Bloody Fellow, John Taylor, and the Bold Hunter, Cherokee chiefs, on their return from Orleans, were present, and endeavored, with all their address, both by persuasion and threats, to prevent the Chickasaws from their declaration of war, to which the Mountain Leader, in one of his replies "desired them to desist; that he was so determined on war, that his very breath was bloody; that they might go home, and join the Creeks, if they chose it, as he supposed they would, for he knew they had both long been at war with his friends, the people of the United States, though they pretended peace and friendship."

Should Government give the Chickasaws the supplies they ask, for themselves and Choctaws, it will be observed they wish them delivered at the Chickasaw Bluff, on the Mississippi, and the best conveyance to the Bluff will certainly be down the Ohio, in preference to the Tennessee.

If the Cherokee chiefs do not agree to go to Philadelphia, of which I have no hope, I shall feel myself at liberty to come on to Philadelphia, under the condition contained in your order for me to come on, in case they did.

I wish much to see you, and to have the honor of a personal interview with the President. I could certainly explain more fully the state of Indian affairs, and of the government committed to my charge, than I can, otherwise, possibly do.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*Extract of a letter from Brigadier General Robertson, dated*

NASHVILLE, MERO DISTRICT, March 12th, 1793.

SIR: When I had the pleasure of receiving your Excellency's letter and orders, there was great need for the additional protection your Excellency had permitted.

I have ordered out a company, including those I mentioned before, for one month; if the times seem favorable, I shall dismiss them, and order no more into service until there should be particular need.

I shall strictly observe your Excellency's orders to save expenses in Indian affairs.

The people of this district were much dissatisfied on hearing that a treaty with the Lower towns of Cherokees was on hand, well knowing no faith is to be placed in any assurances they will or can give. They consider themselves as in an actual state of war, and daily feel the effects, whatever may be said of peace elsewhere. But their spirits are much raised, supposing that, if the Chickasaws and Choctaws are assisted and supported, that the Creeks will have sufficient business to do at home, and policy will direct them to let us alone, at least until peace takes place between them and the Chickasaws and Choctaws, and, I suppose, these two nations may accomplish that at any time, if they will join in war against the United States.

I cannot suppose the Creeks will ever behave as friends, otherwise than Mr. Seagrove observes in his publication in the Georgia papers, that nine-tenths are desirous of peace, which is, in other words, a kind of war that is most to be dreaded. I do not doubt that Mr. Seagrove had sanguine hopes that the nine-tenths he spoke of, would govern the other one-tenth, for I know those kind of people are capable of deceiving any stranger, be their abilities as they may.

Your Excellency will find by the enclosed, that the Chickasaws and Creeks are actually at war; they, the Chickasaws, make no doubt but the United States consider the Creeks as enemies, hearing so many scalps and horses have been taken by them last fall and winter.

From the best information, the Creeks have done us the greatest injuries, and we are yet so apprehensive of hourly receiving death from their hands, that we venture out of doors with great caution.

I hope the Chickasaws and Choctaws will be supported, as I have told them, at all times, that the President did not desire them to war with any nation; but I believed he would not let them suffer by being friends. Such speeches I have often made, in the time I knew other nations were importuning them to join in a general war, and, I have not the smallest doubt, could the Chickasaws and Choctaws have been persuaded to have joined, but all the Indians between the Mississippi and the Apalachian mountain, would have been at war with the United States. Bob Thompson, his son, and a fellow called Colbert's uncle, is directed by the chiefs to visit your Excellency, and give assistance in taking down such articles as you may think proper to send. Piahacha, and five others, stay at my house until I hear from your Excellency. Piahacha is a chief, and is to conduct the corn down; they insist to have one white man in each boat, and, at least, they must have three boats. I have let them have six hundred bushels before; if they should want a hundred or two more than I have, I wish to know whether I have your Excellency's permission to purchase. I can get of the merchants at one third of a dollar per bushel; I shall not do it if I can well get over it. The public boats were all taken off and lost, in the time of our being invaded, except two. I must give corn, or purchase otherwise; as to the salt, I think they are extravagant; your Excellency will direct that; I have engaged six bushels, at four dollars and one half per bushel, to send by the corn boats, and, as tobacco is cheap, without your Excellency forbids, I shall send it.

Two white men came in with these Chickasaws; one is at my house, John Burrell, who says that the four days the Chickasaws were in council on war, or to take other steps, that all the traders, and two men from the Spanish Government, with letters, were courting their friendship, and promising them corn, to be brought up the Yazoo, and endeavored to prevent war, but could not get it effected. They unanimously refused receiving corn, as they said their friends, the Americans, had, and would let them have corn, and every thing they stood in need of. Burrell saw the Bloody Fellow of the Cherokees, and another old chief, and a half-breed that spoke English, then on their way from Orleans. The half-breed told said Burrell, that the Spanish Governor was a good man, and had given the Cherokees land on the Washataw river, which is a fork of Red river, emptying in the Mississippi above New Orleans, on the west side. This intended settlement is above Natchez, and some distance southwest from Ozark.

The Bloody Fellow is promised that a batteau shall meet the Cherokees at the mouth of Tennessee river, with arms and ammunition, and pilots to carry them to the new settlements. I have my suspicions, they will give us a heavy blow on their departure.

It is said by a Frenchman, lately from New Madrid, that two thousand troops are expected there this spring.

As the Indians here, are directed to stay until I hear from your Excellency, perhaps you can send me an answer and directions soon. I hope your Excellency will have it in your power to send arms and ammunition to the Choctaws, as well as the Chickasaws, as that will convince them they may be supplied.

The Spaniards have furnished the Choctaws with corn; yet I understand they speak well of the United States, and that Ben James hath taken an active part in favor of the United States.

The Chickasaws are jealous there is a design to fix a garrison at the mouth of the Tennessee, or in some place above, as repeated applications have been made to them by the Spanish Government, to obtain their permission for such an establishment. The Mountain Leader is determined to take the batteau, if in his power. The Spaniards sent him a horse and saddle, to induce him to visit them; but he, at all times, has refused to any connexion with them; he has sent by Piahacha, desiring me to ask your Excellency for two good rifles; one for himself, and the other for his son, as he cannot visit the President as soon as he expected. I have bought one swivel and three blunderbusses, to send down with the corn boats, likewise a plough, cleivisses, and other irons, necessary to send to George Colbert, one quarter cask of powder, a pot, skillet, and two axes, to send down with the boats, as they applied for some to cook in; the chief, a hat and two shirts; those that go to you, hats and some other things. I have sent the whole account in, and promised those who come to you, that you will give them clothing as much as they want. I have bought for them two horses to ride, and directed that they be delivered to you. They are young, and I expect will sell for the money, or near it, if you have not use for public horses. The account is high, but I knew not how to get over it. I have engaged for forty gallons of whiskey to send down, at one half dollar per gallon.

*The Chickasaw Chiefs to General Robertson.*

CHICKASAW NATION, February 13th, 1795.

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

I received a letter from you some time ago, when you mentioned to me and other head-men, to caution our young warriors not to regard the threats or persuasion of the Creeks, in warring with the United States.

You said the President well knew his friends, and would not let them suffer. On that account, I am, my brother, now sending you an answer.

Our talks always was, to love and esteem one another.

We heads have held you fast by the hand, and told our young warriors they must do so, and they will, as long as they are able to lift a hatchet. From the friendship we have experienced, you have spoke well.

I have sent you a war club; when we both take hold, we can stike a hard blow.

Although we wish to be at peace with all, the Creeks have spilt our blood, and we desire you will despatch expresses to every head-man in America, particularly to General Washington, the Secretary of War, Governor Blount, and the head-men at Kentucky, on fort Washington, and General Pickens, to let them know that our agreement was to be as one man, in regard to our enemies and friends; that, if one was struck, the other was to feel the blow, and be one cause.

My Brother, you must know it is on your account that we are struck, for the last talk sent to us by the Creeks, when we told them we were perfect friends with the United States, and would listen to no talk of war against them; their answer was, the Virginians were liars, and no dependence in them; that the Chickasaws were fools not to join all other Indians to cut off the Virginians, and that the Chickasaws would know their error before long, as they, the Creeks, and Northwards, would fall on them, then let the Virginians, your great friends, help you; you will see what they can do. But all their talk did not alter the minds of our people.

When you get this talk, speak strong to your young warriors, and let us join, to let the Creeks know *what war is*.

You make whiskey: If war, it is good to take a little at war talks; please send me some, and I will do the same, as the red people that have long been at war with yours, have struck ours on your account.

I hope, my brother, we shall now find what you have always told us, true.

I believe the Choctaws will join us, and hold you and us fast by the hand. I have sent to them. The Creeks have killed several of their Virginians among them.

We are now standing in the middle of a great blaze of fire.

When you receive this, I hope you will be as expeditious as possible to give us assistance, as red people are not long preparing for war.

We have not ammunition enough, neither have the Choctaws; therefore, if you can send a supply immediately, we desire you will do it, likewise guns for the Choctaws, as there are many of their young men have none. Such as muskets, rifles, and smooth-bores, will do; and flints we want, six swivels, ten blunderbusses; as it is now a war, I desire you will now send a blacksmith and tools, to keep our guns in order, likewise a bombardier to work our swivels.

When you receive this, we desire you will send an express to General Washington, to let him know that we are now at war with the Creeks, and the path is now stopped from our traders; as we were very scantily furnished with stores of war before, therefore I hope he will find means to send us goods, or furnish our traders, so that the Creeks may be disappointed, otherwise we soon shall be naked, and more in their power.

As we made no crop last year, we are all in a starving condition. I hope you will send a further supply of fifteen hundred bushels of corn, two barrels of flour, about one hundred bushels of salt, one hogshead of tobacco, fifty bags of vermillion, which is fifty pounds, as it is greatly wanting in war.

Please to send me some whiskey by the boats.

George Colbert gives his compliments to General Robertson, and desires that he will send him a good plough and one bushel of wheat.

Sir, I desire when you send down the river, you may send a strong and sufficient guard with the boats, as far as the bluffs.

All our nations are desirous that General Washington will erect a garrison at the Muscle Shoals or Bear creek, or where he may think best to establish a trade.

We have sent you a long talk, and depend you will exert yourself on the occasion.

We remain, your friends and brothers,

JOHN BROWN,  
THOMAS BROWN,  
and twenty-six others.

*A list of murders committed by Indians, from the 1st February, to the 12th March, 1793, in the district.*

*February 17.*—Two negroes killed belonging to James Clindennon, in his field, within one hundred yards of his house; same day took or killed a negro belonging to ——— Parker.

Same day wounded Thomas Bledsoe, son of the late Colonel Anthony Bledsoe, and pursued him within fifty yards of the stockade at Greenfield.

*February 22.*—Fired on two boys, sons of Colonel Sanders; both fell and were scalped; one dead on the spot, the other survived several days and then died.

*February 24.*—Captain Samuel Hays killed, within three hundred paces of John Donelson's house.

The number of horses stolen, not ascertained.

It is believed the high waters were friendly, otherwise more murders would have been committed.

KNOXVILLE, *March 28, 1793.*

Sir:

Mr. McKee has returned, without succeeding in the objects of his mission; namely, that of inducing the chiefs of the war party of the Cherokees to accompany me to Philadelphia, and to obtain assurances of the peaceful disposition of the young warriors.

His report, which will be a very full one, upon the present appearances among the Cherokees, and will also afford proof of the hostile disposition of the Creeks, towards the Cumberland settlers, he has not had time to complete from his journal.

I shall take the earliest opportunity to forward it to you, or bring it myself, as I now contemplate the setting out for Philadelphia in ten days.

One circumstance, respecting the Creeks, I conceive essential to mention now, that, on the first of March, fifty-five were at Willstown, on their way against the Cumberland settlements.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

KNOXVILLE, *April 9th, 1793.*

Sir:

The information contained in the enclosed report of John McKee, and the examination of David Gilliland, added to that forwarded by James Carey, had induced me to despair of further attempts to get forward to Philadelphia a representation of the Cherokees, and to determine to have sat out myself on a visit to the President, on the 5th instant.

On the 3d instant, I had the honor of your letter of the 8th February. On the 4th, Joseph Sevier, whom I have had employed as a spy in the nation, in which he generally resides, arrived from Chota, with a message from Watts, "that he was at the Maw's, and wished to visit me at Knoxville, but, if he could not come up with safety, he would be glad to see me elsewhere."

I immediately sent him for answer that I would meet him on the 6th, at Henry's station, twenty three miles from this place, and within seven of the Maw's, where he, the Maw, and about sixty other Indians, accordingly met me, and a conference took place, the minutes of which you have enclosed. It will be observed that Watts speaks of the determination of the Creeks for war, as a thing certain, and I am assured, upon the authority of a public trader, Mr. Riley, who is considered a man of veracity, and upon that of a Mr. Springston, a resident among the Cherokees, that, in the latter part of the past month, upwards of five hundred Creeks passed on, in different parties, through the Cherokees, for war against the United States, declaring they should bend their principal force against Cumberland, and that a part would fall on the frontiers of this district. It is my opinion that the visit to Philadelphia, of a full representation of the Cherokees, as requested by the President, will depend upon the success of their deputies to the Creeks: and, if the spirit of that nation for war is as general as represented to me, it cannot be expected that they can extinguish it—the most that can be hoped is, that they will partially retard their operation for a time, perhaps a moon or two.

All the information, herewith forwarded, respecting the Creeks, goes in confirmation of Carey's, and it is highly probable that, about the next full moon, the 25th instant, is the time their murdering and rapacious hands are most to be dreaded.

Upon receiving Carey's information, I forwarded an order to General Robertson, of which you have enclosed a copy. As yet I have given no order for any troops of this district to march to the relief of Cumberland, nor shall, for more than a company of mounted infantry, for a tour not exceeding a month; unless I should receive accounts of additional numbers of Creeks having gone against it.

These alarming accounts have induced me to order out additional guards to the district of Washington, in all not exceeding two Lieutenant's commands of infantry, one for Knox and the other for Jefferson county, and thirty two mounted infantry, officers included.

By the minutes, it does not appear that I was more than one day with Watts. The fact is, I was two, but spoke only on the sixth about public business; the other was devoted to eating, drinking, and jocular conversation, of which Watts is very fond. The expenses of this conference amounted to one hundred and a third dollars, owing principally to the quantity and price of the whiskey, of which I considered it the interest of the United States to be as liberal, as Watts and his party were thirsty. He appeared truly friendly, and with his usual cleverness, and is unquestionably the most leading character of his nation; and though he would make no promise, even to use his endeavors to carry a full representation of his nation to Philadelphia, yet I have no doubt but he will; but, as I have before said, that event will depend upon the determination of the Creeks: for, the chiefs will not think it safe or prudent, however much they may wish peace, to leave their nation, their houses, and their families, while they know the Creeks are daily passing through their country, to and from war, and while they know that a great number of the junior part of their own nation will join them in the war. But, be the event what it will, it will be known to me by the 28th instant; and if the determination is, that a representation will visit the President, I shall make immediate preparation for attending them, and I now believe it will be most prudent to shape the journey through South Carolina, via Hopewell, Salisbury, Richmond &c. If the contrary, I shall consider myself at liberty to set out on a visit to the President, with whom I very much wish for a personal interview, on the subject of Indian affairs, early in the succeeding month, unless I should receive such orders from you as may prevent it.

In a former letter I informed you of my having sent a Mr. Douglas to Pensacola in search of information as to the conduct of the Spanish officers towards the Indians. I have now to inform you, that he was killed, on his return, by Indians in the Chickasaw nation, through mistake, for a man who had stolen a horse; on discovering the mistake, the nation much lamented his death.

I have just received information of killing of Adam Green and William Massey, by Indians on the frontiers of Hawkins county, whose names are contained in the enclosed list of murders.

I have the honor to be &c.

*Mr. McKee's Report to Governor Blount.*

KNOXVILLE, March 28, 1798.

SIR:

On the 8th day of February last, I left Knoxville, accompanied by Mr. Thompson, under your instructions to proceed to the Lower towns of the Cherokee nation, for the purpose of using my best endeavors to restore peace between the United States and that part of the Cherokee nation which had declared for war. On the 10th, we arrived at Chota, where we were informed that the Hanging Maw was then at Chilhowee, at a council of the people of that town and Tallassee. We immediately set out for Chilhowee, where we found a large assembly of Indians, to whom I communicated the objects of my coming into the nation, and begged them to exert themselves in assisting me in so good a work. The object of the Maw in this visit, was, to dissuade a party of young fellows, belonging to these towns, who he had understood were for war, from prosecuting their intentions. He informed me, that four fellows from the valley towns, had crossed the Tennessee, a few days before that, to take satisfaction (that is, hair and horses) for a relation killed by the people of Georgia, but, that he had sent a runner after them, who, he expected, would overtake and bring them back. I admonished him and the people present of their danger, in case that, or any other party, should kill or steal from the white people on the frontiers, near their towns, and advised them to be vigilant in discovering, and active in stopping such parties. I made them sensible of the difficulty with which your Excellency had prevented the white people from coming and killing them, and destroying their towns, and that a few more murders would put it out of your power to prevent their destruction. The next day we went to the Maw's, where we were detained two days by snow and rain. During my stay, I repeated to him the objects of my mission, to which he expressed his good wishes for my success, with his doubts, saying it was an useless and dangerous journey. He advised me to desist, and warned me, that if I persisted, I went to the Lower towns at the great risk of my life. On the 13th, we proceeded towards Hiwasee, where we arrived on the 14th, and were informed, that, on the preceding day, five Creeks had been seen passing under an adjoining mountain, towards the settlements of Washington district. I was afterwards informed, that these were not Creeks, but Cherokees—two from the beloved town of Estanaula, and three from Celicoe. From this place we proceeded on to a small river called Amoe, ten miles below Hiwasee; here Mr. Thompson left me, and on the next day I was overtaken by Will. Elder and Unacata, two Indians from Toquo, whom I had requested to accompany me on my tour, and as I have since been informed, were ordered by the Maw to attend and protect me. At this place I was detained six days by incessant rains, and high waters, during which time, Nontuaka, who lived at Cheestowee, about seven miles distant, visited me; he charged me very earnestly to return, and to proceed no farther toward the Lower towns; that, if I did, I would probably never return, that the people below were very cross. I asked him what he thought was the cause of their crossness; he answered, that it was their land. I told him I had my suspicions, that land was not the real cause. I asked him if he had ever known an instance of Indians recovering land by war, or whether, on the contrary, he had not observed, that the loss of land was always the consequence of going to war. He replied, that Watts had received a letter from your Excellency, in which he and his people were requested to open their ears; and that Watts had answered, that the white people had stopped theirs with land, and requested the white people to open their own ears, and move off the land. I observed, that no white people, to my knowledge, had settled on their lands since the treaty of Holston; that at that treaty the Cherokees agreed, that the white people on the frontiers should remain in the peaceable possession of their plantations until the line should be run, which the Cherokees had not attended to, at the time appointed by your Excellency; that, instead of meeting the commissioners of the United States, they had gone to war, and would not listen to the voice of those who loved their nation, and knew their interest; that in going to war, they had nearly stopped the ears of all their friends with blood, and nothing but a speedy cessation of hostilities would open them. He asked me concerning Southwest Point, whether your Excellency called that place your own? I answered no; that you had taken possession of it through necessity, as the most advantageous place to keep troops, for the protection of the frontiers; that you considered it as the property of the Cherokees, and that, as soon as the necessity for keeping up troops, for the protection of your people, ceased, you would restore the point. I remarked to him, that the Cherokees had always held up, as the ostensible reason of their going to war, that the white people had robbed them of their lands, but, that I did not think that was the real cause; it was my opinion there were too many young fellows among them, emulous of ranking themselves amongst the warriors of their nation, and that, whilst the scalp of an innocent white man, killed in time of peace, or that of a woman, or child, could entitle them to that honor, so long there would be war. If they wanted their land, why did they not, in a peaceable manner, apply to your Excellency, and inform you where the white people had encroached on them; that you would examine into the matter, and do them justice; but, instead of that, they had assembled and gone to war; that they had attacked a house within four miles of Nashville, when even that part of the nation which went to war acknowledge, they sold the land for seven miles round that place. To this he made no answer, except that the Spaniards had encouraged them. I told him I was apprehensive the Cherokees had been deceived about the Spanish talks; that the Spaniards were the friends of the United States; but that, if they had encouraged them to go to war, their former conduct towards Indians afforded reason to suspect, they were actuated by other motives than a wish to better the situation of the Cherokees. I asked him if he thought the Lower towns would join the other parts of the nation in making a peace this summer; he answered, that he did not know; he had been informed that Mr. Shaw had given out bad talks there, but he had not heard good what they were. In the course of conversation, he informed me of sixteen Cherokees being out from the Lower towns for war; they were relations of those who had been killed at Buchanan's, and he believed their destination was against the frontiers of Clinch, Washington district. He then charged me, in pointed terms, to return to Knoxville, and when I refused, told me he would write to your Excellency of my obstinacy. He appeared with his usual good nature, except being displeas'd at my refusing to take his advice to return. I then proceeded with my two Indian friends, Will. Elder and Unacata, as conductors, and John Walker, a half-breed, who speaks English; and, through heavy rains and deep waters, in three days we arrived at Chattooga, a small village, about twenty miles from Will's town, the residence of John Watts. About fifteen miles from this village I met Mr. Benge, who has lived long in the nation. He informed me, that Will. Webber, a half-breed trader, had been lately in Will's town, two days, interceding with Watts to have me put to death. At Chattooga, I was advised not to proceed immediately on to Will's town, but send some trusty person on to Watts, to inform him of my arrival; the reason given was, that a white man from the territory would be unsafe in going into the town without Watts first knowing of it. I sent off the fellows who accompanied me. Will. Elder returned in two days, on the 28th of February, with Watts; Unacata had lost his horse, and could not return. John Walker had gone on to the Look-out. Watts met me with every appearance of his former personal friendship. The first question he asked me, was, for the welfare of your Excellency, and then some others of his friends in the territory by name. He informed me, that at Will's town he had left fifty-five Creeks, fifty of them on their way to Mero district, and five destined for Washington, for the avowed purpose of killing white people, and stealing horses; that he had sat up the preceding night, endeavoring in vain to dissuade them. I asked whether any of the Cherokees had, or would join them; he replied, that none had joined them, but he supposed some would, though he did not know. He talked jocularly of his trip to Cumberland, and

of his wound; he said the people of Nickajack had sent a runner to him, to know whether his wound did not hurt him yet, (meaning would he go with them to war.) He sent for answer, that it did not. They replied they did not expect it would have been well so soon. The Creeks, he said, had also urged him to go to war, but that he had told them he was determined not to go. I informed him that the Creeks, last fall, had been on St. Mary's river, and had received presents, to a large amount, from the United States, through the hands of Mr. Seagrove; that they had promised peace, and that they there said, all the murders and depredations committed by the Southern Indians on the citizens of the United States, was by the Cherokees; that it was believed by Congress, that the Creeks were in entire peace with the United States, and every part of their settlements. Watts replied, it was strange that Congress should think so: for, ever since his remembrance, the Creeks had been killing white people, and had never been chastised. I had here an opportunity of purchasing a few gallons of rum, which, I thought, might be necessary to the acquirement of information from Watts, whom I plied with it until he was intoxicated, from which I reaped no other advantage, than a conviction, that neither war, nor the solicitations of Webber, had lessened his friendship for me. His professions on that head were more extravagant than I had ever heard from him before; he assured me of safety whilst with him, but that I might on no consideration go any further, for he could not always be with me, and I might be killed by some bad young fellows. I then proposed to him, with Talotiska, and other chiefs, to meet me in six days at Spring Hill, a village newly settled by Indians, and white people from the Look-out. He promised that he would come in six or seven days, but that Talotiska was not at home, nor did he expect him in that time. I requested him to bring most of the principal chiefs, that I wished to know their sentiments respecting the proposed conference with your Excellency. During my stay at Chattooga, and whilst Watts was with me, a Mr. Grunter, an Indian trader, arrived from Charleston, and with apparent exultation informed the people present that the Indians were safe; that no State could declare war against the Indians; that, let them do what they would, your Excellency could not do them any injury in return; that the people of the territory were very anxious to have a war, and that they were the cause of the past disturbances. I told him that that information, communicated to the Indians, without also informing them of the solemnity with which the General Government has pledged itself for the protection of the territory, as well as every other part of the United States, would be attended with evil consequences; it would tend to impress on the minds of the Indians a belief, (which I was of opinion they already began to conceive) that the only business of Congress was to bind the hands of her citizens, whilst the Indians butchered them; that it was a truth that no part of the United States could declare war, without the consent of the whole; but, that any part might call forth a portion of its own militia for the purpose of defence, and that I thought justice and humanity would construe it as a defence, were the inhabitants of a country to pursue home, and chastise, an army that had invaded them; that the people of the territory were unjustly accused of wishing for a war; that, since the treaty of Holston, more than one hundred and fifty of its citizens had been killed, or made captives, whilst about their lawful business, and I believed they had not killed a single Indian except in defence of their lives or property; that I myself had seen the Warrior's Son, and others, at Major Craig's, on the very night on which Black's block-house (not more than four miles distant) was attacked, and three men killed and one wounded, and these Indians, though they remained at Craig's till ten o'clock next day, did not meet a single insult, even from those who, the evening before, were witnesses to the catastrophe at Blacks. This did not appear, I thought, as if the people of the territory were disposed to enter imprudently into a war. I remarked to him, that such information made to the Indians, would induce them to continue their hostilities, which would undoubtedly end in their own destruction.

*March 8th*—(the day I appointed to meet Watts) I went to Spring Hill, and there waited until the 16th, without hearing any thing from Watts. I then despatched Jack Sivils to the Look-out, to know the reason why Watts and the other chiefs had not met me as they promised, and if he was not coming at all, to invite the Glass, and the other chiefs of that town, to come over and see me. On the 18th, he returned, with information that Watts was prevented from coming to see me, by a great ball play, which was to be in a few days, (here it may not be improper to call your attention to the absurdity of the excuse, for he was to have met me on the 8th, and the ball play was on the 26th) but that he had sent a runner to me, who had lost his way. He (Jack Sivils) told me the Glass and two other chiefs would be over that evening. Here I was informed by William Burges, a half breed, that, on the arrival of Coody, eight Cherokees came to his canoe, expecting I had come down by water, (as you had informed them I would) with the intention of killing me, by the instructions of Will. Webber; that Tuskegatche, a young warrior, the brother of Richard Justice, had ordered them to go home, and be ashamed of their intention. In the evening, the Glass, Scantee, the Spider, and others, came. They met, and treated me with every mark of friendship. I addressed them in the following words:

"FRIENDS: I am glad to see you. I hope you are as anxious as I am to see peace established between your nation and the United States. A prospect of its taking place shortly, would afford me a singular pleasure. It is of great importance to your nation, that a peace should be soon concluded: for, if your people go on to kill and rob the citizens of the United States, I am afraid it will be worse times in this land than it ever has been. Such conduct will undoubtedly at last oblige your father, the President, to give out war talks in his turn, and then he will certainly have pay for every one of his citizens that have been killed by your people. If, as your people hold out, it is land they want, why do they not come forward to Governor Blount, in a peaceable manner, and have the line run agreeable to the treaty of Holston? (for which purpose Governor Blount appointed a day last summer, but your people did not appear) and after that is done, you may rest assured that every white man who is on your land will be moved off. You will never recover one foot of country by war, and those who tell you to go to war, are your greatest enemies. They may make advantage of it, but you never can.

"You certainly must discover that the United States do not wish to injure you, but, on the contrary, that they wish to make you a people like themselves. I wish your nation was possessed of a reciprocal friendly disposition; but it is evidently not the case: for, whilst your people are admitted to the honorable rank of warriors for killing white people, you, no doubt, have heard, that the white man, who, with a party of men, came into your country, and killed some of your people, and destroyed some of your towns, is loaded with irons; and if you do not stop the ears of your father, the President, with the blood of his people, that man will lose his life. I wish your people would be at peace, and suffer the United States to do something for them, which they never can whilst they are at war.

"At Chattooga, John Watts informed me that fifty-five Creeks were then (18 days ago) at Will's town, on their way to war against the United States, and endeavoring to engage some of the Cherokees to join them. I hope they will be disappointed. These Creeks passing through your towns do you much injury. They have lately been in the United States, and declared they were for peace. They are afraid to go to war openly, and own it. They go through your country, and tell the United States that it is your people that do all the mischief. I hope your father, the President, will soon be undeceived, and they will be obliged to leave off their depredations, or meet the reward of their treachery and theft.

"I have heard that Will. Webber has tried hard to have me killed, since I came into the nation. Does he wish it because I have always treated him and all your people well? He was afraid to come himself, and therefore sent others to kill me. It is such cowardly rascals as he is, that does your nation more mischief than any others. They get rich by war, and getting those killed to whom they are indebted. I am not afraid of him, nor of dying in this land. I was sent by a Government that is able to protect me, and if I should die, the United States will not suffer my death to pass with impunity."

The Glass said he wished for peace, and had from the beginning; but that, from the Creeks passing daily through their towns, perhaps some of the young fellows might join them, and he did not know how it might end. I told him, if these young fellows could not be restrained by the chiefs of the nation, it would be useless talking of making peace: for, it never could be kept inviolate, whilst it was in the power of one man to break it with impunity. That, if they did not cease their hostilities, and meet your Excellency, it must be taken for granted that it is not their land they want. I asked him whether he thought of meeting your Excellency. He answered, for his part, he would be willing to go; but, that he was but one among many chiefs; that there must be a general meeting of the headmen, and they would then decide on that point. I asked him, if they did meet your Excellency, whether he thought

Nickajack, Long Island, and Crow town, would come in. He answered, perhaps they might, as most of the bad young fellows had gone to the Shawanese; fifty had started a few days before, and that more were about to start in fifteen days, and that soon, most of the bad young fellows would be gone to the Northern tribes. I told him, that, if to go to war against the United States was their object, I did not think they would be permitted to stay there, as the Shawanese were about to make a treaty with the United States. He said it might be so, but that, at that time, there were eight Shawanese chiefs in the Creek nation, endeavoring to stimulate them to war against the United States; that these Shawanese had informed him, as they passed along to the Creeks, that their people had been expecting the approach of the federal army, and had been assembled in large bodies to receive them. I then spoke of the propriety and necessity of stopping the Creeks from passing through their towns to do mischief. That, he said, was impossible, without involving themselves in a war with that nation; that he had often, to no purpose, entreated them not to pass through the towns. He asked me to write a letter for him to General McGillivray, in which he complained in a very spirited manner of the injuries the Creeks had done the Cherokees in passing through their country; that when they failed getting horses from the white people, they took them from the Cherokees; that it appeared as if the Creeks wished to make little of his people; that he did not understand such conduct, and wished to know what they meant by it. He said he knew the Creeks were fools, and he then told them so.

Previous to my departure from this place, I wrote Watts a letter, of which I have the honor to enclose you a copy. When I was about to set out, the Glass requested that I would obtain from your Excellency a paper that would protect himself, Scantee, and the people who lived at that place, as he, with them, intended to live there, and neither to join in a war nor suffer any that would do so to live with them. I observed to him, that such a paper would be unnecessary, as I had the strongest hopes of a peace taking place immediately; that such a request seemed as if he thought his nation was for war. He, without assigning any reason, repeated his request that I would procure such a paper. I assured him I would.

On the 19th, I set out on my return to Knoxville, and, on the 21st, arrived at Amoe, where I overtook John Walker, who had left me at Chattooga, and had been to Williamstown, and by way of the Look-out. He informed me that it was not the ball play that prevented Watts from meeting me at Spring Hill, but a quarrel between Talotiska and him on account of his having visited me at Chattooga; and that, though he told me Talotiska was abroad, he was, nevertheless, at home, but would not come to see me, nor suffer that I should come into town, as he did not wish to see the face of a white man at that place. Walker also informed me, that a number of the young fellows had gone to the Shawanese, and that a number more would soon set out, amongst which number he had thoughts of going; that a number of Creeks, consisting of small parties of from two to eight, had come as far as Hiwasee, but that all, except one party of three, one of whom had lived nine months in Hiwasee, were dissuaded from pursuing their intended route, to the frontiers of Washington district, by the Long Fellow and Tickakiska, and the other chiefs of that place; but that it was his opinion that the path to Washington district would soon be full of Creeks; that he had been informed, in the Lower towns, that the Creeks were determined, this summer, to carry on a general war against all parts of the United States, except such part as bordered immediately on their own nation.

I received a letter from Mr. Coody, which confirmed me in my opinion that it was not the ball play that prevented Watts from coming to see me at Spring Hill, and a copy of which I have the honor to enclose with this.

It owe it to Will. Elder and Unacata, my conductors, to acknowledge, that my most sanguine expectations did not equal their exertions for my security, particularly Will. Elder, who never left me, except when I sent him for Watts, and who, I verily believe, would have defended my life at the risk of his own. Unacata's assiduity and friendship was equal to Will's, whilst he was with me, but, when he went to Will's town, he ran a knife through his foot, and lost his horse, which prevented him from overtaking me again.

My intimate acquaintance with Watts, as well as many other chiefs of the Lower towns, and the desire of peace held out previous to my going into the nation by some of the party, who had been for war, justified the anticipation of a report more favorable to the prospects of approaching peace. It is, however, due to the nation to acknowledge, that, though the prospect of a lasting peace is, at this time, very uncertain, it is my opinion that the majority of the nation are anxious for it, and would accede to almost any terms of accommodation, were it not for the bias the Creeks and Shawanese have over all their councils.

I beg you, sir, to believe, that, although I have failed in the completion of the objects of my mission, my zeal and exertions were equal to your most sanguine wishes on the occasion; and that I am, with very great respect,  
Yours, &c.

*Information given Governor Blount by David Gilliland.—April 2, 1793.*

1. *Gov. Blount.*—I have understood you went from this place, on the 8th February, with Arthur Coody, in a canoe, and arrived with him at Look-out Mountain town creek on the 14th. Is it true?

*David Gilliland.*—It is true.

2. *G. B.*—In what towns did you make your principal stay?

*D. G.*—At the Look-out Mountain town.

3. *G. B.*—How long did you stay there?

*D. G.*—About six weeks.

4. *G. B.*—During your stay did you see any scalps, or horses, brought into that town? and by whom?

*D. G.*—About the 18th March, a party of Creeks, consisting of thirteen warriors, returned from Cumberland, with one scalp and four horses. A few days after, twenty Creeks returned from Cumberland, with two white scalps, two negro scalps, and an old negro fellow prisoner, (who said his master's name was Parker) and four horses, among which was Drumgold's roan race horse. There were also brought into the nation, by Cherokees, two or three scalps, and three horses, a few days before my arrival.

5. *G. B.*—Did you hear the names of the Cherokees who brought in the scalps?

*D. G.*—Yes, Double-head and Pumpkin Boy were two of them.

6. *G. B.*—Did you see Double-head and Pumpkin Boy?

*D. G.*—Yes, I did, and was generally with them.

7. *G. B.*—How did they treat you?

*D. G.*—Very well, were my best friends; and I have reason to believe they prevented me from being put to death in the Lower towns.

8. *G. B.*—Did you see any parties of Creeks going to war against the United States?

*D. G.*—Yes; I saw two parties, one of upwards of fifty, and the other of three, Creeks, well armed; declaring they intended to divide, and a part attack Cumberland, and part the northern frontiers of Washington district, and the second party waylay the Cumberland trace.

9. *G. B.*—Do you suppose, if Mr. McKee had gone to the Lower towns, that his person would have been safe?

*D. G.*—No.

10. *G. B.*—Do you believe he would have been put to death?

*D. G.*—I do, verily.

11. *G. B.*—What did you hear while you were in the Lower towns of the Creeks? that is, did you hear whether they were for war or peace with the United States?

*D. G.*—In the Lower towns, it was generally understood, by traders and Indians, that the Upper Creeks had declared war against the United States, particularly Cumberland. Mr. Underwood, the interpreter between the Creeks and Cherokees, himself told me this would be a bloody summer with the Creeks, immediately after he had done speaking to them.

12. *G. B.*—Do you know whether any Cherokees joined the Creeks?

*D. G.*—I do not; but I heard Dick Justice express his fears on that head.

13. *G. B.*—Did you hear of any parties of Cherokees having lately gone to join the Northern tribes?



*D. G.*—Yes, three different companies.

14. *G. B.*—Did you hear of any of the Northern Indians, who reside among the Cherokees, going for war?

*D. G.*—Yes, three; and they mean to strike on the frontiers of Clinch.

15. *G. B.*—What appeared to be the conduct of Arthur Coady towards the United States? friendly, or otherwise?

*D. G.*—Pretendedly friendly; but the general tenor of his conduct to me appeared otherwise; in particular, he appeared dissatisfied with your Excellency, complaining you had not made him presents equal to his services.

16. *G. B.*—Can you tell what Coady did with the goods I sent by him to deliver to John McKee?

*D. G.*—Yes: he traded part of them for stolen horses, with the Creeks, and sent the rest to Mr. Mc'Kee, by Jack Sivils.

DAVID GILLILAND.

I, Joseph Greer, a justice of the peace for the county of Knox, and territory south of the Ohio, do certify, that David Gilliland this day appeared before me, and made oath to the truth of the above answers by him given to the above questions, stated by Governor Blount. Given under my hand and seal, this 2nd day of April 1798.

JOSEPH GREER.

*Minutes of a conference held at Henry's Station, on the 6th February, 1798, between Governor Blount and John Watts, the Hanging Maw, Double-head, and many others of the Cherokees—Susanna Spears's interpreter.*

*Governor Blount.*—I am happy, on this occasion, to speak to you on public business. What I have to say is short, and will be concerning things that are yet to come, not about what is past. I have lately received a letter from the President, a part of which I will read to you. It is as follows: "The President of the United States is highly desirous that John Watts, the Little Turkey, and as many of the real chiefs of the Cherokees as you may judge proper to form a real representation of the tribes, should pay a visit to this place, where they shall not only be abundantly supplied with such articles as they may require for themselves, but also for their nation. He wishes you to accompany them."

I want to know your answer to this request of the President; if you are not prepared, take time, withdraw, and consult each other. I will go with you any road you may choose to travel. The President supposes, if a full and complete representation should visit him, all matters of difference may be settled. I think so too. In this invitation which the President makes, he gives the greatest proof of his friendship, and I hope you will accept it.

*Hanging Maw.*—I am willing to go; but, there must be a consultation of the chiefs. You must not think the time long before we get ready, in case we conclude to go.

[Here he, Watts, Double-head, and Tuskegatahee, withdrew; and, returning, John Watts said:]

You are our father; you have told us you want us to go to Philadelphia. There are no head-men here but the Hanging Maw and myself. I can speak but little, and can give no answer to the business you propose. I must first consult our chiefs, who are gone to the Creeks; perhaps, when we get back home, they may be returned. All the nation will assemble, in twenty-one nights, at the Running Water; then all things will be taken into consideration. You shall hear the result. The business of our chiefs, who are gone on to the Creeks, is to try to stop them from going to war. They are the Glass, the Turkey, Kittagiska, Dick Justice, Hovalta, Charley, The Water Hunter, The Breath, The Drunkard, Double-head, (not him of the same name present) The Person-striker, The Spider, Chulcoah, their linguister. My own nation is at war; the Creeks and Chickasaws also. I want all these to be at peace, then I will take you by the hand and go to Philadelphia.

John Taylor\* and Talotiskie are gone to the Northward to sell a negro, who, for some time past, has belonged to John Taylor. My people wanted me to go to the Creeks, but I chose to come and see the Hanging Maw and yourself. Those of my nation, who are gone to the Creeks, are gone even to their Lower towns, to use their influence to stop them from war.

*Governor.*—What is the reason the Creeks go to war, as they have so lately been treating with Mr. Seagrove at St. Mary's?

*Watts.*—I hear the Creeks have said they will be at war with the Cumberland people the longest day they have to live, on account of the land. My people have gone to bring them into measures of peace.

*Governor.*—Some Creeks commit depredations on the frontiers of Washington district.

*Watts.*—'Tis fellows who live single, not in towns, who are bad off for clothes; they steal horses to supply themselves.

*Governor.*—Have you heard from Mr. McGillivray?

*Watts.*—I have heard lately that he sickened and died at his own house. I am not going to tell you any lies. I know who do all the mischief; 'tis the Creeks. They are about at this time. Yet, I agree that some few of my young men go with them. Fifty Creeks, whom I saw, went out some time since, and many small parties of threes and fours have gone more lately.

*Governor.*—You say 'tis twenty-one nights till you are to meet and consult at the Running Water. Immediately after you have had your consultation, you should let me know the result thereof, that I may inform the President whether he is to expect you or not. Will it be agreeable to you that John McKee should accompany you? he can write and do business for you.

*Watts.*—Your own sort of people like McKee as well as we do, but he must wait and go down with Hanging Maw.

*Governor.*—I shall now go home and write the President, letting him know what has passed between us, and that I believe you will send a representation to Philadelphia.

*Watts.*—I want no lies told. It is uncertain. It will depend on the result of the council. I want matters settled first.

*Governor.*—To go there is the right way to settle matters. If you should not go, the President will think you are angry, as he promises goods for yourselves and the nation at large. It is a long journey, and will be expensive; therefore he wants not too great a number to go; yet he thinks all the head-men of the nation ought. I hope the business, when done, will be lasting, and done for ever.

*Watts.*—I cannot promise how long it may be before I go. I want matters settled first.

*Governor.*—You have much influence in the nation, which you cannot serve better than by using it, so as to induce a representation to visit Philadelphia. The President writes me, all the Northwards are to hold a treaty in forty-five days. Do you think they are in earnest?

*Watts.*—I cannot tell.

*Governor.*—The Northwards, who went to the Creeks, I suspect, cause the Creeks to be cross.

*Watts.*—What is Carey gone to Philadelphia for?

*Governor.*—To carry letters; and he also promised Mr. Shaw to meet him there.

*Watts.*—We do not like Carey's doings; he seems not to act fairly.

*Governor.*—I cannot help your liking or misliking Carey; you know him best; you introduced him to me as a linguister.

*Watts.*—The Upper towns are scarce of provisions, and my family and friends are numerous. I want you to send me, to Coyatee, some flour, bacon, and salt, to support us home; and two kegs of whiskey, for my warriors to drink your health when I get there. It will have a good effect. Damei Carmichael will deliver them to me.

\* This John Taylor is the same who lately returned from Orleans, with the Bloody Fellow, by way of the Chickasaws; and Talotiskie, since his invasion of Cumberland, in September, has taken every occasion to give proofs of his disposition for war. This gives reason to suspect selling the negro is only the ostensible business.



*Governor.*—You shall have them.

*Watts.*—I have one thing more to say to you. There is a person of my own blood among the white people, and his friends want to see him.

*Governor.*—I have never heard of him. Where is he? or when did you hear of him?

*Watts.*—He was carried, by a small boy, and committed to the care of Colonel Anderson, by his friends, and we lately heard he was there working.

*Governor.*—I shall inquire into it, and let you know. If 'tis as you say, he shall come down, that you may see him.

*Letter from Arthur Coody to John McKee.—March 10, 1793.*

DEAR SIR:

I am sorry you could not come to see me at present, for the Indians are much confused. If you had sent the letters to me, I could have been better able to satisfy them: for I am here just with my empty hands. If you have the letters, send them by the bearer hereof. I shall send your goods up by John Walker, to meet you at his house, in four days from this; and, when you come again, bring with you the Long Fellow, the Hanging Maw, the head-man of Chota, and John Boggs.

I have taken seven pair boots, (leggings) for the head-men, that you must charge to the public.

John Watts is offended, by some of his people, is the reason that he will not come to see you. I shall go to see him, and settle that point with him.

Richard Justice is going to see the Governor, and Mr. Ogdon, to see if he can commence a trade from that place, in order to bring about peace; through my request, Double-head and his brother were coming up likewise; but they are stopped from going at present.

There are ten Creeks, I expect here this day, with one negro prisoner; and they have killed two men, and one or two negroes besides, from Cumberland.

You will send the letters to his Excellency as soon as you can, for I have more than I can do without more help: for I have to work against the Spanish, French, and Creeks, and the best part of my own country. I shall leave nothing undone for you to come in safety, when you come again. So no more at present, but remain your dear friend,

ARTHUR COODY.

*Letter from John McKee to Colonel John Watts.*

SPRINGHILL, March 18, 1793.

MY GOOD FRIEND:

I anxiously waited for you at this place, in hopes to have had an opportunity of communicating to you, personally, my sentiments respecting the approaching meeting with Governor Blount. I wish you, and some of the chiefs, had come over. I wish your nation happy. I have always loved your people, and have had thoughts of living amongst you, which I cannot do till you make a strong peace with the United States. It is undoubtedly your interest to be at peace. Let me advise you to try it, at least for one or two years, and see what the United States will do for you. I tell you they will do more for you than you think. But it is impossible they can do any thing whilst your people are killing theirs, and stealing their horses. 'Tis this that stops the ears of Congress, and your father, the President; and will, if not put a stop to, undoubtedly ruin your country. Meet the Governor as soon as possible, the sooner the better. Send talks to the Creeks, and tell them, if they want war, to tell the United States of it. Tell them not to pass through your towns to bring trouble on them. If they are your friends they will take some other course. I will see you again, perhaps before you meet Governor Blount.

I am, &c.

JOHN MCKEE.

*A list of murders and depredations, committed on the citizens of the United States, by Indians.*

On Thursday, 19th of March, 1793, Nolan was killed on the waters of Little Harpeth, ten miles from Nashville; many horses taken, but the number not ascertained.

Since the killing of Thomas Ross (the post) on the Kentucky road, information has been received of two parties being attacked on that road, and several killed; but the particulars are not so well ascertained as to be able to give them.

William Massey, and Adam Green, on 31st March, 1793, on the frontiers of Hawkins county.

KNOXVILLE, April 11th, 1793.

SIR:

I am just informed, that the house of a Mr. Gallaher, on the south of Holston, eighteen miles from this, was burnt by Indians on the 9th instant; Gallaher himself, and his family, were at an adjacent station. The families, in general, on the frontiers, are collected at stations; at one, which I lately visited, (John Craig's) there are 280 people, men, women, and children, living in a miserable manner, in small huts.

I am, &c.

KNOXVILLE, April 12th, 1793.

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose a copy of the information this morning received by Mr. William Macklin, and of a letter written to his Excellency Isaac Shelby, Governor of Kentucky, in consequence thereof, and to be, with very great respect and esteem, &c.

*Minutes of information given by Mr. William Macklin, April 12th, 1793, at Knoxville, to Governor Blount.*

That on the 4th instant, he met with Colonel Buford, a resident of Kentucky, and who had just then arrived from that country, who informed him that General Logan was raising a party of Kentucky militia volunteers, for the purpose of making war on the Lower Cherokees. That the number of their party was expected to be from 150 to 250. That a party, commanded by Major Whitley, which had been in search of the Indians who had done the late mischief on the road, were to join General Logan's party. That they intended to proceed to the Tennessee, which they would cross, and attack the towns, unless, on their arrival in its vicinity, they found reasons to the contrary. That Col. Buford must have left Kentucky, on or about the 1st instant, and that he believed General Logan and his party would commence their operations in a few days from that time.

WM. MACKLIN.

*Governor Blount to Governor Shelby.*

KNOXVILLE, April 12, 1793.

SIR:

The enclosed information was communicated to me this morning. Mr. Macklin, my informant, is a man of veracity. Colonel Buford I do not personally know, but he also has ever been represented to me as a man of veracity.

The President has instructed me to invite a full representation of the Cherokees to visit him at Philadelphia, and directed me to accompany them. The object of the invitation is, the settling all manner of difference between the United States and Cherokees. On the 6th instant I held a conference with John Watts, the Maw, and other chiefs, and made known to them the invitation of the President. They expressed their own willingness to comply with it, would give no assurances on the part of the nation, but promised that an answer should be made up in a full council, by the 26th instant, and that it should be immediately made known to me. It is my opinion that the other chiefs, as well as Watts and the Maw, wish peace with the United States, and that they will accept the invitation of the President. But, sir, should General Logan go on with his attempt, as reported by Mr. Macklin, on the information of Colonel Buford, you, from a knowledge of the defenceless state of the frontiers, and mode of warfare from incensed Indians, can readily judge the consequences.

Supposing this information true, I am much at a loss how to account for it. Surely, if General Logan is authorized by Government, a knowledge of it would have been communicated to me by Government, and it would seem as if no general would raise and march such a body of men without it. But, be it which it will, he has no right to pass the limits of the territory over which I have the honor to preside, as Governor and Commander-in-chief, without my permission, and trust he will not.

I am, &c.

KNOXVILLE, *April 13th*, 1793.

SIR:

Letters, of which the enclosed are copies, are this moment handed to me, express, from the Hanging Maw. I shall instantly order out two companies of mounted infantry, to the relief of Cumberland, from the district of Washington. I mean, two in all from that district.

I am, &c.

Information received since the writing this letter, that Blackburn's house was burned yesterday by the Indians. Blackburn's is about fourteen miles from this place, on the north side of the Holston.

*John Watts to Governor Blount.*

COYATEE, *April 11th*, 1793.

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

Now, it is six days since I talked with you. I told you the truth about the Creeks, for they say that they never will be at peace with Cumberland, nor talk about peace in that land. Now you have warning of the Creeks. It don't look like war in our land, when we send you word of your enemy coming against you. I have only heard of the Creeks passing in large quantities, but to what part I don't know, so take care every where. I told you that the head men had gone to the Creeks, but they have not gone; they have sent. There is so many bad talks, they do not know what to do. Tell Mr. Alexander Carmichael to make haste and meet us.

I am, &c.

*Arthur Coody to Governor Blount.*

LOOK-OUT MOUNTAIN, *April 5th*, 1793.

(One of the Lower Cherokee towns.)

DEAR SIR:

This comes to inform your Excellency of the Creek Indians passing by me to war against Cumberland settlement. 29th March, came by 64, and last of March, came by 14, and the 3d day of April came by 38, and the 4th, came by 501, and they gave an account of 100 coming behind them, all against Cumberland.

These individuals wish for you to be convinced that they are for peace. They have sent to the Creeks to tell them, if they have a mind to be at war with the United States, to go against Georgia, and not to come this way to bring trouble on them, for they have put by all war for two years, to see if the white people will be as good as their words to them. Dear sir, Mr. McGillivray is certainly dead; he died about the last of February, and these Indians have sent Captain Justice, and the Little Turkey, and another chief, to make peace for all nations. I have these Indians in a better way for a peace than they have been for five years past. The most of these Indians are out hunting by water; there are none gone by land as yet. I tell them not to go over this river any distance, for fear parties, following the Creeks, might come across them.

I am, &c.

NOTE.—Arthur Coody is a half-breed Cherokee, who reads and writes English, and whom I have engaged to give me information. There can be no doubt of the truth of that contained in this letter.

WM. BLOUNT.

KNOXVILLE, *April 13th*, 1793.

*John Boggs to the Hanging Maw; forwarded by the Maw to Governor Blount, 13th April, 1793.*

(This letter has no date nor place, but was written from some one of the Lower towns of the Cherokees.)

DEAR FRIEND:

This comes to inform you, and rest of our friends, that Mr. McGillivray is dead, out of this world, and about the Creeks passing by us daily to war. Since the 29th March, to the 5th April, have passed by no less than 247 warriors. We have sent to their nation to make peace with the Breed Nation, and to keep the Creek Indians from coming through our land to war. If they will be at war with white people, to go against Georgia, and not to come and bring trouble on our land. If they will come through our land, we shall not take them as our friends; so no more at present, but remain, &c.

I could wish for the settlement people to be careful, for what I see I can believe. I have thought those people told lies about the Creeks, but I find it too true to make a laugh of.

NOTE.—John Boggs is a fellow of as much veracity as any in the Cherokee nation, and as noted a friend to peace and the United States.

WM. BLOUNT.

KNOXVILLE, *April 18*, 1793.

SIR:

The enclosed copy of a letter to John Watts and the Hanging Maw, will inform you of the death of Noon-day, a Cherokee of Toquo, one of the Upper towns, and the circumstances attending it. He was a fellow of very bad character, and his death, as respected himself, is not to be lamented. What his business on the frontiers was, does not appear.

I am, sir, &c.

*Governor Blount to the Hanging Maw and John Watts.*KNOXVILLE, *April 17, 1793.*

## FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:

Noon-day was unfortunately killed by mistake for a Creek, as he was off the path, with a gun on his shoulder, by the people who were ranging to protect the frontiers. If they had known him to be a Cherokee, they would not have injured him. This, you may know, is true; because, since they have been ranging, they have often seen Cherokees, and some with guns, off the path, and did not injure them. There is another proof they did not mean to kill him, that is, when they found that they, by mistake, had killed a friendly Cherokee, they did not scalp him, as they would have done had he been a Creek. It was so late in the evening, that the mistake was easily made. I am sure, my brothers, you will recollect what I said to you at Henry's station, on the 6th day of this month. I there told you that rangers were on the frontiers to protect the citizens of the United States against the Creeks, and that it would be best for the Cherokees to forbear to come on their lands on the north side of Tennessee with guns, for fear they should be mistaken for Creeks, and be hurt or killed. I desired, in case any of your people wanted to come into the settlements about business, for such to come along the path to Henry's station, without guns; or, if any wanted to come into the settlements to get their guns repaired, for them first to go to the Maw, and get his pass to come in, and to keep the path, then they would not be injured. That James Ore, who lived at the Maw's, would write the passes for the Maw. The Noon-day was himself to blame, because he knew all these things. Many innocent people have been killed; many on our side and some on yours. Let us forgive and forget what has passed, and endeavor to make and keep peace for the future. Watts' advice to the young men, not to go and take satisfaction, as they proposed, convinces me he is a friend to his nation, and to peace. And the peaceful manner in which your people came out the next day, and inquired into the manner and cause of Noon-day's death, does them credit. It was following the good example of the white people, who have borne many similar injuries without retaliation. I hope, my good Brothers, this unfortunate mistake will in no degree destroy or retard our pleasing prospects of returning peace. But, it may be that Noon-day's friends will not be content without satisfaction; and if they will not, and will take it in goods, I will pay them, and send the goods for them immediately to the Maw's. I hope, my Brothers, you will let me hear from you before you go down to the running water to the council; and when you are at the council, I beg you to explain every thing fully to the chiefs.

I am, &amp;c.

Noon-day was a Cherokee of Toquo, one of the Upper towns, and was killed in the dusk of the evening of the 15th instant.

KNOXVILLE, *April 20th, 1793.*

## SIR:

The enclosed is the copy of John Watts' answer to my letter of the 17th instant, already forwarded to your office. I am this morning informed that, on the 18th instant, on the east fork of Little Pigeon, Jefferson county, thirty miles from this place, Joshua Tipton, and — Matthews were killed, and — Shields wounded, by a party of twelve Indians.

I am also just informed by a gentleman from German creek, that a party of travellers had arrived there through the wilderness from Kentucky on the 18th instant, (Thursday) who reported that, shortly before their departure from Kentucky, a station was attacked by Indians, who killed three of the inhabitants, and made eighteen prisoners, whom they carried into the woods and killed. They also reported that, on the 15th, (Monday) the day they left Kentucky, another station was attacked by Indians, but had not heard the result. As they passed the station on the trace at Rock Castle, the houses were on fire. It is supposed they had been previously evacuated.

I have the honor, &amp;c.

*John Watts to Governor Blount.*COYATEE, *April 18th, 1793.*

## FRIEND AND BROTHER:

I am going now to tell you the truth. I sent your people word of the Creeks being at the Hanging Maw's, and as they returned from the pursuit of them, one of the men got drowned. I suppose that was the reason of Noon-day's being killed; and, as I wish peace, let both go together—Noonday for the man that was drowned. Noon-day was my brother in our way of kindred. Noon-day was a good man, and they wanted to kill him. They knew very well it was not Creeks, for they took his gun, and belt, and knife, and garters. At the talk at Samuel Henry's, Major Craig wanted the bad people to come to his house; and Noon-day went to Craig's, and got killed. Noon-day's own two brothers was very cross, and wanted to take satisfaction at once, but I went to them yesterday, and told them to stop; they promised me that they would. I hope they will listen to my talks. We all wish for peace. I hope the white people will do the same. Noon-day is dead, and it can't be helped. We must try to make peace, and hold our peace talks fast.

To-morrow I start for the Running Water to the talk, and the Hanging Maw. I wish Mr. McKee to come on as fast as possible. My good brother, you must send a talk to Craig, and his bad young men, to take care not to do any more mischief. When the talk is over, I will come and let you know all our talks. The wife and children of Noon-day has no corn, and if you will find them some to live on till corn comes, I shall be glad.

Your friend, &amp;c.

KNOXVILLE, *April 25th, 1793.*

## SIR:

The enclosed extracts from two letters yesterday received from the Glass, a Cherokee chief, and Edward Adair, contain additional proof of the intentions of the Creeks to commit hostilities against the United States. I have not heard from Cumberland since the first instant. It is hardly necessary to add, that I am in painful expectation of hourly receiving very disagreeable information from that quarter. Mr. McKee is gone down with Watts to attend the council alluded to by Adair and the Glass, now near at hand, and will give me the earliest notice of the result. My object in sending him, is to use his influence and address to the interest of the United States. The mounted infantry, ordered from the district of Washington to the Mero district, have not turned out with the readiness I expected. They will leave Southwest Point on Monday, the 29th.

I have the honor, &amp;c.

*Extract of a letter from Edward Adair (1) to Governor Blount, dated*SPRINGHILL, *in the Cherokees, April 13th, 1793.*

The head-men have done all in their power to procure peace with you, by restraining their young people from the doing of mischief to the United States. They talk of nothing but of going out a hunting. They have likewise sent Richard Justice, and some other head-men, to the Creek nation, to endeavor to put a stop to their coming through this land to commit hostilities upon the United States; and if they do not quit such practices, that they shall look upon them as their enemies, and not their friends any longer. There was ninety Creeks passed this place a few

(1) Edward Adair is an influential trader, who lives at Spring Hill.

days ago, on their way to Cumberland, and killed six cows, belonging to Mr. Burges, (a) and said they would take as many as they pleased; afterwards went to the Look-out Mountain, and behaved in a very rude manner there. They continue daily taking horses from the white people and Indians of this land, which enraged the inhabitants much.

These people have a talk to be held in fourteen days from this date, from the Chickasaws and Choctaws, which we believe is a good peace talk, but much against the Creeks, as they (b) declared themselves in favor of the Chickasaws, by Richard Justice, and those others that are gone to the Creeks for such purposes.

*Extract of a letter from the Glass (2) to Governor Blount, April 13th, 1793, from Spring hill of the Cherokees, near the Lower towns.*

A few days after he (Mc Kee) left this, there were ninety (4) Creeks passed this, and killed six cows, belonging to one of our people, (Mr. Burges.) They afterwards came to the Look-out, where I was. I asked them who was the head of their going to war. They told me it was the Spaniards that caused them to be at what they were. I told them it was but nine nights since I had letters from the Spaniards, and they told us to be at peace. This, I assure you, is the truth, and I shall not keep any thing hid from you. I have sent talks by Richard Justice (3) to tell the Creeks to desist from killing the Chickasaws, and coming through this land; if not, we shall be spectators (6) to see our red brothers the Chickasaws murdered so.

In fourteen nights from this date, all the head-men of this nation are to meet, (5) at which time I expect our people will be returned from the Creeks. As soon as the talks are over, you shall hear it the same as if you was present yourself.

KNOXVILLE, April 25th, 1793.

SIR:

Since writing you of this date, I have received a letter from the Little Turkey, of which you have enclosed an extract. Contrary to my expectation, Mr. McKee was the bearer of it. The reason of his return, the enclosed report will explain.

I have the honor, &c.

*Extract of a letter from Little Turkey to Governor Blount, dated New Seneca, (commonly called Turkey's town) April 21st, 1793.*

It is well known I am a man that loves peace, and would do my endeavor to make peace between any set of people. Yet the Creeks are passing by every other day with scalps and horses from the frontiers. I have told them not to pass through my town, but they tell me it is what they will (d) to pass any where.

*John McKee to Governor Blount.*

KNOXVILLE, April 25th, 1793.

SIR:

After accompanying John Watts as far as Wockoe, we met a runner from the Lower towns, with whom Watts and the Maw held a long talk. Watts then informed me that the council would not meet as soon as he had informed your Excellency. That, since his departure from the Lower towns, talks had been received from the Chickasaws, and Choctaws, and Creeks, each soliciting the aid of the Cherokees against the other, which had much agitated the minds of the Cherokees, and these talks would be taken up first and decided upon; that the Maw and myself might return, and he would come up and conduct me to the council in which the President's invitation would be taken into consideration. When we were about to part, he desired me to inform your Excellency that the Cherokees, at all events, would not take part with the Creeks.

The small presents you sent for himself and his wife, he received as particular marks of your notice and attention to him. During my continuance with him he appeared, and I believe is, sincerely desirous of peace between his nation and the United States. Upon parting he did not express the particular time when he would return for me, but, from my knowledge of the distance, and the delay that generally attends the transaction of Indian business, it probably cannot be less than fifteen days.

I have the honor, &c.

KNOXVILLE, May 9th, 1793.

SIR:

The enclosed copies of letters and orders to General Robertson, and of my order to Major Beard, will fully inform you of the steps I have taken to relieve the district of Mero from the invasion of the Creeks. I have not yet heard from that district, since the 1st of April, nor from Major Beard, since he left southwest point. It is to be feared that my express, James Donelson, who left this on the 14th of April, is cut off; as he had my order to return without delay. The Cherokees appear generally disposed for peace, but they have not yet determined whether they will accept the invitation of the President to visit him at Philadelphia. This delay, in my opinion, is owing to the embarrassment they must feel on account of the war between their neighbors on all sides.

I am informed by a letter, dated 30th April, at the Look-out,\* that two parties of Creeks had passed that place between the 25th and 30th, for war against Cumberland, one of twenty-five the other of eighteen, and that, on the 26th, a party returned from Cumberland, with hair; how much was not mentioned by my informant (Arthur Coody.) Governor Shelby assures me the report, respecting General Logan, as mentioned by Colonel Buford, is not well founded.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*Governor Blount to General Robertson.*

KNOXVILLE, March 28th, 1793.

SIR:

You will order out a company of mounted infantry, or cavalry, to range on the frontiers of Mero district, for the protection and defence thereof, to commence service between the 14th and 18th of April, and on or before the

(a) Mr. Burges has been a resident among the Cherokees upwards of 20 years, and is considered as one of themselves.

(b) They, that is, the Cherokees.

(2) The Glass is a chief of the first consequence in the Lower towns.

(3) Richard Justice is a chief of the same description.

(4) This 90 must be the 100, as said by Coody, were to be expected.

(5) This is the same council to which Watts and the Maw referred the President's invitation for consideration.

(6) Judging from the habits of intimacy heretofore between the Creeks and Cherokees, implicit faith cannot be paid to the declaration of the Glass's, but the truth will be known immediately after the rise of their council.

(d) "What they will," is an Indian phrase, meaning, they will if they please.

\* One of the towns of the Lower Cherokees.

14th May to be discharged, unless the danger should be so imminent as to render their services indispensably necessary to the protection of the country; and, in that case, you may continue them in service until the 14th June, or discharge them, and call out an equal number, to serve until that time.

I am, sir, &c.

*Governor Blount to General Robertson.*

KNOXVILLE, *March 28th, 1793.*

SIR:

Your letter of the 12th was handed me by James Donelson, express, enclosing the talk of the Chickasaws, both of which were immediately forwarded, by James Carey, to the President, who was just prepared to set out as an express with other information, respecting the hostile disposition of the Creeks and Cherokees—that is, of the Upper Creeks and Lower Cherokees, towards the United States, particularly Cumberland.

At, or about, the next full moon, (the 25th April) it seems you may expect the greatest danger from them, and, to guard against them, you will order into service a full company of mounted cavalry, or infantry, that is, to consist of eighty men, exclusive of commissioned officers, to way-lay the Indian paths leading to the settlements, and to explore the woods where their principal camps may probably be formed, wherever it may be, whether on the lands of the United States, or within the limits of fifty miles from the settlements, and if they find Indians within these limits, to treat them as enemies, women and children excepted. It appears to me that this company of men had best be divided into three parties, to be commanded by the different commissioned officers; but, this is submitted to you. Let the officers be of the most active and enterprising, such as you can best depend on, and may be cavalry or infantry officers, and so may the privates be, of either: but be they of which they will, they must go well armed, with a firelock in addition to such other arms as they may choose to carry. This number of active enterprising men, advanced into the country through which the Indians have to pass, before they can reach the frontiers, would either check their incursions, by intercepting some party or other, or by intimidating them by the sign of the horses, by which they would discover the settlements were alarmed, and on their guard. In either case, you know it is probable they would retreat, and leave your frontier in security. You will order this company to commence this service between the fourteenth and eighteenth of April, and discharge them on or before the 14th May, unless the danger should continue so imminent as to render their service indispensable for the protection of the frontiers; and in that case, you will continue them in service, not exceeding two months, or may, if the danger continues imminent, discharge this company, on or before the 14th May, and order out another, as the succeeding moon is approaching the full, for a month's service.

These troops are at liberty to pursue incursive parties, not only to the limits of fifty miles, but even to the Tennessee, and punish them in the severest manner. I shall order out, from this district, another company, at least to pass at Southwest Point on the 18th April, turn off Cumberland mountain, to the southward of the trace, cross the Cany fork high up, and strike the traces that lead from the Lower Cherokees to the Cumberland settlements, and scour the country down to Nashville.

Mr. John McKee is returned, and gives no assurances of peace with the Lower towns. Watts met him at Chatoga, against the wish of Talotiske, and the warriors, and when he returned to Will's town they insulted him so that he determined to leave that town, and actually did pack up, and go off fourteen miles, and the young warriors sent and persuaded him back. Small parties of Creeks are daily passing and repossessing the Lower towns. They carried along the scalps of the people killed in February, on Cumberland, both white and black. Small parties of the Lower Cherokees are equally engaged in the business of killing the citizens of the United States, and stealing their property.

I am glad to hear of the certainty of the war with the Chickasaws and Creeks, but what part the United States will act, is not in my power to determine. I shall not feel myself at liberty to take any part in it, nor grant any part of the supplies they ask, until ordered by the President, therefore, shall endeavor that the messengers shall be detained here until advice is obtained from him. As to corn for the Chickasaws, you must supply them with such quantity as is necessary for their support, on the cheapest and best terms you can; you had best postpone giving any positive answer to them, until I hear from the President. I shall set out for Philadelphia, in eight or ten days, if General Smith arrives safe, of which I hope there is no doubt, in which case you know, by the constitution, the Government devolves on him.

I am, &c.

*Governor Blount to General Robertson.*

KNOXVILLE, *April 14th, 1793.*

SIR:

Enclosed is a copy of my letter and order of 28th March, by James Deraque, which I hope is to your hands days past. Yesterday I received undoubted information, which goes in confirmation of that on which my order of the 28th was founded, that, previous to the 5th instant, and since the 29th March, six hundred and seventeen Creeks have passed the Tennessee, in four different parties, declaring their intentions for war against the United States, and principally against the district of Mero. This number of Indians, to be sure, appears truly alarming; but, when it is recollected that their mode of warfare is never to risk their persons, I flatter myself the company already ordered will have the effect either to repulse or deter them from invading your frontiers. But, should you judge another company of mounted infantry or cavalry is indispensably necessary for the protection of your frontiers, and for the repelling those hostile and savage invaders of your country, you are at liberty to order it out, subject to my instructions of the 28th March, for a tour not exceeding one month. Permit me again to repeat to you, that these companies, whether one or two, to be entitled to pay, must actually range in advance of the settlements, as directed in my letter of the 28th March. From one hundred and sixty to five hundred mounted infantry will march to your relief as soon as possible, by the route as pointed out by my letter of the 28th March.

I have lately seen John Watts, and had a conference of two days with him, and other chiefs, among them Double-head, in which I made known to them the wish of the President that a full representation of the Cherokees should accompany me on a visit to him at Philadelphia. They replied that a full council of the nation was to be held on the 27th instant, when the President's request should be taken into consideration, and an answer given me.

Watts appeared very friendly, and to him and the Maw I am indebted for the information respecting the Creeks; and not only him, but the Cherokee nation in general, appear opposed to the conduct of the Creeks, and sincerely wish peace. It would seem as if the visit of McKee to Watts, and other measures taken by Government, would have the desired effect, so far as respects the Cherokees—the restoration of peace. It has been reported, on the authority of Colonel Buford, of Kentucky, that General Logan was about to raise a party to invade the Lower Cherokee towns. Such a measure would be totally destructive of the plans and measures of the President, and would destroy the hopes of returning peace. Should he attempt to march a body of men through the district of Mero, it will be your duty to command him, in positive terms, to desist from his object of invading the Cherokee towns, and to warn him of the evil consequences that will attend such a measure. This you may do, verbally, if you please, but you must also do it in writing for your justification. I have written Governor Shelby on the subject. In this I do not mean to prohibit the General from ranging the woods, as far as permitted by my orders of the 28th March, nor from chastising Indians within those limits.

I am, sir, &c.

*Governor Blount to General Robertson.*KNOXVILLE, *April 18th, 1793.*

SIR:

Major Beard, on his arrival at Nashville, will receive orders from you (which let be in writing) as to his operations to relieve the district of Mero from the invasion of the Creeks, and to the route he shall return to Southwest Point, provided he is to be permitted to return to that place in thirty one days from the time he leaves it. He will shew you my orders of this date to him.

I am, sir, &amp;c.

*Governor Blount to Major Beard.*KNOXVILLE, *April 18th, 1793.*

SIR:

The object of your command is to relieve the Cumberland inhabitants, Mero district, from a powerful invasion of the Creeks, who passed the Tennessee for war against the United States, particularly that part thereof.

To effect that object, you will march from this place, and proceed, without delay, by way of Southwest Point, and the southern, or upper waters of the Cany fork, to the paths which the Creeks generally pass to war against that district, and to the woods in which they form their camps, and from which they annoy the inhabitants of Cumberland in smaller parties. You will have with you, for your guide, Richard Fimnelson, a Cherokee, who is perfectly acquainted with both, and on whose fidelity you may fully depend. On your arrival at either of the before described paths or woods, you are to consider all the Indians you come across therein, or on the paths, or in the woods on the waters of Cumberland river, as low down as the mouth of Red river, Creeks and enemies, unless the contrary appears, and treat them as such, paying regard to the most humane rules and customs of war. I repeat, again, you are to consider all Indians found on the waters of Cumberland river as Creeks and enemies, and treat them as such, unless the contrary appears. But, should you come across Chickasaws, Choctaws, or Cherokees, and know them to be such, you are to consider them as friends, unless they give you proofs of their hostility, and then, as enemies. It is probable you will find none of these three last described tribes to the eastward of Nashville, and you will not go to the west of it, except you are so ordered by General Robertson. On your arrival at Nashville, you will receive the orders of General Robertson, in writing, both as to your operations during your stay in the district, and the route you are to return, to which you are to pay strict obedience. You will take your route to Nashville from the upper southern waters of the Cany fork, in such direction as you shall judge proper, and in such time, keeping in view the object of your command, which can be best effected by falling on and destroying the principal camps of the Creeks, on the Cany fork, and the other southern waters of Cumberland river, and by intercepting, or pursuing on the paths, incursive parties.

You are not to go to the southward of the Cumberland waters, except in pursuit of a flying enemy, and, in that case, you may, if you judge it prudent, pursue even to the Tennessee.

I am, sir, &amp;c.

*May 9, 1793.*—The number of men under the command of Major Beard, officers inclusive, is 125. They marched from Southwest Point on the 29th April.

KNOXVILLE, *May 12, 1793.*

SIR:

Yesterday evening my express, James Donelson, returned, via Kentucky, (being afraid to venture the night way) with letters from General Robertson, who lives near Nashville, dated 25th April, and with others from other officers, who live more to the eastward, that is, on his road to this place, as late as the 29th; from which the enclosed list of murders is collected. Donelson adds, that, before he left the Cumberland settlements, he was informed that a station had been attacked near Nashville, after his departure from it, but did not learn the particulars. The enclosed extracts from General Robertson's letter, will inform you of the supplies he has made to the Chickasaws. There are various reports in circulation respecting the war between them and the Creeks, but none that can be depended on as certain. Among others, it is said that the Choctaws have joined the Chickasaws. It is not certain, though I believe it. The Cherokee chiefs have not yet informed me whether they accept the invitation of the President to accompany me to Philadelphia, nor have I heard from Major Beard, since his departure from Southwest Point, on the 29th April.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

*April 9th.* Col. Isaac Bledsoe, killed in his field, near his own house, by a party consisting of twenty.

*10th.* The house of Mrs. Simpson was set on fire in the night, but the flames were extinguished by men who were in the house.

*11th.* John Harman and — Dowdy were killed near the mouth of Sycamore, in Tennessee county.

*14th.* Henry Howdeshell and Samuel Pharr, killed, near General Rutherford's.

*18th.* John Benton, killed, on the road between Captain Reese's and Col. Winchester's mill; the same day two men were killed on the road to Kentucky.

*19th.* Two men were killed near Clarksville.

*26th.* Richard Shaffer and — Gambeel were killed, and James Dean wounded.

*27th.* A party of Indians, at first supposed to be sixty, but since, on good grounds, believed to be two hundred, attacked the station at Greenfield, and killed John Jervis, and a negro fellow belonging to Mrs. Parker. This station was saved by the signal bravery of William Neely, William Wilson, and William Hall, who killed two Indians and wounded several others.

*28th.* Francis Ramer was killed near the Dripping spring, on the trace between Cumberland and Kentucky. A number of horses have been killed and taken, no particular account of which was taken.

*Extract from General Robertson's letter.*

They (the Chickasaws) are perfectly pleased: I furnished them with sundry articles of clothing, and answered a number of requests from the chiefs, but as sparingly as possible. These requests were for axes, smoothing irons, hoes, drawing knives, handsaws, nails, and other small articles, such as files, &c. I sent seven axes, two handsaws, six smoothing irons, a number of other small articles, one small barrel of nails, fifteen bushels of salt, as the chiefs informed me that the Mountain Leader requested a quantity of that article might be sent, on account of the war, and the scarcity was so great they would be obliged to kill a number of their cattle, and have much of each spoiled, if I did not send salt. This made me send more than I otherwise would. I shall not think myself at liberty to furnish any other articles than provisions, hereafter, without your Excellency's instructions. I engaged with Mr. John Hynes to carry 1100 bushels of corn to the Chickasaw Bluff, for which I am to give one hundred and fifty dollars; and I furnished three hands to assist in taking it down: it is in a flat bottomed boat. I could not get it down lower, and to have sent it in pettiaugers, would have cost much more, for it would be a large one that would carry 200 bushels, and would require three hands to man her. At this time I cannot get hands under thirty dollars the trip. I sent one large pettiauger manned with two of the Indians and two white men.

KNOXVILLE, *May 15th, 1793.*

SIR:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter I yesterday received from Mr. James Ore, with my notes subjoined thereon. Mr. Ore is a man from whom I have received many communications, respecting both Creeks and Cherokees, and have ever found him correct. He has traded, and has good sources of information in both nations. It is my opinion that the Cherokees will not be brought to join the war; but a few days will determine. I do not mean to say that I believe none of the young Cherokees will join in the war, for I have no doubt that some of them are now out with the Creeks, and many have gone northwest of the Ohio.

When it was found that corporal McDonald, and the two privates who deserted with him, were among the Cherokees, I considered it essential to the service of the United States to bid a reward above the sum authorized by the act of Congress, for their recovery. Their escaping to the Indians, and continuing with them in security, would have encouraged others to desert, and their continuing with the Indians, spreading the most injurious falsehoods, would have been attended with the worst of consequences to the United States. It is due to Lieut. Richards to inform you, that his conduct is invariably so marked with propriety, and perfect sobriety, that they were without the shadow of complaint against him as the cause of their desertion. They express they had no cause. The inducement was a desire to pass down the river to the Natchez, where they hoped to obtain forty dollars per month for their services on the public works.

I am, &amp;c.

HANGING MAW'S, *May 13th, 1793.*

SIR:

I send you McDonald\* by four of Lieutenant Telford's men. He was brought by the Overhill Indians, for which I promised them twenty dollars; and they insisted for a keg of whiskey, which I gave them. This day the Northwards† and Cherokees hold a great talk at Will's town. The Hiwasee head-man has gone to that talk, and promises to let the Maw know what is done at it. The Northwards urge them to war, and tell them they will assist them to take Cumberland. I am informed that the Lower Creeks have taken the Shawanese talk, and that the Creek nation is all rushing for war. Five days ago three Creeks were seen on the north side of the Clinch; and they said they would cross, and take horses and hair.‡ John Boggs§ has not yet come. I shall send you the news as soon as possible, of the result of the council between the Lower towns and Shawanese.

P. S.—I am also informed of seventy Creeks going against Kentucky: fourteen days ago they passed the Running Water. I think the Shawanese will kill as they go home.

KNOXVILLE, *May 23, 1793.*

SIR:

Arthur Coody, of Look-out Mountain town, of the Lower Cherokees, with several other Cherokees, and two Chickasaws, arrived here on the 20th instant, by whom I am informed that two parties of Creeks, one consisting of twenty-eight and the other of forty-two, had lately passed his house, on their return from Mero district, (Cumberland settlements) with scalps and horses. The first party had one scalp, which they boasted was that of a great warrior, Colonel Bledsoe. The second party must have been the same that attacked and were repulsed at Greenfield station. The two admitted their joint loss to be one warrior killed, another killed or taken by a party of Major Beard's mounted infantry, and three wounded. The meeting of the Cherokee chiefs with the Shawanese ambassadors, (the same who were with the Creeks) was about to take place at Will's town, when Coody left the Lower towns, but he adds, the Cherokees will not engage in a war against the United States. The next object of the Cherokee chiefs will be to take into consideration the invitation of the President to visit him; and I now have hopes that they will determine to accept it. Mr. Willbanks will go on to Detroit with the Shawanese ambassadors. The reason he has given for leaving the Creeks, is, that three hundred dollars were offered for his person, and he was apprehensive of being delivered up by the Indians. I am without official information, from Mero district, since the 25th ultimo; but I have been informed, by some travellers from there, that, on the 8th instant, three children were wounded; one of them scalped, and a fourth killed, near Nashville, by Indians. The same travellers informed me of the arrival of Major Beard at Nashville, without having fallen in with but one party of Indians, of whom they killed one, and wounded another.

The Creek and Chickasaw war does not go on with the ferocity and spirit that might be expected, owing, as it is said, to Mr. Panton having informed the Creeks, that, if red people went to war with each other, he would withhold all supplies of arms and ammunition, adding, that was all the United States could wish, to see red people at war with each other, and then they could take their land with more ease. The Bloody Fellow brought a letter, addressed to the Cherokees, from the Baron de Carondelet, recommending peace to them with the United States, and all other nations, so Mr. Coody informs me, who has often read and interpreted it to the chiefs. He also brought to the nation, and forwarded to me, a very friendly and polite letter, from Governor Gayoso, in which he declares, that, if any of the Spanish officers, of Louisiana, have encouraged the Indians to go to war against the United States, it is unknown to him, and that, for his own part, he has ever acted friendly towards the United States. Nevertheless, my doubts are, by no means, removed, respecting the conduct of Governor O'Neal and Mr. Panton, but I am lately led to believe their object was mercantile, rather than national. A war between the United States and the Southern tribes, would throw the trade of the Indians engaged, into Panton's hands, at Pensacola, as in time of the British war. Governor O'Neal is said to be interested with Panton in trade. Coody informs me that, notwithstanding the number of Creeks, who have been to war lately on the Southwestern frontiers, the Creek chiefs, in council, declined taking hold of the bloody hatchet, presented them by the Shawanese ambassadors, as to the United States, but received it as to the Chickasaws; and were about to set out in great numbers against them, and were stopped by Panton's message, as before mentioned. The Spaniards being the friends of the United States, it would seem, that they could not consistently cherish and support, in the very bosom of their government, a refugee tory, (Mr. Panton) whose interest and inclination is to keep the Southern Indians, more or less, in a state of warfare against the United States, and whose influence and address put the gratification of both in his power. I wrote you, and forwarded the letters by post, (via Hawkins Court House) on the 9th, 12th, and 15th instant.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

KNOXVILLE, *May 24th, 1793.*

SIR:

I am under the painful necessity of informing you of a horrid attempt of three persons, yet unknown, to kill, near my house, three Indians, two Chickasaws, and a Cherokee. The circumstances are: To-day, about three

\* Corporal McDonald, a deserter, who had taken refuge among the Cherokees, and who had told them a variety of falsehoods, to the injury of the United States, the better to recommend himself to their notice and protection; and actually had address enough to induce a part of the nation to protect him against such confidential fellows as were sent from Chota, by the Maw, after him.

† The same ambassadors, from the Shawanese, who passed the Lower Cherokee towns in the early part of the spring, and went on to the Lower Creeks, of which repeated mention has been made in former communications.

‡ Bishop's fifteen horses, which were taken on Saturday, 11th instant, were very probably taken by these three Creeks.

§ John Boggs is an honest half-breed, of Chota, who has been some weeks down in the Lower towns, trading, and for days past expected home.



o'clock, the three above described Indians were out in the woods, about six hundred paces from my house, unarmed, and unsuspecting any injuries being offered them, in search of their horses, when three armed men approached them, fired upon them, wounded one of the Chickasaws (John Morris) with a ball, through the body; hit the other two with balls in the clothes; pursued them some distance, and actually caught the other Chickasaw by the hunting-shirt, but happily it was old and tender, and he, as well as the Cherokee, escaped unhurt. It is doubtful whether Morris' wound is mortal or not, I incline to believe it is not; but perhaps my belief is founded too much on my wishes. This Morris speaks English well, and has repeatedly been at my house, and is well known and respected in the town and neighborhood; and the other Chickasaw was his brother, and one of those warriors who joined General St. Clair with Piomingo. I instantly went to John Morris, whom his brother, and the Cherokee who escaped, reported to be killed, and, in a short time, about thirty people from this place appeared highly exasperated at the horrid attempt; and ten of them were immediately mounted on horses, and went in pursuit, or rather search, of the murderers; but, as yet, no circumstances have transpired, by which any opinion can be formed as to who they were.

Considering it essential, to the honor of the Government, that such atrocious offenders should be discovered and brought to justice, I have offered a reward of one hundred dollars, which I hope will meet the approbation of the President, and shall, in the morning, issue a proclamation accordingly. Upon examination, three of the horses belonging to the Indians are missing, and certainly stolen by the persons who fired on Morris.

I have the honor, &c.

KNOXVILLE, *May 28th*, 1793.

SIR:

I have now to inform you that my hopes of the recovery of John Morris, the Chickasaw, were not well founded; he died the day after he was wounded. A variety of circumstances led to a suspicion that Jacob Clement and Daniel Sleekley (two Dutchmen) were two of the party who fired upon him; and yesterday they were brought before two Justices of Knox county, (Colonel White and Mr. Green) and, upon examination of thirteen evidences, such proof came out as affords violent presumption that Micajah Carter, David Loveless, and Davis Stockton, were the persons who fired upon Morris, and against whom a warrant has issued. One reason why the suspicion fell on Jacob Clement, was, that he had lately lost two sons, killed and scalped by Indians, and had said he would take satisfaction. I have before informed you of the killing of his sons. It is a general opinion, that the persons who killed Morris intended to kill a Cherokee, against whom the frontier people, in general, are very much exasperated, for the many injuries they received, or believe they have received, from them, since the treaty at Holston; and, on the other hand, they are generally very friendly to the Chickasaws.

I caused Morris to be buried with the military honors due to a warrior of his friendly nation, at the usual burial-ground of the white people, and walked myself with his brother as chief mourners. The inhabitants of the town and adjacent country, generally, attended, and I can truly say, that I have rarely seen more sorrow expressed at a burial than at his. His brother and grandfather (an old white man eighty years of age) returned on Sunday, (the 26th) to the Cherokee towns, with Coody—the Hanging Maw and the other Cherokees apparently well satisfied, that is, convinced that Morris was killed either through mistake for a Cherokee, or by some disorderly person, contrary to the wishes and order of Government, and determined not to seek satisfaction. Morris, himself, expressed his wish that no satisfaction should be taken for him, just before he expired, except on the person who injured him, when discovered. Bob Thompson, and his son Tom, the two Chickasaw runners, who have been with me since the departure of Carey, appear also well satisfied, and highly pleased with the attention paid Morris in his burial. A brother of the Noon-day was one of the party who came up with the Maw and Coody, to whom, as well as the brother of Morris, (James Anderson) I considered it politic, nay essential, that pretty liberal presents should be given, the more effectually to bury their sorrows; and at this critical time, I thought it the interest of the United States to give some presents to the other Cherokees, who were of the party, and to the old white man, the grandfather of Morris.

On the evening of Saturday, (25th) Mr. Ore arrived here from the Maw's, who informed me that, on the 24th, Bob M. Clemore, a warrior of Watts' party, had arrived at the Maw's, as a runner, with a message from Watts, in the following words: "That the council of Will's town, with the Shawanese ambassadors, had broke up, and that all was straight; that he himself (Watts) would be up in five nights, and give the particulars, and with him Talotiske, the Bloody Fellow, and other chiefs; that he neither wrote nor sent the particulars of the proceedings at Will's town, for fear of some mistake." By "all being straight," I understand at least, that the Cherokee chiefs are for peace with the United States. Immediately after the council broke at Will's town, the Shawanese ambassadors, with Willbanks, proceeded to the Northward. I shall not permit Watts and his party to come here, as he wishes, but meet him at the Tennessee, or at Henry's, (the frontier house) lest some other untoward circumstance may take place, and at once destroy the hopes of returning peace, that has already cost much trouble, time, and expense. Many of the Creeks, in different parties, have recrossed the Tennessee, at the Lower Cherokee towns, and returned home with some scalps, not as many as might have been expected, and many valuable horses. The saddle bags, with the letters belonging to Ross, the post-rider, who was killed on the Kentucky road, are in the Lower Cherokee towns, carried in by the Shawanese who reside there. On Saturday, the 18th instant, ten horses were stolen from Pigeon, Jefferson county, and carried to Chilhowee, by Cherokees, from three very poor men, who have not even another left to draw their ploughs. I have demanded them from the Maw, and other chiefs of the Upper towns, but I am very sure they have not power or influence sufficient to have them restored.

In the morning of Saturday, the 25th instant, Thomas Gillum, and his son James Gillum, were killed and scalped, by Indians in the Racoon valley, near Clinch, eighteen miles from this place. The people who buried them, judging from the sign, report the number of Indians to be twelve. On the same day the sign of several other parties of Indians were discovered in that neighborhood, making in the whole upwards of thirty; and more than twenty horses were stolen, which were traced to Clinch. I have ordered Captain John Beard to give immediate pursuit, with fifty mounted infantry, and to scour Cumberland mountains in search of them, where it is supposed their main camp is formed, limiting his tour to fifteen days.

In giving this order, I was governed, not only by the justice of punishing the offenders, but, by the policy of keeping (if possible) the frontier people satisfied, under their many sufferings; that is, so far so that they may not openly insult Government; and a pursuit by so numerous and powerful a party, even if the offenders are not overtaken, will teach the Indians to know that their repeated injuries are no longer passively to be borne, and intimidate other parties from committing depredations on that part of the frontiers.

You, sir, can more readily conceive, than I express, the feelings and murmurings of a people in the habit of frequently seeing their friends and relations killed and scalped, and themselves robbed of their property, without the hope (as they declare) of seeing an end to their sufferings, except in their own deaths, or by abandoning their houses and homes on the frontiers. My situation is that of daily hearing their complaints, without the power of redress.

Two war clubs, left by the mangled bodies of Gillum and his son, of a form unlike any remembered to have been seen among the Cherokees, induce me to believe that it was not Cherokees who killed them; but people in general are so prejudiced, that they believe every murder is committed by Cherokees, commit it who will.

I have the honor to be, &c.

KNOXVILLE, *June 4th*, 1793.

SIR:

Yesterday Major Beard returned from the tour of duty, for the relief of the district of Mero (Cumberland) under my order of the 18th April, a copy of which has been transmitted to your office. He appears very literally to have complied with it: found many camps formed by Creeks, which are easily distinguished from the camps of other Indians, and lately abandoned; but was so unfortunate as to fall in with only three small parties, of which he

killed two, and wounded, as is known of to a certainty, three, and it is believed more. The mounted infantry, of Mero district, killed one Creek. At one of the Creek camps, which Major Beard saw, there had been just before one hundred and thirty-nine warriors, and at many others from twenty to sixty.

My object in ordering these troops to range in search of the main camps of the Indians, in preference of immediately on the frontiers, was to intimidate the Indians, as well as to kill them: and from the little damage done the district of Mero, compared to what might have been expected, from so powerful a number, I am led to hope that object has, in a great measure, been effected; and even in future they will not feel themselves easy on these grounds, lest another party of horsemen should be on them. Letters from General Robertson, by Major Beard, inform me, that, on the morning of the 16th May, Moses Brown, in his cornfield, four miles from Nashville, and in the evening of the same day, Mr. Mullen, at the cotton manufactory, were killed by Indians. By the same conveyance, the General forwarded a letter from the Chickasaws to himself, of which you have enclosed a copy. On the date of that letter, the Choctaws had not joined the Chickasaws. The reason is believed to be fear, that, if they do, the Spaniards, on whom they are dependent for their trade, will stop it. Yesterday, arrived here express, Mr. Woodward, from the Lower towns, by way of Estanaula, by whom I received several letters from the Cherokee chiefs, and white people residing among them, from which you have enclosed, an extract from the Glass, and a copy of that of the chiefs, affording fresh assurances of the peaceful disposition of their own nation, and additional evidence of the hostile disposition of the Creeks. Mr. Woodward informs me, that, on the twelfth day of May, he saw at Hightower, one of the southern Cherokee towns, sixty-five Creeks, on their way for war against the frontiers of South Carolina or Georgia, or both, about Tugelo and Keowee, and that party informed him, that two other parties of Creeks, equally strong, had gone against the frontier of Georgia, more to the southeast. On Saturday, the first instant, a party of ten Indians attacked Holmark's station, on the Bull-run, near where Thomas and James Tillum were killed; but it was relieved by a party of Captain John Beard's mounted infantry, just in readiness to pursue the murderers of the Gillums. At this moment, I have an express that two small parties of Indians were yesterday seen near the same place, and that several families are to-day moving in for security. Davis Stockton, David Loveless, and Ephraim Carter, have been to-day examined before three justices, touching the murder of John Morris, the Chickasaw, and violent as the presumption of their guilt appeared, on the examination of evidences against Clement and Stickley, their innocence now appears. They proved an alibi. So secret has this unmanly, inhuman, and impolitic murder, been executed and concealed, that now, no conjecture can be formed as to who were the authors of it.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*Extract of the Glass' letter to Governor Blount.*

SPRINGHILL, May 20th, 1793.

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

I received your letter of the 24th ultimo, by Mr. Woodward; likewise, I heard the other letters directed to Watts, and the other head-men, at Will's town. You desire me to let you know concerning the Creeks. They are much the same as they were, daily passing to Cumberland. You likewise want to know what time we shall be ready to go to Philadelphia. We have not, as yet, our affairs properly settled, and it will take some time before we shall get our affairs properly settled; but the Bloody Fellow, and Scantee, and some others, will start for the Hanging Maw's, in five nights from this date; you and they will see each other, and they will let you know the news much better than writing.

*Chickasaw chiefs to General Robertson.*

CHICKASAW NATION, April 29th, 1793.

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

I some time ago sent you a talk in great haste. I now send you another, to confirm what I wrote you before. I am well acquainted with you, and many of your head-men, and used often to go and see you, and talk with you; but I don't know when the time will come that ever I shall see you again. This is a clear, bright day, that I am now talking to you in; but I don't know whether I shall survive ten days longer, as I am informed of a large army of Creeks that are coming against this nation. Nevertheless, I have taken every regular step, and made every preparation to receive them. I hope, when you receive this, you will think of the former promises to assist us against that, or any other nation.

I am, your friend and brother,

PIAMINGO.

MY FATHER:

I call you Father; I've a right so to do, as I received my being from one of your nation. I am, therefore, to acquaint you, that it is the friendship of this nation to your people that has caused this war to fall on us. Now, I would be glad to know whether you will assist us, or leave us to fight and suffer by ourselves. You have been a long time threatening the Creeks, and sending us word that we should hear of your guns firing in the Creek nation, but the Creek guns have fired on this nation, first; therefore, I hope you will immediately assist us. The Creeks boast that your people are not men; for my part, I think otherwise, as I have often heard of your bravery against the Northern nations. Their reason for boasting is, because you never went against them. I hope you will, when you receive this; that you will make ready immediately, and go against them: for, let a man be ever so small, let him have a big heart, and that makes the man.

I am your son,

WILLIAM GLOVER.

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

I am to inform you that I have just now arrived from the Creeks, where I very narrowly escaped with my life. They killed three Chickasaws while I was in that nation, and I expect they have killed more since I left it, as there is a village of Chickasaws in their land. Therefore, it is my request of you to make all despatch you can to assist us against that nation.

WILLIAM COLBERT.

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

It was General Pickens' request to me, that, in case a war should arise in my nation, that I should personally acquaint him with it. Now, the Creeks have opened war against us, and, I am informed by a certain Creek half-breed, by the name of Alick Cornell, that General Pickens has treated with the Creek nation for a peace. It is the voice of every head-man in this nation, that you will think of the promises of assistance you often made them, in case of a war with any other. Now, this confirms a war with us and the Creeks.

So we all unanimously require and desire your assistance. I hope you have, by this time, sent the provision and ammunition we wrote you for.

BROTHERS: The Creeks killed Long-hair and his son, some time ago, but they have just now put that fresh in our memory, and as it was always the request of the white people that we should seek satisfaction for these

two men, now the time is come that we shall seek that satisfaction that you desired us. You told us that, if any war should arise in this nation, that you would send your warriors to the Muscle Shoals. You mentioned in your letter, that, if any of our leaders, and their warriors, would go to Cumberland, your young warriors would accompany them against the Creeks. When your son comes in, that is, goes from hence, there shall a party accompany him to Cumberland. I send you this now, and shall, in a few days, send you another. I desire that, when you receive this, you will despatch an express to the President, as quick as possible. As I am now engaged in a war with the Creeks, and it was their own beginning, I am determined never to make a peace while I am alive.

PIAMINGO,  
THOS. BROWN,  
*and six others.*

KNOXVILLE, June 6th, 1793.

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose you a copy of a letter of yesterday's date, to the chiefs of the Cherokees, and an extract of a letter from Mr. John McKee, which will inform you of the state in which I leave the Indian business. I set out for Philadelphia to-morrow morning; shall pass through the upper part of North Carolina, but shall make no delay in my journey.

I am, &c.

*Governor Blount to the chiefs of the Cherokees.*

KNOXVILLE, June 5th, 1793.

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:

I have received your letter, dated at Estanaula, May 23d, by the bearer, Mr. Woodward, in which, you inform me that your nation are determined for peace. This letter has given me great pleasure. Now, it appears, that both you, and your beloved Father, the President, wish peace, nothing remains but for you to go on to him at Philadelphia, as he has requested you, where all things will be settled, and where, upon all things being settled, the chiefs who go, and the nation at home, will be supplied with goods. All this I told Watts, and the Hanging Maw, at Henry's. I have several times so informed you, by letters, and I now repeat it. The happiness of both parties consists in peace, and I beg you to accept, without delay, the invitation of the President. It is good for your nation that you should. Now, my Friends and Brothers, I have to tell you, that, on Friday, that is, the day after to-morrow, I must set off myself to visit our common Father, the President; I did hope that you would have gone with me, but you delay so long that I can't stay for you, and, when you do go, you will go slow, and I must go in haste.

I shall inform our Father of the good conduct and intentions of your nation, and of the cruel and unprovoked war the Creeks are carrying on against the poor, defenceless, frontier people, who never did them any injury. I do not say the Creeks will be punished, because it is not with me to say what shall be done with them, but with your Great Father. But, I assure you, in great truth, that I believe he will punish them severely, that is, I believe he will send armies and destroy their nation. He has borne with them until he can no longer bear to see his innocent children killed, scalped, and robbed. Take care, my good friends, and keep your young warriors from joining, on any occasion, these Creeks, for fear your nation should get into difficulty if they do. I wish your nation peace and happiness. You have heard that I have sent strong parties of horsemen, well armed with good rifles, to the relief of Cumberland, from the invasion of the Creeks, and that many strong parties have been sent out from Cumberland, a great way to the Southward; other parties will be sent out into the same woods and mountains, in search and pursuit of Creeks. This information is given you that your people may not go into these woods or mountains, for it will be impossible to distinguish your people, if found in these woods or mountains, from the Creeks. In my absence, General Smith, whom most of you know, will act as Governor, and to whom you will attend, in the same manner as to myself.

I have before informed you, that John McKee would accompany you to Philadelphia, by way of Seneca, and provide for your journey; I now repeat it; he is a friend to your nation, to honesty, to truth, and to good men of all colors. Attend to him, be advised by him; he will lead your nation to peace and happiness. Don't let this talk pass in one ear and out at the other, but attend to it; if you do not, and your nation gets into a difficulty thereby, do not blame me; I advise you in friendship. I must say to you again, don't let your people join with the Creeks, nor steal horses: for the citizens of the United States have lost horses until they are very cross, and give me a great deal of trouble. If any are taken, they must be restored to the owners.

I am your friend and brother.

*Extract—John McKee to Governor Blount.*

HENRY'S STATION, June 3d, 1793.

I have recovered something from my indisposition, but am not well. Major King is here now, and brings information that Double-head, the Otter-lifter, and ten or twelve others, from the Lower towns, arrived yesterday at the Maw's. Watts is expected to-day. He says they do not talk like going to Congress soon. Two Cherokees, one is Charles Tucker's brother-in-law, and the other a fellow from Hiwasee, brought five horses from some place betwixt Cumberland and Kentucky, to the Maw's, who promised the major to take them away, after which, his (the Maw's) son, purchased two of them. The major himself scolded, and threatened them much, to no purpose.

*The Chiefs of the Cherokees to Governor Blount.*

ESTANAULA, May 23d, 1793.

We are come from the great talk at Will's town, with the Northward Indians, where they told us that the Creeks have taken the hatchet against the white people. Our nation is determined to be at peace, and we hope you will not blame us for any damages that may happen you. Be on your guard against them, as we inform you of danger. As they are always going to war, we hope you will not look to us for what they do to you; for we are for peace, as all the head-men of our nation have concluded to lie quiet, and let you and them try it. As the beloved men have taken pity on us, we will be at peace. This talk is from the heads and warriors of our nation; they hope that you will send trade among us, as you have done; as the young fellows are ordered to go a hunting, you will let our traders have powder and lead. As we have taken your talk, we hope you will take our talk; that is all we have to say. It is from heads and warriors of our nation.

LITTLE TURKEY,  
JOHN WATTS,  
*and seven others.*

PHILADELPHIA, *August 13th, 1793.*

SIR:

The trade with the Indians affords the possessors of it so many opportunities to give springs to their actions, and complexion to their national conduct, that it appears necessary every information should be given, that will throw light on the subject. Mr. Panton, a British subject, a Scotch refugee from Georgia, in the early part of the American Revolution, and now a resident at Pensacola, was, in the time of the last war, the particular friend and agent of Colonel Brown, who succeeded Colonel Stuart in the British superintendency of the four Southern nations of Indians, and through his hands passed the goods, generally, which the superintendent disposed of in presents to those nations; besides, he supplied these nations, generally, with such goods as they purchased. He was also agent for the officers of Brown's regiment of Florida rangers, of whom several, as high in rank as captains, were Cherokee half-breeds.

In other words, from the time Colonel Brown was appointed superintendent, to the close of the war, the goods generally with which the four Southern nations were supplied, whether presents from the British crown, and they were very liberal, or by purchase, passed to them through the hands of Panton, or his connexions, stationed at convenient places in the Floridas. Immediately after the peace took place, Mr. Panton, with others, of whom Alexander McGillivray was said to be one, and McClatchey, also a Scotch refugee, another, obtained a permission from the Spanish Government to import into the Floridas, directly from England, goods sufficient to continue their supply to these nations. His annual imports are estimated at forty thousand pounds sterling, on which, it is said, a duty of twenty-five per cent. is paid, but of this I am not certainly informed. This permission from the Spanish Government has enabled him to support the consequence and influence which he had acquired under Colonel Brown's superintendency, and to use both, as shall indulge his inclinations, or serve his interest.

It cannot be presumed that his inclination would lead him to good offices towards the United States, nor is it his interest that a free trade and unlimited influence should be kept up between the United States and those tribes; for it is a well known fact, that, since the treaties of New York and Holston, with the Creeks and Cherokees, he has been undersold on every part of the frontiers, even where the transportation has been by land from Philadelphia. Since those treaties, the Cherokees generally, and a part of the Creeks, have been supplied by the United States, but the greater part of the Creeks, and the Chickasaws and Choctaws, continue generally to be supplied by this man.

As a proof of the power and influence of trade, I will relate a recent fact. A large party of the Creek nation were collected together about the month of May, with a declared determination to go and cut off the Chickasaw nation. Mr. Panton, upon hearing of it, despatched a runner to them, with a message, giving them to understand that he did not give the red people supplies for to cut each other off, and that, if they did not desist from their determination against the Chickasaws, that he would stop all supplies from them; upon which the party dispersed and desisted.

I have the honor to be, &c.

ABINGDON, VIRGINIA, *140 miles from KNOXVILLE, October 5th, 1793.*

SIR:

At this place I met John McKee, with Piamingo, the great chief of the Chickasaws, and four other Chickasaws, some of them of the first note in that nation, with a Mr. McClish, their interpreter, on their way to visit the President. I conceived it proper to state to them the danger of the fever at Philadelphia, in case they continued their journey, with such other reasons as occurred to me; whereupon, they have determined to return with me to Knoxville, and thence home. By this determination the United States are relieved of a heavy expense, which must certainly have attended the journey, and the President, and yourself, from the trouble of what appeared to me an unnecessary visit. The letters of the Secretary, General Smith, which are forwarded herewith, contain the most recent information from the Southern territory, to which I beg leave to refer you.

I am, sir, &c.

KNOXVILLE, *October 12th, 1793.*

SIR:

By the letter of the Secretary of the territory, of the 27th September, you have been informed of the large body of Indians that invaded the district of Washington on the 25th. It remains for me to inform you, that, on the 30th of that month, he issued an order to General Sevier, a copy of which you have enclosed, in consequence of which the General, with the force under his command, has passed the Tennessee, into the nation, in pursuit of these invaders. The long sufferings, and present spirit of the people, required such a measure. I shall embrace the earliest opportunity to report to you the progress and events of the pursuit. Since the Secretary's letter of the 25th, that is, on the second instant, Polly Lewis, a young lady of eighteen years of age, and a little brother, were killed on the south side of French Broad, passing a public road near Dandridge, (Jefferson court house) by a party of Indians, who waylaid it; and, on the next day, a Mr. Cunningham, going to assist in removing their bodies, was also killed by them; and on the same day, (the third) a party of Indians, consisting of thirty, plundered the house of Mr. Copeland, on the south bank of French Broad, Mr. Copeland and his family having, a few minutes before, crossed that river, and were eye witnesses of the number and depredations.

People having reported so repeatedly the loss of horses by Indians, without redress, have generally declined to report them at all to my office, for some time past; nevertheless, they are daily losing them, on some part or other of the frontiers. Many have lost every one they possessed.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*Secretary Smith to General Sevier.*

KNOXVILLE, *September 30th, 1793.*

SIR:

In answer to yours of the 27th instant, which I acknowledge to have received, I hold it would be proper to follow the trace of that large body of Indians who massacred Mr. Caveat's family, on the twenty-fifth instant, and, if possible, inflict due punishment on them. The country is to be defended in the best manner we can, comporting, as near as may be, to my general instructions to you of the 17th instant.

I have the honor, &c.

KNOXVILLE, *October 18th, 1793.*

SIR:

I have not heard of General Sevier since his passing the Tennessee, on the 9th instant, nor has a return of his numbers been made to this office; but are reputed to consist of about six hundred mounted infantry. The measures that took place in my absence, the last of which is General Sevier's march into the nation, has cut off all communication with the Cherokees from this quarter; the only part that is open is by way of Seneca, General Pickens', and I have sent John McKee to obtain the best information that can be collected in that quarter. It is hardly necessary to say, that there appears but too little probability of a reconciliation with the Cherokees, until a general pacification with all the nations takes place, though it will be my duty to make every effort.

I am, sir, &c.

*Letters from Daniel Smith, with sundry enclosures, to the Secretary of War.*

KNOXVILLE, June 13th, 1793.

SIR:

It mortifies me much that the first communications I make you, after Governor Blount's departure, should be of so disagreeable a nature. The enclosed report of Major King and Daniel Carmichael will inform you of the perpetration of as inhuman an act as ever was committed—committed by Captain John Beard, who was ordered out by Governor Blount, before his departure, to inflict punishment on the murderers of the Gilhams, and positively restricting him from crossing the Tennessee. How detestable is this act to all good men!

I shall direct Colonel White to call a court martial for the trial of Captain Beard, and mean to give the judges and attorney for the district information of his violent conduct and injuries to the Indians, that they may exert the force of law against him under the eleventh article of the Holston treaty.

I had been, for some time past, suspicious that the rage of many of the inhabitants of this district would burst out in some very unjustifiable act. But this exceeds any thing that could have been supposed.

There are many, too many, individuals of this country, whose conduct is so violent that they have no just claim to the benefits of Government, while their frenzy continues; at the same time there are great numbers of meritorious citizens who ought instantly to have it. I have written to General Sevier to exert himself quickly to execute an order, issued to him by Governor Blount, to have one-third of the militia of Washington district made in readiness to march for the defence of the frontiers at an hour's notice. I did not call for them to be actually marched as yet, because a fortnight applied to labor, at this time of approaching harvest, would be highly beneficial to the inhabitants; and I must have certain information of a powerful invasion, or of its approach, before I call for them. Nor have I ordered Colonel White, of this county, to call out into actual service more than half of five of the more interior companies of militia of this county, who will be ordered to take post at the most proper places on the frontiers. I also enclose to you a copy of a letter which I addressed to the chiefs of the Cherokee nation; not that I believe my advice to them will be followed, but because I thought it my duty to make the attempt. I have directed Major King, if he believes his person could not be safe in a personal interview with any Indians he could meet near their towns, to hang up this letter in some conspicuous place, that they may be sure to get it. If it leads to any communications at all, it will be beneficial.

I regret the absence of the Governor, who, I hope, will soon be back again, for my situation is truly painful.  
I have the honor to be, &c.

*Major King and Daniel Carmichael's report to Secretary Smith, referred to in the foregoing letter.*

CAPTAIN CHISOLM'S, June 12th, 1793—in the evening.

SIR:

At the appearance of day light this morning, Captain John Beard, with his company of mounted infantry, to our great surprise, made an attack on the Indians at the Hanging Maw's. They have killed Scantee, Fool Charley, the Hanging Maw's wife, Betty, the daughter of Kittakiska, and we believe eight or nine others, among them William Rosebury, a white man, the Hanging Maw shot through the arm, Betty, the daughter of Nancy Ward, wounded. The fire of this inhuman party seemed to be directed at the white people who were there as much as at the Indians. Therefore, we made our escape through it as quick as possible, and cannot give a minute account of the whole of the damage. By hard pleading, we got them to spare the rest of the Hanging Maw's family, and his house from being burnt. Such a detestable act as this would be base at any time, but, as they were there at the request of Governor Blount, it will be attended with fatal consequences, and retaliation will surely take place.

We informed the white inhabitants of Baker's creek, Nine-mile, and Little river, of this horrid deed, as we came here; they are much alarmed, blame the perpetrators, expect the utmost hostility of the Indians, and are crying out for assistance on the frontiers.

*Copy of a letter from Secretary Smith to the Hanging Maw, and other Chiefs of the Cherokee nation.*

KNOXVILLE, June 13th, 1793.

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:

I still give you that appellation, though I confess we have not a right to have it retained. Governor Blount went away to Philadelphia at the time he told you he would. The young inconsiderate men have taken advantage of his absence to commit the atrocious act of yesterday morning. They say, as I hear, that some Indians stole some of their horses, whom they followed as far as Coyatee. Then, foolishly supposing these Indians were some of the party at the Hanging Maw's, went there and committed the violent deed of yesterday, of which I am ashamed, and despise the perpetrators: for their act was horrid and unmanly.

I wish you to be not too angry to hear good advice. I will tell you what I think is for the good of your nation. Don't join the Creeks in the unprovoked war they are carrying on against us, but listen to the advice of Governor Blount, and go to Philadelphia, by way of Seneca, not through this country, and Mr. John M'Kee, your friend, will go with you. Be not rash and inconsiderate. Hear what your and our great father, the President, will say. Go and see him, as he has requested. I assure you, in great truth, I believe he will give you satisfaction, if you forbear to take it yourselves.

I wish you to send to me some person, who can come in safety, to let me know what you will do, and let us try if peaceful communications can take place.

*Letter from Daniel Smith to the Secretary at War.*

KNOXVILLE, June 17th, 1793.

SIR:

Since writing you, on the 13th instant, some communications have taken place between the Hanging Maw and Double-head and myself. Copies of their letters to me, and mine to them, together with the copies of letters which I have wrote to John Watts, Edward Adair, and Major King, will show the state the business is now in. I can see no one who does not appear convinced a general war from the nation will ensue; and such are the opinions of Major King and Mr. Ore, whose names I mention because their opinions ought to have weight.

*Letter from the Hanging Maw to the President of the United States.*

COYATEE, June 15th, 1793.

BELOVED FATHER:

I received the talk of our great Father, and always held it fast. You sent me word, that nothing should happen me at my own house. It was but four nights after Governor Blount left home until this happened to me.

I am writing to the President of the United States. It is a long time since I have seen him, but I have seen him, when we were both young men and warriors.

It was but a few days since I received an invitation from the President to go to Philadelphia; part of our head-men had gathered at my house, and the balance were on the way, and a party of white people came and wounded me, and killed several more, some of them chiefs. We thought very well of your talk of restoring peace, and our land being made safe to us; but the white people have spoiled the talk at present. The heads of our land thought very well of going to Philadelphia, but some of them now lie dead, and some of them wounded. You need not look for us to go there at this time. The Little Turkey has sent to the Chickasaws and Choctaws, and has gone to the Creeks himself, to let these nations know that he was going to Philadelphia this Fall, that a head-man from each nation might accompany him, that the whole might agree on one thing, and all be at peace.

*Letter from the Hanging Maw to Secretary Smith.*

COYATEE, June 15th, 1793.

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

It is but a few days since you were left in the place of Governor Blount. While he was in place, nothing happened. Surely they are making their fun of you. Surely you are no head-man nor warrior. I am just informed you will take satisfaction for me, and I shall reckon it just the same as if I had taken it myself. I reckon you are afraid of these thieves, when you talk of sending to Congress. If you are left in the place of Governor, you ought to take satisfaction yourself. It was but a few days since I was at your house, and you told me that nothing should happen to me nor any people at my house; but since that, blood has been spilt at both our houses. I reckon that the white people are just making their fun of you. Governor Blount always told me that nothing should happen me as long as I did live, but he had hardly got out of sight until I was invaded by them, and like to have got killed. I think you are afraid of these bad men. They first killed the Chickasaws at your house, and this is the second time of their doing mischief. I think you are afraid of them. When is the day that a white man was killed at my house? I think the white men make fun of you. Now, blood is spilt at both of our houses by your people. I think they are making fun of you, and won't listen to your talks.

*Letter from Double-head to Secretary Smith, dated*

COYATEE, June 15th, 1793.

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

I am still among my people, living in gores of blood. When is the day that I shall get a full answer from you? Be strong, and don't be afraid, but get satisfaction for me. I am still waiting to get a satisfaction talk from you. Why do you talk of sending to the President to ask advice? These people did not ask any advice when they came and killed our people: for the head-men can't give out any peace talk concerning going to Philadelphia until you give us satisfaction for what is done. The head-man is at the Lower towns. I am but a boy, although I am giving out this talk. I can't think of going to the Lower towns until I get a fuller answer. If you will give me satisfaction for my people, I shall think you our friend, and think you mean to do justice to our land. We have lost nine of our people, that we must have satisfaction for. My heart is much troubled about what has passed, and I shall not go from this place until I get a full answer from you, and as soon as I get a full answer, shall start down to the head-men, and let them know the truth of every thing. There is some of the first and principal head-men of our nation fell here, and they are not without friends, and the head-men of their land is their friends. This is the third time that we have been served so when we were talking in peace, that they fell on us and killed us.

*Letter from Secretary Smith to Double-head, dated*

KNOXVILLE, June 17, 1793.

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

I am in much sorrow and trouble on account of the blood which has lately been shed in your land in so disgraceful a manner. I want to redress your wrongs, and doubt not of doing it, if you forbear to take satisfaction yourselves. The Hanging Maw has written to our beloved father the President. I will have his letter conveyed, with one which I will write myself, to him and Governor Blount. I beg you to wait till you hear from them. The innocent ought not to die for the guilty, which would be the case if you take satisfaction yourselves. The President has waited long, and forborne to take satisfaction of those who have killed and robbed his people, because he knows the innocent would then be punished with the guilty, which would make him sorry. You know it was agreed, in the treaty at this place, that if any white men of the United States should go into your land and commit crimes there, against your people, they shall be punished for it in the same manner as if the crime had been committed against white people. You know that it was also agreed that, in case of violence being committed on the personal property of the individuals of either party, neither retaliation nor reprisal should be made by the other, until satisfaction should have been demanded of the offending party, and *refused*.

The President is a great and good man, and will keep his word, and I beg of you not to take satisfaction yourselves, but wait, and let us punish them for you. Thus may peace be restored to the land.

*Letter from Daniel Smith to the Secretary of War, dated*

KNOXVILLE, June 22d, 1793.

SIR:

Since writing you on the 17th instant, other communications have taken place with the Cherokees. The enclosed papers, which I have the honor to transmit, will shew what they have been, as nothing material is left out of them.

You will observe the Indians have agreed to wait and hear the determination of the President. The nation, because of scarcity of provision, and attention to their crops, is not in a condition for a general war, and I believe the chiefs are sincere; but I doubt their power to influence all small parties to pacific measures. It seems to me, that without some unexpected and unforeseen event diverts their attention, powerful invasions from them will ensue; I mean after sufficient time elapses to transmit your answer. The animosity from the whites continues as high against them as ever, as the Indians have lately stolen horses from Gamble's station, and, to my great pain, I find, to punish Beard by law, just now, is out of the question.

I have thought it expedient to order a subaltern's command of horse from Capt. Evans' company, not more than eight or nine, for a short time, to commence next week, to reconnoitre the woods for about twenty miles westward of Southwest Point, to discover the approach of an enemy, for within that bounds they will be most likely to direct their course to attack the northwest frontier. And I shall also use all means in my power to draw information from the nation.

I at first thought of writing you by post, but on reconsidering the matter, believe it best to send express, to prevent accidental delays.

After writing the foregoing, as I was closing the letter, Colonel Doherty arrived here, and brings me certain information of a large party of Indians being in Wear's Cove, on Little Pigeon; they have cut down about a quarter of an acre of corn, killed one horse, stolen ten others, took seven bags of meal out of Wear's mill, and broke to pieces such parts of the mill as they could, with little difficulty; also killed two cows and one hog. This was done on the night of the 19th instant; I have only to remark, that this mischief too quickly succeeded the unwarrantable action at the Hanging Maw's, to have been occasioned by it; and there is the strongest reason to believe the perpetrators came from the town of Tallassee, or another town above it. Colonel Doherty tells me Lieutenant Henderson, who is in service with about thirty men, was yesterday to set out in pursuit of the enemy. I have not yet determined what further order to take on the occasion, but I shall restrict the whites to defensive measures only.

[ENCLOSURES.]

*Letter from the Little Turkey to Governor Blount, dated*

NEW SENEGA, 5th June, 1798.

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

I am now to inform you of all that has passed here of late amongst us. A few days before our meeting with the Northward Indians, I received two talks upon paper, one from the Chickasaws, the other from the Choctaws, with their token of friendship; that is, beads, which was very good talks, desiring of us all, if possible, to keep peace with all the States of America, and all white people, and hold them all fast by the hand, which pleased me very much, and which I am determined to do as long as it is in my power; and if the Creeks or Northward Indians send or deliver any bad talks to us, not for us to mind them, nor to take hold of them, but to abide and remember the talks we hear and receive from our oldest brothers, the white people; which I sent them my talk back, and thanked them for their advice to me, and was glad to hear both nations thought and was of the same mind as myself. Now my friend I shall acquaint you with our meeting with the Northward Indians. But it is too long to put on paper; what is not wrote here I refer you to my friend John Thompson. When we all met I told all my people for every man to speak his mind freely, and not for them to think one thing and speak another; if any of them was for war let them say it publicly, and them that was for peace let them say it; now was the time for all of us to speak. As soon as I had done, the head-man of the Northwards got up and gave out his talk from thirty-three different nations, which was long, and not pleasing to me; I sat still to hear what answers my own people would give; they got up one after another, and every head-man delivered their talks to them, which pleased me very much. I then was the last; I got up and told how they had served us twice before now, encouraging us to break out war with the white people, and you would assist us; we did so twice. All the time we were at war, where was there a man of you ever offered to come to our assistance? Now you want to deceive us the third time; but don't you think now we are to be deceived again by your talks. You tell us you are at war with the white people, and you have plenty of goods and ammunition amongst you, and we might have the same amongst us. I now ask you how we should be supplied; you say we might go or send for it. I now tell you it is too far for us to go where they lived, and we could not make it ourselves; they said we might apply to the Spaniards; it was not far off. I told them they were strangers to me, and to the chief of our nation, and was a lying, deceitful, treacherous people, and was not real white people, and what few I have seen of them looked like mulattoes, and I would never have any thing to say to them. After I had told him a great deal more about other things which is not wrote here, which my friend will acquaint you of, the head-man of the Northwards got up, when he found we were all for peace, and said: He did not now want us to go to war, but for us all to be on our guard against the white people encroaching on us, taking our land from us, and when he wanted us to break out war, he would let us all know when to take up the bloody hatchet. I told him we head-men were all for peace, and to have no war, neither with white people nor red, but wanted peace with all, which was best for us all to do and abide by. You may be assured both the Spaniards and these very Northward talks that was given out all over the Creek nation, which created a great confusion amongst them, which had like to turned out to very bad consequences, and would had it not been for the Mad Dog of the Tuckaubatchees, who is a good man, and sent me in a good talk to keep peace if possible, as he wants to do, and not to give ear nor to take no notice of the Northward Indian's talk, which I have sent my talk back to him; I would not take hold of it as some of the Lower Creeks had done, for they were glad of the Spaniards' talk, and the Northwards, and killed some people, and would have done a great deal more, only the Mad Dog interposed, and I hope has put a stop to it; that it will not come to an open war, which would be very bad; but he says it is impossible for him to keep all the foolish mad young men from stealing horses, and killing white people, and this disturbance that exists in the Creeks, was the reason of my not answering yours, and our father's, the President's, kind invitation to go and see him this summer. Now I will acquaint you with my reason likewise; if all the head-men here was to go, perhaps it would be of very bad consequence; when we are all gone, perhaps some of our foolish young men, like the Creeks, might take the Northward talks and go and do mischief after we were gone; which we have concluded to stay until every one is settled in their mind, and we hear the Creeks and Georgia people have settled all their disturbances; and then I will let you know when we are ready to go with you to Philadelphia to see our father. And one great reason for our not going this summer is, corn being so scarce amongst us, that we are obliged to buy every grain we eat at a very dear rate, and what little we get are obliged to go at least one hundred and forty or fifty miles for it. I expect in three or four days our hoeing will be done for the first time; then I shall set off a corn hunting, and when I return I expect to come home naked, being obliged to give all my own clothes, as well as my woman's, for corn, and not me alone, for there is three or four more as poor as myself. Now, my friend, you may always look to hear the truth from me, for you shall never hear a lie, and all news that is of any consequence I would be glad you will write me, and let me know how you like our proceedings with the Northward Indians, and conclude with my being your friend and brother.

*Letter from Secretary Smith to Edward Adair, dated*

KNOXVILLE, June 17, 1798.

SIR:

The nature of my office, which I believe is not unknown to you, has led me to a knowledge of the communications which have come to the Cherokee nation to Governor Blount, and which no other person besides the Governor knows of. The late unwarrantable act committed by the white people, at the Hanging Maw's, will, I fear, impel the nation to take satisfaction without waiting an answer from the President, which would be wrong, contrary to the Holston treaty, and injurious to the nation, and perhaps involve it in ruin. For if they would wait, and not take satisfaction themselves, it would be given them by the President. I scarcely need observe how kindly it would be taken from you to write me.



*Letter from Secretary Smith to Major King, dated*

KNOXVILLE, June 17, 1793.

SIR:

You have, enclosed, a letter to Colonel Watts; also, two others, one to the Hanging Maw, and another to Double-head, which I want you to have read to the Indians, with any comments thereon, which you may judge requisite. I want to obtain intelligence from the Lower towns as soon as they have determined what they will do. For this purpose I have wrote John Watts a friendly letter, which I wish you to deliver to Mr. Woodward, who can deliver it to Watts, and it will furnish him with a pretext to deliver the one addressed to Mr. Edward Adair. Give Mr. Woodward the best advice you can, in private, when you deliver him Mr. Adair's letter, as to his conduct in this business, and how he may best effect bringing an answer back from Mr. Adair, unknown to the Indians. Mr. Woodward, for doing this business, will be entitled to pay, which you will acquaint him with. Adopt such conduct besides seeing the Indians, as will be most likely to bring out information from the Lower towns, from any other person you think it likely to proceed from.

*Letter from Secretary Smith to John Watts.*

KNOXVILLE, June 17th, 1793.

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

No doubt but you have heard of the base act which has been committed by a party of wicked white men. This act was committed altogether without the knowledge of Governor Blount or myself. I have written to the President and to Governor Blount, and the Hanging Maw has also written to the President on the occasion. What I mean to advise you, is for the good of the nation. These good men of yours who have fallen, have friends, and they ought not to take satisfaction themselves, but wait till they hear from the President. You know he has long waited with those who have injured his people, and forbore to take satisfaction, because, in that case, innocent blood would be shed, which would make him sorry; besides, you know, in the treaty held at this place, it was agreed that, in case an act of violence or wrong should be done your people, they should not retaliate until satisfaction had been demanded of the offending party, and refused. The President is a great and good man, and will keep his word, and I beg of you not to take satisfaction yourselves, but wait, and let us punish them for you. Thus may peace be restored in the land.

*Letter from John Thompson to Secretary Smith.*

HANGING MAW'S, 18th June, 1793.

SIR:

I came here yesterday from the Little Turkey, with the letter to Governor Blount by me. But hearing that a man could not pass through the settlements with safety, I concluded to stay where I was. I send Mr. Fulton on with the letter, and I refer you to him for the news in this land, and likewise the Creeks, and among the Spaniards. He can give you the full accounts of all that's passing. You will see what the Turkey has to say. There are about forty or fifty Indians here, come to see the Hanging Maw, and others that were wounded, and provision is hard to be got, without you send orders or appoint a man to get it for them. There are a good many gone back that were coming to trade and pay what debts they owed to the people in the settlements. The Indians are for peace, if the whites will let them alone. They say it is best to leave it to the consideration of their brothers of the United States, and see what will be done for them. They have sent runners through the whole nation, not for a man to attempt to take satisfaction, until they see what is to be done. I am starving myself. I have spoken to Mr. Fulton to speak for some flour and some dried meat, for my own use, as I expect to stay here some time. I will be much obliged to you, if you will be so good as to assist him; and I have sent for other articles, such as goods, to be brought out to buy; there are furs here. There is no danger for a person to come out to this place.

The Indians intend to send you their talks; there are about ten or twelve head-men at this place.

*Letter from the Bold Hunter and others to Secretary Smith.—18th June, 1793.*

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

We have received your letter, wherein you advise us to look into the treaty, and we have all concluded to do so, and leave it to our father, the President. We remember what was said at the treaty; it was told us by our brother, not to seek satisfaction until it was refused; and we hope that our brother will not tell us any falsity, saying that we should have satisfaction; and we hope that you will not forget it. And you acquaint us that you knew nothing of it, nor Governor Blount, of those men's coming. They have laid our warriors on the ground, which we are sorry for. We hope, as you have wrote to a good many head-men, that you would have satisfaction for us; and we have heard your good talk. We shall look to you to see it done; and not for our young warriors to say that you told them lies. And those men that came, that done the bad action, have made the beloved men ashamed, both white and red; as we think the white people should know better than to do so, without orders. We are here met together from almost all parts of the nation, and have heard your good talk; and we have sent your letters on to other head-men of different towns, that your talk may be heard through the land. I am from Hiwasee, who gives you this talk. It is not my talk alone, but all the head-men here present. This talk that we send you is the talk from us here. You leave every thing to the President, and we shall leave it to the Little Turkey, and warriors of our land. The next that is sent will be from them. They have all heard of the accident that has happened here, though the beloved men will hear your good talk, promising that you will use your endeavors to have satisfaction for us, as all the head-men and warriors will hear your promise. So much from your friends and brothers,

THE BOLD HUNTER AND OTHERS.

P. S. *The beloved man of Hiwasee.*—Now you have heard the warrior's talks, and I will send you mine. I am glad to find that my young warriors are for leaving every thing to the beloved men, and I hope that we will not tell lies to each other, as we are brothers.

We, beloved men, hope that things will be made up; though we leave every thing to the Little Turkey. He is the head-man of our lands, and we know that he is a good man, and expect that things will be made up on good terms, as he knows the talk that has been given out from the other head-men, and he will consider of us, and whatever he says shall be a law. Now, I have given you all my talk, I hope that you, my brother, will consider us. We are here, hungry, and will be glad you will send us something to eat; and when it comes, our hearts will be straight, to have something to eat and a little to carry home to our children. The young men are glad to hear your good talks, and hope you will send them some whiskey to make their hearts merry and straight, as we both eat, drink, and smoke. We will be glad you will send us a little salt. I hope you will send it down in three nights, as we want to go home and weed our corn. We want to have a little while we are at work.

TICKEKISKY.

*Letter from Secretary Smith to John Thompson.*

KNOXVILLE, June 20th, 1793.

SIR:

I have received your letter of the 18th instant, and am pleased to be informed by it of the pacific conduct of the Cherokees. I have made some answers to the chiefs who wrote, which, though short, are intended for their good. They seem to know the true interest of the nation, and I hope they will follow it, in which I know they will receive your good advice.

The repeated hostilities committed on these frontiers had enraged the white people to such a degree, that their reason seemed to be laid aside. The Indians must refrain from stealing horses and doing acts of violence. If they will refrain, I can easily keep the white people from doing them any injury. They do right to send runners through the nation to prevent mischief. I hope they will be particular to do it to those places especially, which they most suspect to be disposed to spoil our good intentions. I believe some white men will carry goods to the Hanging Maw's. As to money, you do not write for any particular sum as due to you, nor can I, in Governor Blount's absence, ascertain what may be due; as he will be back in a short time, (for he will ride very fast) would it not be better to let this matter lie over till his return? Should Major King want assistance to have any goods forwarded to you, which you want, I will most cheerfully give it. You will transmit me any information, from time to time, that appears material, for which I will pay the express. I want you to present my thanks to the Little Turkey, in a particular manner, for his letter to the Governor, which he will answer on his return.

*Letter from Secretary Smith to the Chiefs of the Cherokees.*

KNOXVILLE, June 20, 1793.

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:

I wish you all to know the great pleasure all the good white people, your Brothers, express, at hearing your determination to forbear, and not take satisfaction yourselves, for the late unwarrantable act; but, that you leave it to the President and Little Turkey, and other head-men, who every body knows to be good. Hereby you give proof of your knowing the true interest of your nation, and your love of peace.

But, my good Brothers, since we have agreed to look up to our common father, the President, to give satisfaction and do that which is right betwixt both people, let me advise you as a friend not to weaken his hands, or stop his ears against redressing your wrongs, by suffering bad men of your nation to injure the white people, by killing them or stealing their horses. It was such acts of your bad men, as these I mention, made the young white men mad, and they have given me a great deal of trouble. I believe some of your people up the Tennessee have lately stolen horses; if they have, they ought to restore them. I speak this for your good.

As I know you want some provisions, your friend Major King will tell you I have given directions to have some carried to you, which he will distribute. Also a little whiskey, which will be comfortable after the talks of business are over, and a little of the white people's tobacco, to promote good thoughts as you smoke.

*The information of Samuel Fulton, a native of Fayetteville, North Carolina.*

The propensity I had to travel was stimulated by an accidental meeting I had with Mr. McGillivray, who I saw at my mother's (then a resident of Guilford county) on his way to New York. I went to Pensacola, about two years ago, and resided in the house of a Captain John Lindar, who has lately died. I have been present at sundry meetings which Governor O'Neal had with the Creek Indians. I have heard him strongly urge these Indians to go to war with the citizens of the United States, to order all of them off, who resided westward of the old line, which had formerly been established by the court of Great Britain, and if they did not go, to kill them.

I have heard Mr. Panton also urge them, often times, to go to war; and when I have seen him giving them guns and ammunition, which he frequently did, he would commonly tell them these guns were to kill the citizens of the United States, and he would rather they should be applied to this use than to kill the deer. Such discourse I have heard him repeatedly use.

I have heard Mr. McGillivray say, the Spaniards had given him three thousand five hundred dollars to resign up to them the government of the Creek nation for one year, and I have heard Mr. Olivar, a Spanish agent, say, he was present at the Spanish treasury, when Mr. Lewis Christian, Panton's clerk, drew this money out of the treasury, only three days before Mr. McGillivray's death. Governor O'Neal is lately withdrawn, and one ——— White is in his place, who I have not heard give such advice. I have heard the Indians, in general, say, it was to their interest to keep up a war with the United States; that when they had committed ravages against them, of ever so great a nature, they could easily hold a treaty, and get large presents to be at peace, which conduct they could then repeat, for the people of the United States were very good natured.

A party of traders, who reside in the frontiers of Georgia, particularly one ——— Hull, tell the Indians the Congress have thrown away the people of Cumberland, and 'tis what they will, to kill, plunder, and commit devastations there, for Congress will not be angry at them for it. The Indians and several white traders have told me this. I met a party of Creeks on their return home from Cumberland, with four scalps.

KNOX COUNTY, June 21st, 1793.

SAMUEL FULTON.

This day the above named Samuel Fulton came before me, a justice of the peace for the aforesaid county, and made oath that the above information is true.

JAMES WHITE, J. P.

*Daniel Smith, Esquire, to the Secretary of War.*

KNOXVILLE, July 19th, 1793.

SIR:

The invasion of Indians into Wear's Cove, on the 19th ultimo, which I mentioned to you in mine of the 22d, was in two parties. A party of seven of Lieutenant Henderson's militia, who were vigilant in their duty, ranging the mountain, discovered the trace where one of the parties went back with horses on the 20th, and pursued without knowing what damage the Indians had done. They soon overtook, and gave them an unexpected and well directed fire, which it was afterwards known killed two, and 'tis believed wounded others. The Indians ran off a little distance, leaving the horses tied, but on seeing there were so few of the whites, made a stand. The whites cut loose the horses, and rode off with them all, except one, which was shot down by the enemy. None of the whites were hurt.

A Mr. Samuel Wear, about the same time, raised a party of volunteers; Lieutenant Henderson joined them, and thoughtlessly suffered Mr. Wear to take the command of the party, in number about sixty. They pursued the main body of the Indians to the town of Tallassee, on the north bank of the Tennessee, where they killed fifteen men and one woman, as they say, and brought in four women prisoners. It is not probable that those who suffered were the immediate aggressors, for the horses stolen had been taken across the Tennessee.

On the 29th June, a small party of Indians came to one Lloyd's house, more than sixty miles above this, and about eleven miles from Greene court house, on the south side of Nonachuchy river. They killed his wife and two children, and badly wounded a third, plundering the house of every thing of value. This occasioned Lieutenant Colonel McNab to raise a party of volunteers, without my knowledge; they consisted of ninety-one, and I am informed they followed the Indian trace to a small Indian village, supposed to be on the Tuckasegee river; there they killed two Indians, one of them a woman, fell out among themselves, and returned home. Since that time, for a week or two, the Indians have done but little damage, owing probably to their having promised me to forbear to take satisfaction for the injury done them by Beard till they should hear from the President. When I say little, 'tis to be considered as speaking comparatively with what they had done before: for they fired at a man on Pistol creek, and burnt the house of a Mr. Hog, on Nine-mile creek, with his crop of flax, and cut up part of his crop of corn. This was the 2d instant, and shortly after they stole, I think, seven horses from Bird's station, twelve miles below this, and the clothes of four families, which were in the wash.

Such behavior still augments the flame of the white men's passion, already very high. On the 15th instant, I received information that a large party of men were to assemble next day, near Campbell's station, fifteen miles below this, to go into the nation, and do the Indians all the damage they could. On the 16th I went to Campbell's station, to endeavor to prevent them. Their place of rendezvous, I found, was at one Blackburn's plantation, now lying waste, two or three miles still lower. At Campbell's, I saw several parties going down to their rendezvous, with many of whom I conversed, reasoned with them on the impropriety of their going; that the Indians had done but little damage for a week or two; that this was probably owing to their having promised me not to do us any until they should hear from the President; that, in all probability, effectual measures would be taken, on the return of the Governor, which would be in a short time, and that they ought to blame themselves for all the bloodshed their conduct would be the cause of, as we were not in a situation for war; but, all I could say, was in vain. When I found them so determined to go, I wrote the order, of which the enclosed is a copy, and caused Captain Campbell to deliver it to Beard, who, I am told, is their commander, and have it read to the other militia officers of their corps; neither had this any effect. This was on the 17th. The same day, I am informed, they moved on toward the Southwest Point, a few miles, in number 120 or 130; and I, much mortified, sat out for this place.

I had information, as early as the 12th instant, that there was an appointment of this kind of people, to rendezvous on the 1st of August, for the beforementioned purpose. Their attempt, so much earlier, was quite unexpected, or I could have used more likely means to turn them, by ordering them under some officer in whom I could confide, to perform a tour of duty down the north side of the Tennessee, and towards Cumberland. But their true intent was kept carefully concealed from me. This spirit for war against Indians, pervades people of all ranks so far, that no order of Government can stop them; and, I suppose, if I cannot prevent it, another party, similar to Beard's, will set out about the 1st of August. General Sevier has signified his desire to head a party of 100 or 150 mounted infantry, to explore the country on the north side of the Tennessee, as low down as the Lower Cherokee towns. I have wrote to him to come down here, that we may consult together on the occasion, and I now think of sending him with such a party as he proposes. The exploring the country will answer a useful purpose. 'Tis probable he will find Indians advancing towards us, and it may have some tendency to support the, at present, feeble force of law, by disconcerting the disorderly party; but, I will write you by next post the consequence.

Governor Blount's absence, I very much regret. The influence of his character is of far greater extent on these people, than any other; to lead them to adhere to good order, and support the laws, and by influential characters, is now the only resource to rule them; not by their love of good order and government. Many officers of the territory exert their influence the contrary way, and those who remain silent and inactive, I cannot but view, at present, as countenancing disorder. You can better conceive, than I express, the painful sensations I endure.

I have received no intelligence from General Robertson, of Mero district, since Governor Blount's departure. A week ago, or more, I sent back the Chickasaw Thompson, with a few articles of clothing, and a letter to their nation, enclosing a list of supplies to be furnished them by the United States, which, if they have not received, I tell them they soon will. I also wrote General Robertson, to cause a contract to be made for supplying part of Captain Kerr's company with rations at the crossing of Cumberland, intending to send them there in October next. At that time, it is expected a number of families will remove to Cumberland, to whose safety these regulars may contribute. They will be aided, I believe, by a small militia guard from Mero district.

*Daniel Smith to Captain John Beard, supposed to be the Commandant of a party of men now acting against the authority of Government; to Captain Thomas Cox, and to any and all other officers of their party.—July 17th, 1793.*

SIR:

As the court martial has not yet proceeded to judgment on your former conduct, you are yet to be considered as an officer subject to the order of Government, and I now call upon you, requiring you to desist from your unwarrantable conduct, to disband your men, and send them to their respective homes. It must be expected that all officers will pay regard to these orders, which I require you to make known to them; their oaths cannot be so lightly looked upon, or, at least, I hope they are not, as to permit them to disregard this order, for they will have to answer the contrary at their peril.

*Daniel Smith to the Secretary of War, dated*

*KNOXVILLE, July 27, 1793.*

SIR:

John Beard's party, which sat out, as I had the honor to inform you, on the 17th instant, returned on the 23d. I learn that they have done the Indians less damage than could have been supposed. Some of the party say they killed seven or eight Indians, others, only three or four, besides a squaw, and that they had two squaws prisoners, but dismissed them. In truth, the Indians repulsed them by occupying some strong houses they had in the town of Hiwasee, out of which they fired, and killed one man and wounded a second; the others came off in confusion.

The Indians have done no damage here for about a week or ten days. But this calm is only viewed, here, as the forerunner of a storm.

I still hold the design I mentioned to you on the 19th, of sending General Sevier, with 100 or 150 horsemen, down the north side of the Tennessee. The General will not expect any other pay, than according to the number of men he may command. I still believe a large number of volunteers, as they call themselves, will assemble about the first or second of August, to make an incursion on the Cherokees. I can think of no plan so likely to disconcert theirs, as by calling on him to act as I have said, and he will probably meet and repel Indians who will be invading us.

I anxiously wish for Governor Blount's return, and view it as the most hopeful means to produce good order.

*Letter from Daniel Smith to the Secretary of War, dated*

KNOXVILLE, July 30, 1798.

SIR:

Last night a company of travellers arrived at this place from Mero district. General Robertson has wrote me, by them. I send you an extract of his letter, and a list of the names of persons murdered there since the 20th May, together with a copy of a letter from Piamingo to General Robertson. On contrasting this information with the Little Turkey's letter of the 5th June, which I had the honor to transmit to you, some further light will be thrown on the conduct of the Cherokees. I must send such assistance to Cumberland as I told you I had in view.

*Extract of a letter from General James Robertson, of Mero District, to General Smith, dated Nashville, July 20, 1798.*

Bad as the times were when you left this country, they are much more gloomy at present. Indians are plenty on all quarters. I enclose you a list of their depredations since the twentieth of May; they do, of late, penetrate further in our settlements than before; they seem resolved to make good their word to the Chickasaws, that this season they would cut us off totally—I mean the Cherokees. We seemed to have peace for some time after Major Beard marched through, to and from this country, and while our horse were in service, which service expired the fourteenth day of last month. I apprehended, from your Excellency's letter, that you supposed them to have been in service when you wrote. I have ventured to call into service one company of mounted infantry, eighty in number, exclusive of officers, according to Governor Blount's last orders. When your Excellency considers the circumstance, I hope you will think me justifiable, and give your approbation. If you disapprove, I beg you will send me express, for be assured, that no person can be more unwilling to incur expense that can be avoided, than myself; nothing less, would, in any manner, reconcile our frontiers, as I never saw them so much dispirited, as since my son, Randolph, came home from the Chickasaw nation. About the twelfth of last month, while he was in that nation, came in three Cherokees—Cottetoy was interpreter, as he speaks Chickasaw; they brought in a bow, bloody arrows, hatchet, scalping knife, and pipe; they presented them to the Chickasaws, and desired their influence to be used with the Choctaws, soliciting them to join in a common war with all other tribes against the United States; the chief was mightily rigged with silver, and made a great parade; his arm-bands had the Eagle on them; he told the Chickasaws, that his nation made no doubt but them and the Choctaws must, by that time, have seen their folly, as all other Indian tribes had combined to cut off the Americans; and that, if they and the Choctaws did not now lay too their hands, there would be nothing for them to do, as all other tribes, the present moon, were to strike the whites, and that the Northward army were all killed; the Western country was making up an army, but it would be small, and that the united tribes would soon finish them; that they, the Cherokees, had eat a great quantity of the white's flesh, which they were very fond of at first, but they had had so much of it, had got tired, and thought it too salt; this they spoke in way of derision, though I suppose it was them that cut off Overall's flesh;\* they said the bow, arrows, hatchet, and scalping knife, were sufficient weapons to kill whites with. They told, that forty Cherokees, and some Creeks, had been sometime at or about the mouth of Duck river, to cut off the communication between them and us; and to exasperate them, said we were clearing a great road to this place. But, after finding all they said ineffectual, and did not move the Chickasaws, they appeared to make light of their assistance, and threatened, in the Chickasaw nation, to return to a party they had left at the mouth of Bear creek, and way-lay every crossing place on the Tennessee river, for Randolph Robertson, and said they would catch him on his way home, when they heard that he intended to ride, therefore he took it on foot. The Chickasaws were loath he should come; but I had directed him, if any thing particular, to let me know at all events. I should have let you know sooner, but the times appeared more favorable than they had been, inasmuch, that I had discharged the horse; and, as a company were to set out on Monday next, I thought it best to save the expense of an express. Sir, cannot you send some men immediately to our assistance? Will it be possible I can have a sergeant and twelve men from those regulars with you? All the stations near me talk of breaking, and if so, I must do it, having but four men in my station, and cannot call on men to leave their families; and if I am obliged to go, or should fall, I know not where the frontier would be, for people do not act as they used to do, stop in the settlement, but go quite off. The Cherokees have done much mischief on the Ohio; at the mouth, took a large boat; it is supposed Mr. Josiah Love is killed, but not yet certain. If you do not send assistance, and the Indians are as bad as expected, I shall be obliged to enter more men in service, and they must be horsemen, as the Cherokees told, in the Chickasaw nation, that they intended making station camps, and coming in small parties; and we must endeavor to break up their camps, for we can do nothing with the small parties in our settlements; and if we are not able to drive them off, we may as well surrender to them; they have got off most of the horses on the south side of Cumberland river, that were not stabled. I believe the stations on the south side, above Stone's river, are or will break soon. The Mountain Leader would not go to the Cherokees' talk. Wolf's Friend told them he would send their message to the Choctaws, but that he thought they would take no notice of it; he told them that he had eaten weeds and grass, and such as brutes eat, but it would be a long time before he thought of eating the Virginians' flesh. The Cherokees stayed only three days there. Never was a people more attached to a nation, than the Chickasaws are to the United States. A treaty was to have been held at the Walnut Hills, on the twenty-fifth of last month, by Spanish authority, with all the Southern Indians, but is postponed for a longer time. A cessation of arms has taken place between the Creeks and Chickasaws; it is said by the whites, as well as the Indians, to be brought about by Spanish agency, as matters were brought on in order to humble the Chickasaws, and bring them to their interest. A large army of Creeks had set out against the Chickasaws, and were stopped by Spanish orders. Three sent in a flag, who were treated with great contempt; those with the flag, said they had no power to make articles, but at the intended treaty, the Spaniards would assist them. I am of opinion, it was the stiffness and preparation the Chickasaws had made, as they were gathered in a few towns, and had upwards of thirty forts; they were determined to attack any number that should come against them. Wolf's Friend, when at Orleans, was invited by the Governor to the intended treaty; he asked the Governor what that treaty meant, and if it was to lessen the friendship of his people to the United States, he might as well desist, for their friendship was not to be broken. The Governor told him that some of his nation had promised to assist them against any people; the answer was, that if they had, it must be such as were of no account, and wanted presents, for there was not one man in that nation would fight the Americans; for his own part, he had not known them until the last summer treaty, but he had given Governor Blount his heart, and nothing should induce him to break the friendship he then made, and that, if the Americans and Spaniards fell out, he would not interfere on either side; the Governor then commended him, and said he would send his speech to the King of Spain. Application had been made by that Government, for leave to fix forts at the Chickasaw Bluff and Iron Banks; the former they say they will have, whether they get leave or not.

\* Overall was killed on the road to Kentucky.

*List of murders committed by Indians in Mero District, since the 20th of May, 1793.*

- John Hacker, on Drake's creek.  
 June 2.—James Steele, and his oldest daughter Betsy.  
 4.—Adam Flenor, Richard Robertson, and William Bartlet, killed; Abraham Young, and John Mayfield, wounded on the road to Big Barren.  
 29.—Isaac Heaton, and Joseph Heaton, killed, and a negro wounded at Heaton's lick.  
 July 1.—Jacob Castleman, William Castleman, and Joseph Castleman, killed; and Hans Castleman, wounded, at Hayes' station.  
 15.—William Campbell, wounded near Nashville.  
 18.—Mr. ——— Jostin, wounded at his own house.  
 19.—Mr. ——— Smith, killed at Johnston's lick.

*Piamingo to General Robertson.*

CHICKASAW NATION, June 17, 1793.

DEAR OLD FRIEND:

I have received several letters from you since I was able to answer you, owing to matters being unsettled, as they are here at present. I received the corn, and other articles, by your son Randolph, for which I thank my brothers, the Americans, for considering us in so great need. Our situation has been such, that we could not pass to you as usual. I have sent one man with your son, as he requested, and hope shortly to come in myself. Whether this will ever reach you, is uncertain, for I hear the path is watched by Creeks and Cherokees, in order to intercept all messages passing, and I fear your son will never reach Cumberland; but if he should be so fortunate as to get in, he can inform you the circumstances of all matters, as I have made him fully acquainted with all within my knowledge. His being a woodsman, and going on foot, gives me hopes he may get in safe. He can inform you of my unsettled situation, which, as soon as I can alter, and get my business arranged, you may be sure of seeing me. I endeavored to prevail with your son to wait longer, until he might go safer, but in vain, as he was anxious to get in, to let you know how matters were, that you might inform Governor Blount, so that he prefers going at the risk of all. I have often told you of the bad doings of the Creeks and Cherokees, which I am sure they will not cease to continue, till they feel the weight of the white people, which, I hope, will not be long. Surely, my friend, if you knew how lightly and despidingly they speak of you and your friends, you could not bear it, as you do. If we did not know you to be warriors, we should not know what to think of you calling them friends, and treating them as such, when they are continually killing your people, and taking your horses. We, the Chickasaws, that are but as one very small house in the great city, the United States, could not bear to throw away, and let the blood of one man pass without retaliation. The Creeks were the aggressors, and asked a cessation of arms of us, as your son can inform you. If you would treat them so, they would not think as little of you. There are very bad talks going on at this time, of which I shall be better able to inform you hereafter. Your son can tell you of seeing Cherokees coming in, which he saw with scalps and war instruments, to invite us and the Choctaws to join all the Indians to war against the United States. The Spaniards are getting all the Indians they can, to a treaty at the Walnut Hills. What their intentions are is uncertain; but I apprehend nothing to your advantage, which you will be the better able to judge when I arrive; it will then be in my power to inform you of all that is of consequence. I intend to visit the President when I come in—your son has promised me to go with me. I hope you will not be against it. Please to let Governor Blount know of it, which will be about four or five weeks. I want you to get Simson to make me a gun like Colonel Mansker's. I hope you will take great care of yourself, as both the Creeks and Cherokees will try to get you. Keep out your scouts at a great distance, it will be the best for safety, and not let them hunt near you, as they always do you mischief when breaking up to go home. I am very glad to hear you say, that the President has sent a greater warrior to command his army against the Northern tribes, if they do not treat. But, my brother, I hardly know what you mean by treating with tribes that are always at war with you, and will be, until you whip them; perhaps you may then have a treaty with them that may keep peace. Did I not tell how the Creeks and Cherokees would behave when they treated? I said they would pay no regard to what they did; so you found it. If we confirm a treaty with the Creeks, they will be told every injury done us will be retaliated for, and we will observe to do it.

I am, and will be, your friend and brother,

General ROBERTSON.

PIAMINGO.

*Daniel Smith to the Secretary of War, dated*

KNOXVILLE, August 31, 1793.

SIR:

The expectations that the Indians would invade this district in great force, seem as though they would be verified. At the appearance of day light on the 29th instant, a numerous party of Indians made an attack on Henry's station. Their real number cannot be known, and opinions differ on that head from one hundred to three hundred. Lieutenant Tedford and another man had gone out to a cornfield when the firing commenced, at which they attempted to run to the station, but got among the Indians unexpectedly. The lieutenant was took prisoner, carried about one hundred and fifty yards, and put to death, his body mangled in a most inhuman manner. The other man fortunately made his escape, and ran to a neighboring station, from whence all the adjacent frontier was alarmed. One other man, who happened to be out, was all they killed, besides the lieutenant.

The upper county militia have not yet come down, but are to be expected in a few days. Had they been on the frontier, I think these Indians might have been intercepted. I have proposed to General Sevier to come down, and take the command. His name carries terror to the Indians. Although the number of men on duty here may be not such as would demand an officer of his rank, I have thought it will be most expedient to call for him.

I have heard nothing of Major Beard since he left Southwest Point; but, ere this, he must have arrived at Nashville.

Enclosed are extracts of two letters from General Robertson, and an account of Indian depredations since my former account.

It is expected that General Sevier, with the third of the militia of the three upper counties, will be on his way to the frontiers in a few days. His force, except a few to protect exposed places, I mean to continue in a body, that they may be in readiness to intercept or repel any numerous party of Indians that may invade the country.

Governor Blount has not arrived yet: his return is impatiently wished for by the inhabitants. The people are relinquishing their irregular designs of invading Indians, against the order of Government.

*Extract of a letter from Brigadier General Robertson, of Mero District, to Secretary Smith, dated August 17, 1793, at Nashville.*

The distresses of this district has caused me to call out into service one company of mounted infantry; and, if the Indians execute their threats to attack our settlements, shall be obliged to order more, unless you can give relief from Washington district. I sent out Captain John Rains on the 20th July, on an eight days' tour. He discovered the trace of many parties coming in, but had not the good fortune to overtake any of them, owing to the thickness of

the cane on Duck river. At that time, our settlements were much distressed by Indians, stealing our horses, and penetrating further into our settlements than ever they had before, which caused me to order out Captain John Gordon, of the cavalry, on the 5th instant, who, with Captain Rains, pursued some Indians, who, on the second instant, had killed one Samuel Miller, at Joslin's station, six miles from this place. After crossing Duck river, they found the sign of a number of different parties falling into the trace. After pursuing some time, observed the fresh trace of four horses and seven Indians to come in. On pursuing six or seven miles further, found them encamped. Our men killed five, and took prisoner a boy between twelve and fourteen years of age. They were Creeks. I suppose more Indians would have been killed before they returned, but, finding the sign of a company making to the settlement, pursued them, expecting they might be overtaken before they could reach the frontiers, but unluckily they got among the sign of stock, and could not be followed. Some time past, Captain Bosley's barn was burnt in the night, and two thousand bushels of wheat in it. 'Tis suspected to have been done by a negro, but many people think it was Indians, as they stole horses the same night out of the middle of the settlement, on the north side of Cumberland, near Heaton's old station, and some the next day from one William Smith, on White's creek,\* which he and some others followed, and retook the horses. Colonel Winchester, of Sumner county, being apprehensive of another incursive party making an attack on his neighborhood, solicited me to send out Captain George D. Blackmore, with his troop, up the Cany fork, as most Indian depredations near him had been from that fork. Knowing myself that cavalry does deter Indians, and believing it had been the means of saving many lives this summer, I ordered out the troop, to be discharged at the expiration of a month, unless you should direct their discharge to be sooner. Sir, it is with great reluctance that I called men into service without your express order; but the danger was imminent. The Creeks have lately sent deputies into the Choctaw nation, and invited some of the Chickasaw chiefs to meet them there, in order to confirm a treaty of peace between those nations. A number of the Chickasaws are against carrying the matter any farther than that with honor they may join an army, in case one should go from the United States against the Creeks. They (the Creeks) declared at that treaty, that their nation and the Cherokees were determined on war against the United States, and particularly to break up this district this summer. This I have from a man who was among the Choctaws at the time, one Thomas Fletcher, as well as confirmed by the Chickasaws. Lieutenant William Clark has returned from delivering the supplies to the Chickasaws, which gave them infinite satisfaction. Seven have gone with him to head quarters. The Mountain Leader intends visiting the President shortly. I have been cautioned by the Chickasaws and Choctaws, to guard against the Creeks taking me by counterfeiting friendship; that is, passing themselves upon me for Chickasaws or Choctaws. I have great doubt they will make the attempt; and, if they do, they will succeed as when at home, and that home immediately on the frontiers. We are but four men strong, and both the Creeks and Cherokees know that both Chickasaws and Choctaws frequently come to my house without my knowing who they are, until it would be too late to stop them with so few men.

*Extract of a letter from General Robertson to Governor Blount, dated*

NASHVILLE, August 22d, 1793.

Since my former letter, the Indians have been very commonly in our settlements, though in small parties, which cannot well be followed. On the 19th instant, the sign of a party was discovered coming in. The same night a good many wearing clothes were stolen by them from Brown's station, which were in wash. Next night two horses were stolen from Colonel Barton's. The horses were retaken yesterday. Yesterday Colonel Barton narrowly escaped being fired on in his field. On the 20th instant, in Tennessee county, some Indians were discovered plundering an evacuated house. The man raised a party of seven men, and went in search of the Indians. It was in the night before they got to the place where the Indians were expected; and, just before they got there, they met the Indians in the path, who appeared to be about their own number, as near as they could distinguish. The whites fired first, and retreated, because the Indians' guns were then charged. Next morning, on viewing the ground, they found one Indian lying dead, and two traces of blood making off, as though there were that number wounded. This day, Captain John Gordon has set out, to range at a considerable distance south of our settlements, as we can do nothing with them in the cane. Rains' tour is expired; and I fear your Excellency might think I went too far, if I ordered more into service, until I receive your orders, which I have hopes of every day: and I have sanguine hopes of at least one company of cavalry from Washington district. We cannot doubt your Excellency's continuing to give us relief, as you did in the spring: for it was evident that Major Beard's horse was of great service to this district. Last spring one Abraham Castleman, who was a soldier, but a disorderly person, who had several of his relations killed, bearing in mind the injuries he received, raised a party of fourteen volunteers lately, and set out to take satisfaction, as he termed it. They could find no Indians on their route, on the north side Tennessee. As they were strictly forbid to cross that river, all his company turned back on their arriving to it, except Castleman and four others, who did cross the river, which I believe was at a place known by the name of the Creek crossing place, and the road leads towards Will's town. The road was very plain, and much sign of war parties on it, such as scalps figured on trees, &c. About ten miles south of the river, they discovered a party of Indians sitting at breakfast, as they supposed, in number upwards of forty. Both parties immediately fired at each other, as they were only about thirty yards apart. Three of Castleman's party came in yesterday; one slightly wounded, another with four bullet holes through his shirt. They suppose Castleman and the other man to be killed.† They say they must have killed some Indians, as they saw two or three fall. They must have been a party coming to war, as they had no horses nor squaws, but large bundles to carry on their backs. This happened the 15th instant. I am very impatient to hear from your Excellency. I shall send in a guard, as mentioned by General Smith, to escort families that may be moving here, and shall have a block house built, as a beginning stand, for the party of regulars which, he has informed me, will be at that time marched out to the Crossing of Cumberland.

I have found the Indian boy, taken prisoner as mentioned in my last, to be a Creek, from the Uphaulie towns. I set out with him to-morrow to Clarksville, to gather as much information as possible. John Dier, who lives there, speaks the language well. I am convinced the party he belonged to were those from whom the horses were retaken; they had killed a cow, and were barbecuing the flesh; when run off, they left four blankets, four knives, some hatchets and kettles, a leather shirt, supposed to belong to the prisoner boy. And the party, when defeated over Duck river, had but two blankets and three knives; they seemed to lack all that was taken when the horses were re-taken. John Dier speaks the Creek and Chickasaw tongues perfectly, and I have endeavored to get him to live at my house, but cannot do it without engaging him one hundred dollars per year: I offered him one hundred bushels of corn each year, and as much cleared ground as he chose to cultivate; but as he supports his family by hunting, would not agree without money. Would it not be reasonable that the United States paid such a person, as the Creeks will be much how, as well as the Chickasaws and Choctaws, whenever they may be at peace? Sir, will you be so condescending as to write me on this subject; I would pay half myself, sooner than be without him.

\* Places opposite to Bosley's, who lives on the south side.

† Castleman and the other man came in safe the day the General wrote, as the company informed me, but the General had not heard it. They agree in the same account with the first three.

*Indian depredations, not before mentioned.*

About the 1st August, the Indians killed one Samuel Miller, at Joslin's station, on Cumberland.

On the 21st, the Indians killed the widow Baker and all her family, except two children, who were big enough and fortunate enough to make their escape. Her family of children was numerous.

About the same time, Robert Wells' family, consisting of a wife and two children, were killed. Mr. Wells himself was from home.

The widow Baker and Mr. Wells lived in Tennessee county.

August 31st, 1793.

*David Smith to the Secretary of War.*

KNOXVILLE, September 27th, 1793.

SIR:

On the 30th July, I had the honor to enclose you a copy of the Mountain Leader's letter to General Robertson, dated June 17th, in which he mentions his design to visit the President. The Leader himself, four other Chickasaws, and an interpreter, of the name of Mr. Lish, are now this far on their way, for that purpose. As I know you are acquainted with the character of that chief, and his attachment to the United States, I need say nothing on that head. He requested me to send with him some person of *account*, (his own words) to accompany and provide him with supplies for the journey. I have made choice of Mr. John M<sup>c</sup>Kee, of whose abilities and merits I have a very good opinion. He has been heretofore conversant in Indian business, and I think may, if requisite, be made useful in influencing the conduct of the nation. I have recommended him to go by Richmond, and convey them to you in an expeditious and economical manner; but should he be compelled to draw a bill on you for a few dollars to defray their expenses, I hope it will be honored.

On the 16th instant, Major Beard returned from Cumberland with his party. He had not the fortune to fall in with any parties of Indians. The inhabitants of that district, and General Robertson in particular, are strongly of opinion, that his searching for them through the woods in which they have been accustomed to encamp, and from whence they annoyed that district, has much deterred the enemy.

With much concern, I have to inform you, that besides other previous depredations of the Cherokees, of a less nature, they made an invasion into this district on Wednesday, the 25th instant, in force, as is generally believed, not less than a thousand; in many places they marched in files of twenty-eight abreast, each of which 'tis supposed was composed of forty men; besides, they appeared to have about a hundred horse. They crossed the Tennessee below the mouth of Holston, on Tuesday evening, marched all night towards this place, and about sun rise or a little after, attacked and carried the house of Mr. Alexander Cavet, about seven miles below this place. His whole family, thirteen in number, fell a sacrifice. A man of common delicacy would want language to convey to another, the horrid manner in which the poor women and children were treated, as much as I do to make you sensible of the sufferings of the frontier inhabitants, pent up in their small huts. General Sevier lay, at that time, on the lower frontier, on the south bank of Holston, about eight miles from the Tennessee, at one Ishe's, with about four hundred men. I speak in round numbers, for I have had no return. He had got there but a few days before; I am now endeavoring to augment his number, to enable him to pursue the enemy; they crossed Clinch the same evening. Lieutenant M<sup>c</sup>Clelland is now out with a party of horse, reconnoitering their movements.

General Sevier has told me, that every night of his stay at Ishe's, the Indians were reconnoitering his camp, till his sentinels one night killed one of them, since which they have been more cautious.

The large party of Indians passed up on the north side of Holston, within three miles of the General's camp, and I suppose would have marched higher, perhaps to this place, but for fear of his intercepting them, as they know not his number.

The frontiers are infested with these Indians, from opposite Greene court house, round by Ishe's, and up Clinch on the northwest frontier, a distance of at least two hundred miles. You can better conceive, than I describe, the many sufferings of the inhabitants.

I am, sir, &c.

Governor Blount has, by letter of 28th August, informed me, he expects to be here by the middle of October. His arrival will be an event highly pleasing to me, and the inhabitants in general.

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 42.

[1st SESSION.]

## SOUTHWESTERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 18, 1793.

WAR DEPARTMENT, December 18th, 1793.

SIR:

In pursuance of directions from the President of the United States, I have the honor to submit to the Senate, further information relatively to the Southwestern frontiers.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

The VICE PRESIDENT of the United States.

*James Seagrove to the Secretary of War.*

FORT FIDIUS, ON THE OCOONEE, 31st October, 1793.

SIR:

Since writing you on the 21st instant, the party of mounted militia, consisting of one hundred and thirty, from this county, crossed the Ocoonee, at Carr's Bluff, and proceeded direct to the Chehaw town on the Flint river, where they expected a large booty in negroes and other property. But in this, they were disappointed. The Indians discovered their approach, and attacked, when endeavoring to ford the river directly opposite the town, killed two, and wounded two more, on which, the party retreated, leaving behind, their dead. They returned into the settlement about the 26th instant. By certain information received from Mr. Barnard, the Indians did not lose any, and had only three men slightly wounded. That only sixteen Indians and four negroes were opposed to the white party—all the rest belonging to the town, were out hunting on the frontier of Florida. Thus you see the repeated impediments thrown in my way by the people of this State.



On the 27th instant, Charles Weatherford, a white man, who lives in the Upper Creeks, came here with letters to me, and orders from the chiefs, to bring me into the nation, they being desirous to settle all matters, and live in peace with us. Weatherford was accompanied, as far as the Oakmulgee, by some chiefs and warriors as an escort for me. I should have set off immediately with him, but for the following reasons, viz: My having wrote Governor Telfair for the Indian prisoners on the 21st, and sent a public wagon from this to Augusta, in order to convey the prisoners up here, that I might take them with me to their friends. Knowing that this would have a good effect, I delayed, to have the Governor's answer, which I received in the negative, by return of express last evening. Another reason was, that I wished to hear from Mr. Barnard, what effect the expedition against the Chehaw town would have on the minds of the Indians, as I expected him here, if matters continued favorably, to accompany me out. Accordingly, he arrived here on the evening of the 29th, as already related, and, that he had reason to think no unfavorable change would take place, as the Indians had not suffered.

Mr. Barnard was accompanied to the Oakmulgee by some Indians, and, from information; there are about ninety now there, waiting for me. In order that the Indians there should not get impatient at any delay on my part, I sent off Weatherford on the morning of the 29th, to keep them easy, and since then, have been preparing for my journey, and should set off to-morrow, were it not that I have, this morning, received certain information that another party of mounted militia had crossed the Oconee, about fifteen miles above this place, on the morning of the 29th instant, under Colonel Alexander, with declared intentions of attacking some of the Indian towns. This being the case, I am very much at the loss what to do.

I think it will be best to delay setting off, until I know what this last party will do.

From these repeated incursions of the people of Georgia into the Creek towns, I fear the minds of the savages will be irritated and soured to such degree, that it will be impossible to convince them of the good intentions of the President of the United States towards them, and that, if those things are not speedily stopped, a general Indian war is inevitable.

From decided and clear information, I am enabled to say, that the whole of the Creek nation is desirous of peace with the United States, and would conclude it with me, could I be amongst them, uninterrupted by the Georgians. The Indians discover the temper of the people of this country, and, in consequence, are prepared for the worst, and will go into a general war, if I cannot soon get amongst them. The Creeks have made peace with their neighbors, the Chickasaws and Choctaws, both of which nations have agreed to aid them in a war against this country, in case they require it. The Choctaws agree to furnish four thousand men. The Cherokees undoubtedly will join them, and most of them have moved on the Creek frontier, to be ready. Matters being in this situation, nothing, in my opinion, but an immediate change in the conduct of the Governor of Georgia, through the interference of the General Government, can avert the calamities consequent to a war, with powerful savage tribes.

Should a war take place, it is a happiness to reflect, that the General Government have left nothing undone to prevent it, and it will plainly appear to the world, that the Executive Government and certain people of Georgia, are the cause, as peace, on terms of equal justice, hath and is still in their offer.

*Extract of a letter from Constant Freeman, Jr. to the Secretary of War, dated*

FORT FIDUS, 5th November, 1793.

SIR:

Mr. Seagrove set off this morning for the Creek nation. He goes by the way of Rock Landing; from thence, he will be escorted by a party of militia horse to the Oakmulgee, where several chiefs are waiting to conduct him to their country.

Mr. Barnard, his deputy, has been here several days; he returns with him. From the accounts he gives of the disposition of the Indians, there is reason to hope that all disputes between them and the whites may be amicably settled, provided the people on this frontier should not interrupt the business. But, this is rather to be wished for, than expected. Parties are continually going out, in violation of all order. On the 18th ultimo, one crossed the Oconee, at Carr's bluff, consisting of 125 men, under the command of a Major Brenton. General Irwin, the Brigadier of the county, forbid their proceeding, but without effect. On the 22d, they attempted to ford the Flint river, at the Little Chehaw village, and were opposed by a few Indians, who obliged them to retreat. They returned without doing any thing, and with the loss of two killed and two wounded. The Indians had, in this affair, three slightly wounded. It is reported that Colonel Alexander is at this time out with a party; it will therefore be impossible for Mr. Seagrove to accomplish the objects for which he is sent, unless a stop can be put to these irregularities. He has repeatedly made representations to the Executive of this State, but to no purpose. And it would seem that every obstacle has been thrown in the way, whether with design or not I shall not presume to determine. As long as I have been at this post, I have been witness to his zeal and indefatigable labor, and it would be impossible to imagine a more unpleasant life than he leads in consequence of his office.

*Governor Blount to the Secretary of War.*

KNOXVILLE, October 28th, 1793.

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose you the report of General Sevier, of the 25th instant, respecting the pursuit by him given to the large party or army of Indians, Creeks and Cherokees, that invaded the county of Knox, and killed Alexander Cavet and family, within eight miles of this place, on the 25th of September.

As yet, I have not heard from John McKee, whom I have sent, as I before informed you, to the frontiers of South Carolina, to open, if practicable, a communication with the Cherokees in that quarter: for, from this, no person will venture among them, even with a flag.

Since General Sevier's return, I have not heard of the approach of any large party of Indians; but the frontiers are daily harassed with small ones.

On Sunday, the 13th of October, a party of twenty-eight killed Mrs. Lewis and five children, burnt and destroyed the buildings and grain in the Greasy cove, in Washington county, one hundred miles to the eastward of this. The inhabitants in this cove, for years, have been thought in perfect safety.

A more certain and direct conveyance, will leave this place in time to reach you before the session of Congress, by which I will write you more fully.

*General Sevier to Governor Blount.*

ISHUE'S MILL, 25th October, 1793.

SIR:

In obedience to an order from Secretary Smith, I marched in pursuit of the large body of Indians, who, on the 25th of last month, did the mischief in Knox county, near the Gracy valley. For the safety and security of our army, I crossed at one of the upper fords on the Tennessee river, below the mountains. We then bent our course for Hiwasee, with expectations of striking the trail, and before we reached that river, we discovered four large ones, making directly into the mountains. We proceeded across the Hiwasee, and directed our march for Es

tanaula, on the Coosa river, at which place we arrived on the 14th instant, discovering on our way several other trails leading to the aforesaid place. We there made some Cherokee prisoners, who informed us that John Watts headed the army lately out on our frontiers; that the same was composed of Indians, more or less, from every town in the Cherokee nation; that, from the Turkey's town, Sallyquoah, Coosawaytah, and several other principal ones, almost to a man was out, joined by a large number of the Upper Creeks, who had passed that place on their return, only a few days since, and had made for a town at the mouth of Hightower river. We, after refreshing the troops, marched for that place, taking the path that leads to that town, along which the Creeks had marched, in five large trails. On the 17th instant, in the afternoon, we arrived at the forks of Coosa and Hightower rivers. Colonel Kelly was ordered, with a part of the Knox regiment, to endeavor to cross the Hightower. The Creeks, and a number of Cherokees, had entrenched themselves, to obstruct the passage. Colonel Kelly and his party passed down the river, half a mile below the ford, and began to cross at a private place, where there was no ford. Himself and a few others swam over the river; the Indians discovering this movement, immediately left their entrenchments, and ran down the river to oppose their passage, expecting, as I suppose, the whole intended crossing at the lower place. Captain Evans, immediately, with his company of mounted infantry, strained their horses back to the upper ford, and began to cross the river. Very few had got to the south bank, before the Indians, who had discovered their mistake, returned, and received them furiously at the rising of the bank. An engagement instantly took place, and became very warm, and notwithstanding the enemy were at least four to one in numbers, besides the advantage of situation, Captain Evans, with his heroic company, put them in a short time entirely to flight. They left several dead on the ground, and were seen to carry others off both on foot and horse. Bark, and trails of blood from the wounded, were to be seen in every quarter. Their encampment fell into our hands, with a number of their guns, many of which were of the Spanish sort, with their budgets, blankets, and match coats, together with some horses. We lost three men in this engagement, which is all that have fell during the time of our route, although this last attack was the fourth the enemy had made upon us, but in the others, repulsed without loss. After the last engagement, we crossed the main Coosa, where they had thrown up some works and evacuated; they suffered us to pass unmolested. We then proceeded on our way down the main river, near the Turnip mountain, destroying in our way several Creek and Cherokee towns, which they had settled together on each side of the river, and from which they have all fled, with apparent precipitation, leaving almost every thing behind them. Neither did they, after the last engagement, attempt to annoy or interrupt us on our march, in any manner whatever. I have great reason to believe their ardor and spirit were well checked. The party flogged at Hightower, were those which had been out with Watts. There are three of our men slightly wounded, and two or three horses killed; but the Indians did not, as I have heard of, get a single horse from us the time we were out. We took and destroyed near three hundred beeves, many of which were of the best and largest kind. Of course, their losing so much provision, must distress them very much. Many women and children might have been taken; but, from motives of humanity, I did not encourage it to be done, and several taken were suffered to make their escape. Your Excellency knows the disposition of many that were out on this expedition, and can readily account for this conduct.

*Copy of a letter from Governor Blount to the Secretary of War.*

KNOXVILLE, November 21st, 1793.

SIR:

We still continue to enjoy an unexpected cessation of hostilities, the Indians, as yet, not having committed a single murder since the visit General Sevier paid the nation by order of Secretary Smith. I am unable to offer any single reason for this cessation, as all friendly communication between the Indians and citizens of the United States is cut off; but my opinion is, that it is fear of a second visit that for the moment restrains them.

I have the honor to be, &c.

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 43.

[1st SESSION.

### THE WABASH TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 7, 1794.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

I herewith transmit the copy of a letter from the Secretary of War, stating the circumstances which have hitherto prevented any explanation of the fourth article of the treaty with the Wabash Indians.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, 6th January, 1794.

WAR DEPARTMENT, January 2, 1794.

SIR:

Most of the principal chiefs of the Wabash Indians, who visited this city, having died with the small-pox, it would have been improper and nugatory to have attempted with the remainder any explanation of the fourth article of the treaty of Post Vincennes, the seventh day of September, 1792.

It was presumed, that, at the intended treaty to be held with the Northwestern Indians, the Wabash tribes would have been represented. With a view therefore to this subject generally, the following article was inserted in the instructions of the commissioners: "You will, in all your negotiations, carefully guard the general rights of pre-emption of the United States to the Indian country, against all other nations and individuals, as established by the treaty of 1783, with Great Britain. But, in describing these rights to the Indians, you will impress them with the idea, that we concede to them fully, the right and possession of the soil as long as they desire to occupy the same; but when they choose to sell any portion of the country, it must be sold only to the United States, who will protect the Indians against all imposition." But the expectation of the treaty having been frustrated, nothing has been effected upon the subject.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, your obedient servant,

H. KNOX, Secretary of War.

The PRESIDENT of the United States.

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 44.

[1st SESSION.]

## THE CREEKS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 22, 1794.

WAR DEPARTMENT, January 22, 1794.

SIR: Communications relative to the Southwestern frontiers having been laid before Congress, the President of the United States has directed me to submit to the Senate, further information just received from James Seagrove, of his having restored peace between the United States and the Creek nation of Indians.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

The VICE PRESIDENT of the United States.

TOWN OF TUCKAUBATCHEE, ON THE TALLAPOOSA RIVER, }  
UPPER CREEKS, 30th November, 1793. }

SIR: It is with pleasure I inform your Excellency, that, in consequence of a meeting which I have had at this place, with the chiefs of all the Creek nations, peace and good understanding is again re-established between the United States and the said nations.

The Creeks bind themselves to deliver to me, all the prisoners in this land, to restore all the negroes, horses, and cattle, taken from Georgia, for twelve months past; to punish capitally, two or more of their first aggressors. Measures are taken for carrying into effect all these desirable objects, and runners are sent in every direction, to make known the news of peace, and strictly to forbid their people from injuring the persons or property of the people of your State, or of the United States.

I have, therefore, to request, that your Excellency will lose no time in promulgating this information throughout your State, thereby to prevent any outrage being offered to such Indians as may appear on your frontier, belonging to this nation, whilst they conduct themselves as friends.

I have not time to be more particular at present, but shall do myself the honor of writing you again in a few days, and am, with respect,

Your obedient humble servant,

JAS. SEAGROVE,  
*Agent of Indian Affairs, S. D. U. S.**His Excellency the Governor of Georgia.*

*Extract of a letter from James Seagrove, Agent of Indian Affairs of the Southern Department, to the Secretary of War.*

TUCKAUBATCHEE, ON THE TALLAPOOSA RIVER, }  
UPPER CREEKS, 30th November, 1793. }

SIR:

I had the honor of writing you on the 28th instant, which went by way of St. Mary's. I shall now endeavor to give a more minute detail of my proceedings, since my departure from Georgia.

By a reference to my letters to you, down to the 31st ultimo, you will see the difficulties I had to encounter in Georgia, in order to effect an entrance into this country. On the 5th instant, I left fort Fidius, escorted by thirteen mounted militia, whom I got, to prevent my being robbed by the frontier banditti, who, two days before, took ten of the horses which I had to convey goods, &c. to the nation, for the use of the Indians. This guard attended me as far as the Oakmulgee, where I arrived on the 7th, and there found one hundred and thirty chiefs and warriors ready to receive me. Here I discharged the militia, and next day proceeded with the Indians towards the Cussetahs, where we arrived on the 14th, and took quarters in a house set apart for me by the king of the town. On the morning of the 15th, I was saluted by several discharges from a piece of artillery, and drums beating. At ten o'clock, I was received in great form by all the chiefs and people of the town, in the public square, as the agent of the United States.

As far as expressions and actions could extend, I received proofs of their sincere joy in seeing me among them. Runners were despatched to all the Lower towns, to acquaint them with my arrival, and ordering the immediate attendance of the chiefs at that place. On the 18th, the chiefs of the Lower towns and myself received a letter from the chiefs of the Upper towns, desiring our attendance at this place, the Tuckaubatchee, that being the place fixed on to settle the business of the nation. Accordingly, we set off, and arrived here on the 22d. On the 23d, I was received in form, and acknowledged as the agent of the United States; but my reception did not appear accompanied with that warmth of expression or apparent friendship I met with in the Cussetahs. I could plainly discover a sullen countenance on many of the principal people, especially those belonging to the clan of the unfortunate young warrior, David Cornell, who fell at St. Mary's.

On the 23d, there then being a full representation of all the Creek nations, I proceeded to business; my talk to the chiefs continued the whole day. I left nothing unsaid that could favor the cause of my country, and though standing on dangerous ground, and surrounded by numerous enemies, both white and red, yet these things did not, in the smallest degree, prevent my speaking in plain and decided terms, pointing out their transgressions, and demanding justice from them, as a preliminary to reconciliation and peace with the United States. After sitting in council two days and nights, without adjourning, it was unanimously determined on, that all acts of hostilities or depredations should, from that moment, cease between the United States and the Creek nations. To which I agreed, on condition that all white prisoners in their nation be immediately delivered to me, to be sent to their respective homes. That all negroes, horses, and cattle, that hath been taken from the people of Georgia, since the conference at Colerain, in November last, be delivered to me for the use of the owners. That satisfaction be given by the nation, for the murders committed on St. Mary's, in March last, by capitally punishing two or more of the principals in that affair. To all of which conditions they have agreed, and solemnly pledge themselves to see carried into effect. As agent of the United States, I have promised the nation and friends of David Cornell, who was murdered at St. Mary's, when coming with a flag of truce and despatches from the chiefs of the nation to me, that every step will be taken by the United States to bring to punishment the murderer or murderers of that young man. Upon which, the business is rested for twelve months from this time. I hope, sir, you will see the necessity of having a proclamation issued without delay, offering a suitable reward for apprehending and convicting the perpetrators of that horrid deed. I also engaged that the prisoners in Georgia should be returned without delay; but as the Governor of that State hath already refused delivering them to me, (as you have been advised) I apprehend the interference of the General Government may be necessary, ere they are delivered. Should this be the case, I must request that no time be lost.

The Spanish agent, (or, as he is styled, commissary) Mr. Olivar, paid me a visit soon after my arrival. He informed me that his orders were, to act in all things toward my country or self, with friendship, and

that he should comply therewith, as far as in his power. He was present during my business, and declared himself much pleased with my conduct. He continued in the same house with me until yesterday, when he returned to his home at Little Tallassee, about twenty-five miles below, on this river.

The White Lieutenant possesses nothing of an Indian, but the name. He is a virtuous, good man, and his friendship to our country is not equalled by any in this land. As an instance of this assertion, allow me to mention, that, after having eighteen of his people killed and prisoners, in consequence of the Oakfuskee village affair, his son and three of his family killed by the Cumberland people, yet this was the man to step forward to save my life, when a large majority of those Upper towns had meditated my destruction, and to his manly exertions, among his savage countrymen, do we owe, in a very great degree, their present pacific disposition. I shall not lose sight of such a friend to my country. I am happy to say, I can plainly discover a very material change in the temper and conduct of all around me. Candor, and the virtuous cause I am engaged in, having been fully explained to them, the cloud of deception hath been expelled, and impostors are obliged to seek shelter. I am now considered as their real friend, and treated kindly.

I have, by this express, wrote the Governor of Georgia, informing him with what I have done; a copy of my letter you have herewith. I have sent expresses to different parts of the frontier of Georgia, with like information, and desiring their not committing any outrage on Indians. I hope it will be attended to.

I am requested by the chiefs of this nation, to send an express to Governor Blount, desiring him to restrain his people from injuring the Creeks on their hunting ground. I shall comply with their desire, as they appear desirous of peace with that quarter. The chiefs also request that I will apply to their Great Father, the President of the United States, on the same business.

If a stop is not speedily put to this affair, it will spread beyond what may, at present, be apprehended by people at a distance. Had I not been here to have stopped them, a large body of warriors would have been out, ere this, to have taken revenge for the Lieutenant's son, and others. As soon as I have collected the prisoners, about ten in number, chiefly from the westward, I shall send them to fort Fidius. Finding the people of the Upper towns very naked, and there being a quantity of blankets and strouds remaining on hand at fort Fidius, I have determined to send for them, and distribute at this place, as I conceive such a step, at this time, will have a good effect on those naked people.

Before the general meeting of the nation broke up, they appointed three commissioners to attend and remain with me, and to settle all other matters, as well as to carry into effect what was determined on. These commissioners are, the White Lieutenant, Mad Dog, of Tuckaubatchee, and Hallowing king, of the Cowetas.

The Indians are now all pushing out to their hunting grounds. their chiefs having sent runners after those already out, strictly forbidding their offering injury to the persons or property of the Americans. I hope, for the sake of humanity, and the reputation of our country, that similar orders will be given along the frontier of Georgia. Please excuse this long detail of matter, and believe me, with the utmost respect,

Sir, your obedient, &c.

JAMES SEAGROVE,  
Agent Indian Affairs, S. D. U. S.

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 45.

[1st Session.

### SOUTHWESTERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, JANUARY 30, 1794.

Gentlemen of the Senate

and of the House of Representatives;

Communications have been made to Congress, during the present session, with the intention of affording a full view of the posture of affairs on the Southwestern frontiers. By the information which has lately been laid before Congress, it appeared that the difficulties with the Creeks had been amicably and happily terminated. But it will be perceived with regret, by the papers herewith transmitted, that the tranquillity has, unfortunately, been of short duration, owing to the murder of several friendly Indians, by some lawless white men.

The condition of things, in that quarter, requires the serious and immediate consideration of Congress, and the adoption of such wise and vigorous laws as will be competent to the preservation of the national character, and of the peace made under the authority of the United States with the several Indian tribes. Experience demonstrates that the existing legal provisions are entirely inadequate to those great objects.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, January 30th, 1794.

Copy of a letter from Constant Freeman, agent for the Department of War, in Georgia, to the Secretary of War, dated

FORT FIDIUS, 1st January, 1794.

SIR:

I had the honor to write you yesterday, and to inform you of the flattering prospects there then was of all differences being amicably settled, between the inhabitants of this country and the Creeks. But an unfortunate event, which happened on the 28th of last month, may destroy our best hopes. The Bird-tail king and eight of his town were most treacherously attacked by a party of whites, about fifteen miles on the other side of the Oconee, and two of their number killed. The Indians fled to this post for safety. They came in this morning. They demand, in the most peremptory terms, the reasons of such procedure; allege that they have solaced themselves under the protection of the United States, and were hunting on their own lands, under the assurance of safety pledged to them by Mr. Seagrove, the agent. The Bird-tail king particularly recapitulated the talks given out at New York, in 1790, and those since made to his nation, in the name of the President of the United States, which he said he had always believed very true, and on which he had hitherto relied.

We have made every exertion in our power to pacify them. It is a most unfortunate affair, and may destroy the friendship of this worthy chief, who has uniformly shewn himself a real friend of this country.

I have written to the Governor, requesting him to take measures to bring the murderers to justice. Enclosed is a copy of my letter.

I should send a duplicate of my last, did I not expect that you would receive this by the same post.

I have the honor to be, &c.

2d.—I now, sir, enclose you the duplicate of a declaration made by Bartlet Walker, relative to the murder of the Indians abovementioned. I am seriously alarmed for the safety of the Bird-tail king and his men, as I make no doubt but that there are several parties now out on the watch for him. It seems to be the determination of some people in this country to prevent all reconciliation with the Creeks.

[ENCLOSURES.]

*Constant Freeman to the Governor of Georgia.*

FORT FIDIUS, 1st January, 1794.

SIR:

It gives me pain to inform your Excellency of an unfortunate circumstance which has taken place within a few days, and which may interrupt the harmony between the inhabitants of Georgia and the Creek Indians, if measures should not be immediately adopted to prevent this calamity.

On the 28th of last month, the White Bird-tail king and eight Cussetahs, encouraged by assurances of safety from Mr. Seagrove, were hunting on this side the Oakmulgee, when two of their number were most treacherously murdered by a party of whites, about midway between that river and the Oconee. Three men, who appeared to be hunters, came to their camp, without arms. The Indians received and entertained them in a friendly manner, gave them something to eat, and shewed them every attention in their power. After staying some time with the Indians, they left them, and returned, with their arms and the rest of their party, fired upon and killed two of them. The Bird-tail king and the other six immediately fled; and, this day, they came to this post, to demand the reasons why they had been thus attacked, while they were hunting under the protection of the United States. They were also induced to make us this visit, because they knew that Weatherford was at this time here, on business from Mr. Seagrove. Every possible exertion has been made by the commanding officer to pacify them, and I have assured them that I would write to your Excellency, and solicit for them the justice which their case seems to require.

I am induced to believe that it is directly contrary to your Excellency's wishes that any armed party should cross the river, especially while Mr. Seagrove is endeavoring to induce the Indians to peace, and is on the eve of this happy event.

It will be impossible for the United States to keep the Indians quiet, if such atrocious acts should be permitted to go unpunished. I therefore request that your Excellency would be pleased to issue such orders as you may judge expedient for bringing the perpetrators to justice.

The Bird-tail king and his party will re-cross the river to-morrow, and return to their nation. It is to be apprehended that some mischief may ensue. The Bird-tail king, however, has promised me that he will not retaliate, but wait until he can learn what measures may be adopted to do him justice.

I am extremely sorry that, after the information I gave your Excellency yesterday, of the peaceable temper of the Indians, I should so soon have reason to complain against the whites.

Mr. Newman, who will deliver your Excellency this letter, will return immediately to this post. He will receive your orders.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

2d January.—Since writing the above, a young man, by the name of Walker, has made the enclosed declaration, which I have thought of sufficient consequence to transmit to your Excellency.

I have further to add, that a Mr. Booth has this moment informed me that an express was sent last night to Captain Sandford, from Major Adams, of Greene county, ordering him to collect as many men as possible, and meet him this morning at the Cedar Shoals, eight or ten miles above this post, in order to pursue the Indians. Captain Sandford is absent, therefore his men were not collected. The Indians crossed the river about half past twelve this day.

*Bartlet Walker's declaration:*

Personally appeared Bartlet Walker, aged sixteen years, and declares, in presence of Almighty God, that he was at Chambers' mill, upon Shoulderbone creek, on the 31st of last month, and that he there heard Captain Jonathan Adams, of Greene county, in the State of Georgia, declare, that he, and three others, did, on last Saturday, fire upon, and kill, two Indians, on the other side of the Oconee; that he, the said Adams, did kill one of the said Indians himself, and the other was killed by the fire of two of his party; that one of his party did not fire; and that he, nor any of his party, did not go near the Indians whom they had killed, and farther saith not.

BARTLET WALKER.

Signed in the presence of us:

R. B. ROBERTS, *Capt. 2d sub-legion U. S.*  
THOS. MARTIN, *Capt. 1st sub-legion U. S.*  
STAATS MORRIS, *Lieut. of the U. S. Artillery,*  
FRED. DALCHO, *S. M.*

FORT FIDIUS, Thursday, 2d January, 1794.

*Copy of a letter from Richard Brooke Roberts, Captain in the second sub-legion, in the army of the United States, to the Secretary of War, dated*

FORT FIDIUS, January 2d, 1794.

SIR:

Major Gaither being gone on a visit to the lower posts, and the command here devolving on me, I think it my duty to inform you of the most wanton and deliberate murder, committed, on the 28th ultimo, on a hunting party of Indians, friendly to the United States. This party were then hunting by leave of Mr. Seagrove, who is at present in the Creek nation. The perpetrators of this murder were out as spies on the other side of the Oconee, by what authority I know not. Tuskatchee Mico, or the White-bird-tail king, with six warriors of the Cussetah town, came into this post yesterday, at noon, to know the meaning of such outrages: for, it seems, the Indians killed were from his town. He seemed greatly concerned, and wished for some redress. I made use of every argument I was master of, to convince him the United States, far from authorizing such licentious acts, had ordered a peaceable conduct towards the friendly Indians, and wished for a peace, which they thought, with the White-bird-tail king, was about to be established. I told them I should write to you and the Governor of the State, who would put an end to such bad behavior in future. That I requested they would neither retaliate on Mr. Seagrove, nor any of the whites, until they heard from you. Such arguments, and supplying them with every thing they stood in need of, seemed at length to appease them. I have furnished them with a passport to hunt, to come and go, to and from, this post, whenever they pleased. It is impossible to say, sir, whether this pass will be regarded by the Georgians or not, as some of them have been heard publicly to declare, the death of Mr. Seagrove is what they earnestly desired; and, I have not a doubt, this murder was done with a view of retaliating on the agent. Captain Freeman will forward to you the declaration of a young man, signed in the presence of the officers, informing who the perpetrators of the murder were. It has also gone on to the Governor, to whom I have written on this occasion, and requested a stop might be put to such outrageous acts, if he wished not to see his country involved in a war, shocking to humanity. A copy of the letter to the Governor is enclosed.

*Copy of a letter from Captain Richard B. Roberts to the Governor of Georgia, (enclosed in the foregoing.)*

FORT FIDUS, January 2, 1794.

SIR:

It is with the greatest regret that the painful task is left me to inform your Excellency of the most perfidious and wanton murder, committed on the 28th ultimo, by some of the militia of this State, on a hunting party of friendly Indians; Tuskatchee Mico, or the White-bird-tail king, with six warriors, arrived at this post yesterday, about noon, and informed me that, on the 28th ultimo, as they were quietly encamped some where on the little river, a party of about three white men came unarmed into their encampment, where they met with a friendly reception, and experienced acts of hospitality from the savages; such as eating with them; that they then went away; but, soon after, returned, with their arms, and fired on the helpless encampment, by which means two Indians were killed. The unfortunate fate of these two Indians is more peculiarly offensive, to the savages, as they were all of the Cussetah town.

The White-bird-tail king wished to know from me, whether this party had gone out by authority, and proceeded to say he had met Mr. Seagrove at that town, and received him as a brother; that he went from thence into the Upper Creek towns, where he met the like reception. That the Creeks had supposed, from Mr. Seagrove, that a firm peace was established between the United States and them; that he had obtained leave from the agent to hunt; that the Cussetahs were always known to be friends to the whites; when any of their young men had committed depredations, and brought horses to their town, he invariably returned them; that, before he ever came into the settlements, he had been fired upon, and lost two of his townsmen; that it appeared to him to be a concerted matter, and that the declaration of peace was no more than a mask for their destruction. I urged every thing in my power to convince him that the murder was perpetrated by some lawless people, contrary to the wish or inclination of the United States, or the authority of this State; that we all anxiously wished for a permanent peace; that I would inform you of it, and I was very sure you would take such measures as to put an end to the like enormities in future.

I take leave to represent to your Excellency, and my duty to the United States, as one of their officers, urges me to do so, that, Mr. Seagrove being among the savages at this moment, he is, in some degree, a hostage for the due performance of peaceable acts; and should a stop not be put to such unjustifiable proceedings, his life must pay the forfeit. Humanity is shocked at the dreadful thought, that one of our countrymen, in the very act of making peace, should fall a victim to the wanton barbarity of a set of unthinking lawless men.

I have this moment received certain intelligence that Captain Adams, of Shoulderbone, was the commander of the party that killed the Indians. Bartlet Walker, the son of a citizen, about a mile from this post, is ready to swear he heard Adams say he shot one of them.

I have the honor to be, &c.

R. B. ROBERTS.

*Copy of a letter from Governor Blount to the Secretary of War, dated*

KNOXVILLE, December 26th, 1793.

SIR:

I enclose you copies of three letters, received four days past, from John McKee; they contain all the information I have received from the Cherokees, since my return from Philadelphia.

On Monday, the 23d instant, a party of Indians, the number unknown, way-laid a path leading from Well's Station, (blockhouses) and fired upon a party of citizens conveying a wagon load of corn, from a neighboring plantation to the station, for the subsistence of their families, killed Roger Oates and Nicholas Ball, captured a mulatto boy, and took the wagon horses—Well's Blockhouses are twenty two miles from this place. A gun; of the description of those given by the Spaniards to the Creeks, was left on the ground by the Indians, which gives reason to suspect some of them were Creeks, and this suspicion is strengthened by the information of Charles Tucker to John McKee. I have not heard from Mero district since the 20th November, and on this part it is most probable the party of Creeks mentioned by Tucker will aim their blow.

I have the honor, &c.

*John McKee to Governor Blount.*

OCONEE MOUNTAIN, frontiers South Carolina, November 18, 1793.

SIR:

Under your instructions of the 17th ultimo, I proceeded to this place by way of Swannano and General Pickens'. At Swannano I did not go to the extreme frontier, as I learned from good authority that a communication with the Cherokee nation from that quarter\* was impracticable, owing to the violent conduct of a Captain Smith, ——— Davidson, (son of Colonel William Davidson) ——— Foster, and two or three others, who way-laid the path leading from Davidson's to the nation, and killed two Cherokee fellows, who had been peaceably trading in the settlement, and took a woman prisoner, whom they despatched in a day or two, with a letter from Major William Wilson, informing the Indians that the mischief was done by people from the territory, which so far pacified them that they have not yet killed any person on that frontier. I was detained by heavy rains, and consequent high waters, and General Pickens had started to Philadelphia a few days previous to my arrival at his house. The communication from this place with the Indians is more difficult than I expected to find it, as the Georgians, it is said, are almost daily lying on the path leading to the nation, so that those who pass have to pass along some by-way in the mountain. Indeed, some people in this neighborhood, though they have been injured by the Cherokees less than any frontier adjacent to that nation, talk very rash, and denounce many threats. I have been advised by some traders, lately from the nation, that it would be extremely dangerous for me to go in at this time, and I have therefore declined it for the present; but, from the best information I can get, the chiefs of the Upper towns are desirous of peace, though their young fellows are daily stealing horses from the frontiers of the territory, and that the Lower towns, with Watts and the Bloody Fellow, are for war. These two chiefs, with many others from different parts of the nation, were at the massacre of Cavet's family, and I have been informed one of the family, a small boy, is yet alive, and a prisoner in the Creek nation; he was taken by Watts, who had no other way of saving him from the fury of the young fellows, but by giving him to the Creeks. There is also a prisoner, supposed from the Greasy Cove, of Lewis's family, now in the Valley towns, the young fellows of which are daily in the habit of committing depredations on the frontiers of Washington and Hamilton districts, and two or three of them have lately been killed on Pigeon—so says Charles Tucker. I have despatched the letter of the Secretary of War, of the 27th of August last, and by the bearer have requested the Maw to come to this place to see me: if he comes, I shall be enabled fully to inform you of the situation and disposition of the nation; if he should not come, I have instructed the bearer of the letter to go to the Lower towns, and at his return to let me know their intentions. Tucker says that, about eight days ago, near three hundred Creeks had passed through the Cherokee nation, for war against the territory, and that they intended to divide in small parties, and skulk along the frontiers.

I have the, &c.

\* On the frontiers of North Carolina.

KNOXVILLE, December 26, 1793.

The circumstances attending the killing the Indians at Swannano, on the frontier of North Carolina, mentioned by Mr. McKee, as they have been represented to me by various reporters, and I believe truly, are, "that some Cherokees, in the latter part of September, or the early part of October, went to the house of Colonel William Davidson, of Buncombe county, trading, and as they were peaceably returning home, Captain Smith, young Mr. Davidson, (son of the Colonel) Mr. Foster, and others, forelaid them on their path, fired on them, and killed two fellows, and made a woman prisoner, and, after keeping her some days, sent her to the nation with a letter, giving information that the two fellows were killed by the people of the territory south of the Ohio. This false information was given the nation no doubt to the end that satisfaction might be taken upon the inhabitants of the territory south of Ohio, and not upon the guilty persons residing on the frontier of North Carolina. The citizens of North Carolina were without the color of justification for this barbarous and treacherous murder: for it is a fact, that no citizen of that State has been killed by Indians since the treaties of New York and Holston.

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

*John McKee to Governor Blount.*

OCONEE MOUNTAIN, November 26, 1793.

Sir:

Since my last, of the 18th instant, I have seen no person from the nation, and I am afraid it will be some time before any Indians can be prevailed on to come in: for, I am sorry to say, that even the conduct of Captain Beard is eclipsed by the conduct of some men from Keowee, about eight miles from this place, on Tuesday last, the 19th instant, who, in number twelve, armed, set out for the nation, under pretence of recovering some horses they said they had lost, and they acknowledge that an Indian fellow, who had taken them from the thief, gave them up, gave them victuals, and piloted them through the most difficult part of their road home; after which, they met a peaceable young fellow, who had been in the settlements trading, and without any provocation, in cold blood, wantonly put him to death. If such flagitious acts are permitted to pass unpunished, it will be in vain to make any attempts towards the re-establishment of peace. The proper officers have had notice of the murder, but what will be done I know not.

I have, &amp;c.

*John McKee to Governor Blount.*

OCONEE MOUNTAIN, December 5, 1793.

Sir:

Two of the perpetrators of the murder, mentioned in my letter of the 26th ultimo, have been taken before a magistrate; but, as there was no proof, except their own previous acknowledgment, which they then retracted, they were not committed, and it may be, that they raised the report to alarm the frontiers, though I am afraid it is too true.

Yesterday Mr. Edward Adair arrived from the nation, and informs me that the Little Turkey, John Watts, Eskaquia, and a number of the other chiefs, have gone to the Walnut Hills, where a deputation from the Cherokee, Creek, Chickasaw, and Choctaw nations, and Shawanese if any were in the Cherokee nation, are invited, to a treaty or conference with the Spaniards, whose last talks to the Cherokees were expressive of a strong desire that they should live at peace with their neighbors the citizens of the United States, unless invaded in their territory, and then to fight with all their force, and they should be supported; and that they have actually built a strong fort in Will's town, in expectation that the Spaniards would man it. Mr. Adair also says that the Glass, and some others of the chiefs, talk strongly for peace, the attainment of which desirable object, in my opinion, depends on the conference with the Spaniards, from which (I will speak plainly) I anticipate but little good to the United States: for, though I hope and believe the Spanish Government is well affected towards the United States, yet I am afraid some influential character, under that Government, has been active in spurring on these infatuated people to persevere in their acts of hostility.

I intend going to Will's town, and the other Lower towns, as soon as Watts returns, if I find I can do it with any prospect of safety.

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 46.

[1st SESSION.

## THE SOUTHWESTERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 19, 1794.

Mr. PICKINS, from the committee to whom was referred the message from the President of the United States, of the 30th ultimo, transmitting the copy of a letter from Constant Freeman, agent for the War Department, in Georgia, to the Secretary of War, dated the first of January last, with sundry enclosures, relative to the Creek Indians, made the following report:

That the present situation of the Southwestern frontier requires that the Government of the United States take the most speedy and efficacious measures, as well to afford ample protection to the exposed inhabitants of that frontier, from the repeated depredations of the hostile Indians, as to prevent unauthorized attacks, by the lawless white inhabitants, on the Indian tribes.

That, in order to effect these purposes, the committee recommend the following resolutions:

That the President of the United States be authorized to call out such a number of the militia of the said States, as may be requisite to carry on offensive operations against such tribes or towns of Indians as may continue hostile, if, in his opinion, such offensive measures may be necessary, for the security of the frontier inhabitants, by compelling the Indians to a strict compliance with their treaties, and to prevent unprovoked aggressions by them: *Provided*, That the whole number of militia, so to be called into service, at any one time, shall not exceed \_\_\_\_\_ officers and privates, and be continued in service, at any one period, longer than the term of \_\_\_\_\_ months; the President to be authorized to establish such military posts as he may judge necessary, to prevent, as far as practicable, every depredation of the Indians, within the boundary line, fixed by treaty between the United States and them; and also to prevent any lawless attacks, by the white inhabitants, on the Indians, or encroachments on their hunting ground, without the said line; and to cause military posts to be guarded, by troops raised for the defence of the frontiers; and to cause to be raised, on the terms of the present military establishment, one or more troops of horse, to be employed as patrols between the said posts.

That every officer, non-commissioned officer, or private, of the militia of the United States, who shall go armed, over the mutual boundary line, and commit murder, or other depredations upon the Indians, without being legally



authorized thereto, under the President, every such person, so offending, shall be considered as having voluntarily put himself under military power, and shall be tried by a court-martial, and, if convicted of the murder of any Indian, shall suffer death: and, if convicted of any offence, short of murder, shall suffer such fines and penalties as shall be adjudged by the said court-martial, not extending to the taking life; and, moreover, if such offender be an officer, upon such conviction, he shall be cashiered, and forever thereafter disqualified from holding a military commission within the United States: *Provided*, That this prohibition shall not extend to militia officers or privates, pursuing any Indian party, which may have been committing depredations within the present limits of the said States.

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 47.

[1st SESSION.]

## THE CREEKS AND CHEROKEES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 10, 1794.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *March 10, 1794.*

SIR:

In pursuance of directions from the President of the United States, I have the honor to submit to the House of Representatives a statement of the gross sum of money which was expended in the year 1790, in making the Creek treaty of New York; and also of the amount of presents made to the Creek and Cherokee nations since the said treaty.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient servant,

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

The Hon. the SPEAKER  
of the House of Representatives, U. S.

*A statement of the gross sum of money which was expended by the United States in making the Creek treaty of New York, in August, 1790; and also of presents which have been made to the Creek and Cherokee Indians, since the said treaty, including the annual allowances stipulated by treaties.*

Expenses of the Creek treaty	-	-	-	-	\$20,583 90
Indian goods and presents since the treaty—To the Creeks	-	-	-	-	22,279 99
To the Cherokees	-	-	-	-	18,217 56
					<u>\$ 61,081 45</u>

The supplies forwarded to Governor Blount, for the Cherokees, in the latter end of the year 1793, amounting to \$5,230 75, and which were, by the last information, still remaining on hand, are included in the above, subject to the disposal of the Governor.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*WAR DEPARTMENT, *March 10, 1794.*

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 48.

[1st SESSION.]

## THE CREEKS AND CHEROKEES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, APRIL 8, 1794.

Mr. CARNES, from the committee to whom was referred the memorial of the representatives of the People south of the river Ohio, praying protection from the hostile incursions of the Indians, made the following report:

That, from the representations made to your committee, and the facts stated in the memorial, the citizens resident on the Southwestern frontiers have experienced, and still continue to suffer, the most cruel and inhuman aggressions from large bodies of savages of the Creek and Cherokee nations. That, notwithstanding their solemn engagements to the contrary, and the most express stipulations in the treaties of Holston and New York, they have continued to invade the settlements on that frontier, and to commit thefts and murders unparalleled but by people of the like savage and ferocious nature. The settlers, on the other hand, determined on a due observance of the compacts made on the part of the United States, have done nothing more than act on the defensive. Your committee further report, that the situation of the Southwestern frontier in general, and Mero district in particular, calls for the most energetic measures, on the part of Government, to prevent the repeated depredations of those hostile tribes, and to afford speedy and effectual protection to the exposed inhabitants of that frontier; and, in order thereto, recommend the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the President of the United States be authorized to call out such number of the militia of the government of the territory south of the river Ohio as may be requisite to carry on offensive operations against any nation or tribe of Indians that may continue hostile. And, whereas great inconvenience may arise to the citizens on the frontier, if they are not permitted to repel and pursue any invading body of Indians until orders for that purpose can be received from the President of the United States: Be it, therefore,

*Resolved*, That, whenever the Governor of the territory south of the Ohio shall have just cause to apprehend that an invasion is contemplated by any body or nation of Indians, he shall be, and is hereby, authorized to order out such part of the militia of said territory as he shall judge proper to repel, annoy, and pursue, such invading party of Indians, and shall transmit, by express, to the President of the United States, as accurate accounts as can be obtained, of the destination of the party so invading, the force ordered out to oppose them, and such other circumstances respecting the invasion and situation of the militia so ordered out, as may have come to his knowledge; and to continue the aforesaid militia in the field until the cause ceases, or until further or other orders are received from the President of the United States.

*Resolved*, That the President be authorized to cause to be established, and guarded, by troops raised for the defence of the frontiers, and, on the terms of the present military establishment, such military posts as, in his judgment, will be necessary for the permanent security of the frontier settlers, and to employ one or more troops of horse as patrols, or rangers, between the said posts.

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 49.

[1st Session.

## THE SIX NATIONS AND OTHERS.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, MAY 21, 1794.

*Gentlemen of the Senate**and of the House of Representatives:*

I lay before you, in confidence, sundry papers, by which you will perceive the state of affairs between us and the Six Nations, and the probable cause to which it is owing. And, also, certain information, whereby it would appear that some encroachment was about to be made on our territory, by an officer and party of British troops. Proceeding upon a supposition of the authenticity of this information, although of a private nature, I have caused the representation to be made to the British minister, a copy of which accompanies this message.\*

It cannot be necessary to comment upon the very serious nature of such an encroachment, nor to urge, that this new state of things suggests the propriety of placing the United States in a posture of effectual preparation, for an event which, notwithstanding the endeavors making to avert it, may, by circumstances beyond our control, be forced upon us.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, 21st May, 1794.

At a meeting between the Indians of the Six Nations, and their confederates, at the Onondaga village, on Buffalo creek, and John Butler, Esquire, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, at Niagara, in the Province of Upper Canada, and Israel Chapin, Esquire, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, in the United States' Northern Department, on Tuesday, the 8th day of October, 1793:

After the council had met, the Onondaga chief, CLEAR SKY, spoke as follows:

BROTHERS: We thank the Great Spirit for our happy meeting, that he has preserved us through all difficulties, dangers, and sickness, and given us an opportunity of meeting together at this place. He then went through the regular ceremony of condolence, and, severally, addressed Colonel Butler, General Chapin, and Indians of the several nations assembled; which ceremony was returned by Colonel Butler and General Chapin, in their separate characters, agreeable to the custom of Indians.

THE FARMER'S BROTHER then delivered the speech of the Shawanese, Delawares, and Twithuays, and spoke as follows:

BROTHERS: Colonel Butler, and General Chapin, we wish you to attend the Shawanese, and other nations of Indians; thanked the Six Nations for their attention, and were glad to see them at the great council fire, which had been kindled some time at the rapids of the Miami; and then proceeded:

BROTHERS: You are acquainted with the friendship which once subsisted between you and our fathers; and the reason that the present fire is kindled, is to renew that friendship.

BROTHERS: We mentioned this to you last fall, at a council at the Glaize, and we now repeat it, to put you in mind of that friendship which once subsisted between you and our wise forefathers.

[A belt of white wampum, made in a circular form, representing their place of meeting, as in the centre, and crossed by four stripes of black wampum, representing all their confederates, East, West, North, and South.]

The seven nations of Canada then asked how long the confederacy had subsisted between the Shawanese, &c. and the Six Nations, and their confederates; the answer was, *three lives*.

The Shawanese, &c. then proceeded:

BROTHERS: The ancient confederacy which subsisted between us and the Five Nations, was, that, if any of the Five Nations were in distress, we would take them to us; we now see that you are in distress; that you are surrounded by water, and have not dry land to stand upon; that a large white beast stands with open mouth on the other side, ready to destroy you. We have dry land for you to stand on; and we now take you by the hand, and invite you to come, and bring your beds, and sit down with us.—[A belt of seven rows of black and white wampum.]

The warriors now joined with the chiefs, and repeat the ancient agreement, and recommend a union of all the different nations, and ask them to follow what is requested of them by the chiefs.—[Sixteen strings of wampum.]

The Six Nations then advised the hostile Indians to send for the commissioners of the United States, who had arrived at the mouth of Detroit river, and take them by the hand, and lead them to the council fire which was then kindled.

PUCK-ON-OHE-LUH, head warrior of the Delawares, then spoke:

BROTHERS: I call you my uncles, and all the other Indians my grand-children; them I have already united and bound together, and I now bind you all together with this string.—[A large bunch of black wampum.]

The sachems of the Delawares then spoke:

BROTHERS: You have heard the speech of the chief warriors; we join with them, are glad to hear they have bound all their grand-children together, and that they have spoke with great respect to their uncles, and recommended to all to be of one mind.—[Four belts of wampum.]

The Six Nations returned thanks for the advice they had received from the Delawares.

The Wyandots then spoke:

BROTHERS: You came to us one hundred and fifty years ago, when we lived above Detroit, with a speech from the Six Nations, assembled at their council fire at Onondaga hill, and recommended to us to be friends, and advised us not to listen to any bad report, or any thing that would disturb our minds.

BROTHERS: Listen to a few words more we have to say to you; we hear the Virginians are near us; we shall not go to meet them; but if they should come among us, we do not know what will be the consequence.

The Chippewas, and twenty-six other nations, their confederates, then spoke:

BROTHERS: We are sorry that the business, for which the council fire was kindled at the rapids of the Miami, has not been completed as we could wish. We were desired, by the different nations which we represent, to attend the council, and use our endeavors to bring about a general peace, and unite all the nations.

The Wyandots again spoke, with a very large belt of wampum, with three pictures upon it, one in the middle, and one at each end, representing the Americans at one end, the Six Nations in the middle, and themselves at the other end, and expressed their sorrow that the Americans were gone before they had an opportunity to speak to them.

The Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pattawatamies, deputies from twenty-seven nations, inhabiting along the Lakes, and above Michilimackinack, then spoke:

\* The copy here alluded to may be found with the Message of the 23d May, 1794, Vol. I.

**BROTHERS:** We are sorry that we have attended all summer at the council fire, and have not done any business, as we expected.

**BROTHERS:** We are now united with you, the Six Nations, and ask you to return to your seats, and let the United States know our determination, and return with an answer to us by the middle of winter, and not stop, as some nations may confuse you, and make your minds bad.

The Six Nations, in answer to the Chippewas, &c.

**BROTHERS:** We thank you, and, as soon as we get to our seats, we will kindle our council fire, and call Canadasago, our agent, appointed by the United States to meet with us, and, through him, will have our determination communicated to Congress.

The chiefs of the Six Nations to Colonel Butler and General Chapin:

**BROTHERS:** We have now made known to you our proceedings, at the late proposed treaty at the rapids of the Miami, and have informed you of the proposed line between the Indians and the United States, which, if accepted, we shall assist the white people to make a peace.

*Proceedings of a Council held at Buffalo Creek, October 10th, 1793.*

Present: John Butler, Esquire, Superintendent of Indian affairs; Israel Chapin, Esquire, Superintendent of Indian affairs, Northern Department United States, with the chiefs of the Six Nations.

The FARMER'S BROTHER, in addition to what passed in council the 8th October, instant, addressed them as follows:

**BROTHERS:** I am sorry we were the other day obliged to close the council, as we expected the Mohawks would have been present, and could have assisted in giving a fuller explanation of the business we had called you together upon, than was, at that time, in our power; they are now arrived, and Captain Brandt will further inform you what we have to say.

Captain Brandt then spoke as follows:

**BROTHERS:** You, the King, our father, and you, our brother, the United States, attend to what we have to say. We will now explain to you the material point, upon which we have requested your attendance at this council, and which has not been fully explained. We wish to act openly, that the world may judge of our proceedings.

**BROTHERS:** It is unnecessary to repeat what passed at the great council, at the Miami rapids, as we know that you are already acquainted therewith. We shall therefore point out the cause of our parting from the meeting, in the manner we did.

**BROTHERS:** When the first deputation from the confederate Indians met the commissioners of the United States, at Niagara, every thing seemed to promise a friendly termination of the treaty; but, before their return to the council fire, at the rapids of the Miami, messengers from the Creek nations arrived there, and brought authentic information of the white people having encroached upon that part of the confederacy.

This intelligence at once gave a change to the face of our proceedings, and, probably, was the sole cause of the abrupt termination of the negotiations for peace. Thus, you see, that claims upon our lands always have been, and still continue to be, the cause of the war.

**BROTHERS:** About five years ago, we agreed upon a line of demarcation with the United States, which you know to be the Muskingum; and, notwithstanding the various accidents that have since occurred, we will still adhere to that boundary.

**BROTHERS:** We think the United States will agree to this line, which will shew the sincerity and justice they always profess for the Indians; should they agree to this, we sincerely hope that peace will still take place, and we think, that the weight of our branch of the confederacy will be able to accomplish peace upon the reasonable line we have just mentioned, and we shall be exceeding sorry to find that this proposal should not be generally accepted by the confederacy. If it is rejected, we must be involved in difficulties in our own country.

**BROTHERS:** We will now proceed to explain the line upon which we hope peace will be made. We know that the lands along the Ohio are claimed by the Indians, but we propose to give up such part of those lands as are actually settled and improved; which settlements are to be circumscribed by a line drawn round them, and no further claims are to be admitted beyond such line. The remainder of the boundary to be explained by General Chapin, for which purpose it is the general wish of the Six Nations that General Chapin will, himself, proceed with this speech to Congress. [A belt of black and white wampum.]

*Message from the Secretary of War to the Sachems, Chiefs, and Warriors, of the Six Nations.*

**BROTHERS:**

A copy of your proceedings at Buffalo creek, on the 8th day of October last, has been received by General Chapin. These proceedings contain the sentiments of several chiefs of the various tribes who were assembled at the great council fire, which was kindled at the rapids of the Miami the last summer.

And, in addition to this information, you add, in your meeting of the 10th of the same month, your desires of a boundary, which you say will be further explained by General Chapin.

All these communications have been submitted to your Father, General Washington, the President of the United States, who desires the Six Nations to receive his sincere and hearty thanks for their assurances and acts of friendship to the United States.

While your Father, the President, has observed with great pleasure the pains you have taken to effect a peace between the United States and the hostile Indians, he is, at the same time, very sorry that any circumstances should have prevented the accomplishment of a measure affecting the happiness of both parties. Peace is best for the whites as well as for the red people, and it is always the cause of sorrow among good men, when misunderstandings arise which create wars.

The United States consider that they have taken all the requisite means to obtain a peace, which their duty or their humanity required. They appointed respectable and wise characters as commissioners, who were accompanied by a deputation of friends, the known advocates for peace. Those commissioners, under discouraging circumstances, persevered, for a long time, to obtain an interview with the great council of the Indians. This being ineffectual, they made, in good faith, such liberal offers in writing, to ensure the future comfort and prosperity of the Indians, as were never before given to the Indians of North America.

These circumstances being known, forever acquit the character of the United States from all imputations of desiring a continuance of the war.

The same principles of moderation and humanity which before dictated the offers to the Indians, and a sincere friendship for the Six Nations, have induced your Father, the President, to consider attentively your proposition for a new boundary. Although the lines you mention are considered as liable to considerable objections, yet, it is hoped, when all difficulties shall be discussed at a treaty or conference, by moderate men, with upright views, that some agreement may be made which would lead to a general peace.

On this ground, the President consents that a conference should be held at Venango, on the 15th, or middle of May next.

It is expected that the chiefs of the Six Nations and Chippewas will attend, and the chiefs of all such of the Western tribes as the said Six Nations and Chippewas may invite. And, if the hostile tribes should think proper to attend, they will be well received and treated, as people ought to be who are holding friendly treaties.

But, it cannot be unknown to you, that, by the late abortive efforts to negotiate, the American army was restrained from offensive operations against those tribes, who appear deaf to the voice of reason and peace. Such a conduct will not be observed by the United States again. This must be clearly understood; let it be remembered, therefore, that there is no deception on our parts. Our army must be left entirely at liberty to act as circumstances may require. The scene of operations, however, will be far distant from Venango, the proposed place of meeting.

It is to be observed, that in case any of the Western Indians attend at Venango, it would be proper they should proceed by water, at least as far east as Presqu' Isle, and thence to French creek by land. It would be dangerous for them to proceed from the westward by land, for the same reason they gave last year, namely, that the said paths are bloody paths.

**BROTHERS:** If you agree to the time and place of meeting, it will be proper that you should immediately signify the same to General Chapin, that due preparations may be made at the said place.

Given at the city of Philadelphia, by order of the President of the United States, the 24th day of December, 1793.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

*To the Sachems, Chiefs, and Warriors, of the Six Nations.*

**BROTHERS:**

Your Father, General Washington, has directed, as an evidence of his affection, and a reward for your services the last summer, that you and your families should be well supplied with good warm clothing.

Your friend, General Chapin, has this clothing in possession, for the purpose of being delivered to you.

Receive, therefore, these presents, with the same affection and sincere friendship that they are delivered to you by the United States.

Given at the city of Philadelphia, by order of the President of the United States, the twenty-fourth day of December, 1793.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

*Letter from Israel Chapin to the Secretary of War.*

CANANDAIGUA, *February 25th, 1794.*

**SIR:**

Enclosed are the proceedings of a council, holden at Buffalo creek, the 7th of this instant. There were present at the council, the principal sachems, chiefs, &c. of the Six Nations, together with one Shawanee Indian that attended the council. There were a number of the British, from Upper Canada, also, who attended the council, agreeable to the Indians' request, viz. Major Littlehales, and others, of the Indian department. I proceeded on business, agreeable to your direction. The speech from the President was interpreted to them, and, although a little different from what they expected, (yet was gratified in the same.) I also informed them respecting the supply of clothing, &c. forwarded them by the President's directions, which they received with much gratitude, and as a new token of his fatherly disposition towards them; but I believe had not the same effect with those who, they at present, call their brothers, the other side of the water. They did not give me a direct answer to the President's speech, as they wanted some time, for several reasons; some of their chiefs were absent, and some of them in the Shawanese country, in order to find out the dispositions of them towards the United States, &c. Captain Brandt was present at the council; and, from every information I can obtain, the Six Nations, together with the Chippewas, will, undoubtedly, agree to hold a treaty next summer, agreeable to the President's request. As soon as I receive their answer, will forward it without loss of time, which will probably be in one month from the date.

I am, sir, with respect and esteem, your most obedient servant,

ISRAEL CHAPIN.

*Proceedings of a council holden at Buffalo Creek, February 7th, 1794.*

Present: The principal sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the Mohawk, Cayuga, Oneida, Delaware, and Tuscarora nations of Indians.

*From the United States*—General Chapin, the superintendent, Mr. Colt, and Mr. Parrish, the interpreter.

*From Upper Canada*—Major Littlehales, Captain Bunbury, and the officers of the Indian department.

After going through the usual ceremonies of congratulation, RED JACKET, a Seneca chief, spoke as follows:

**BROTHERS:** (addressed to General Chapin.) We are happy that the Great Spirit has protected you to and from the President of the United States, with our proceedings relative to a boundary line, and with his, the President's, answer thereto.

**BROTHERS:** (addressed to the British.) We are glad to see you, the King's people, here, as we sent for you to listen to the answer of the President of the United States. Now, brothers of the United States, proceed.

General CHAPIN returned the compliment to the Indians, adding, that he was glad that they had sent for the King's people, to hear the speech about to be delivered, observing, also, that the sickness in Philadelphia, and Congress not being met together, had occasioned his delay.

General Chapin then read the President's speech. After the speech had been interpreted by Mr. Parrish,

General CHAPIN said:

**BROTHERS:** Having been absent from my family a greater part of the time, for the last year, I hope to have an answer to the President's speech, as soon as you can conveniently give one.

**BROTHERS:** When I was in Philadelphia, I requested your father, the President of the United States, to give each of your people, who attended the treaty last summer, a suit of clothes, as a reward for their services; I likewise desired him to furnish your poor and distressed people with some ammunition, and a few articles of clothing; and it is with pleasure I can inform you, that those requests were readily granted. I have procured the articles for you, and expect they will shortly be brought to my house.

RED JACKET replied:

**BROTHERS:** (of the United States.) We have heard the speech which has been delivered to us, with great attention, and shall now remove the council fire to our castle, to take it into private consideration.

Red Jacket then took the speech and belt, and gave it to Major Littlehales, desiring him to peruse it attentively.

Major Littlehales then addressed himself to the Indians, as follows, returning the strings of black and white wampum, which had been given him to attend the council.

**BROTHERS:** Agreeably to your invitation, communicated to me in the absence of the Governor from Niagara, and his information soliciting my attendance with some of the King's, your father's, officers, together with the officers of your own department, we immediately proceeded here, and thank the Great Spirit for bringing us safe to your council fire.

Present, as before, viz:

February 9th, 1794.

*The principal Sachems, Chiefs, and Warriors, of the Six Nations; Red Jacket, speaker; Mr. Parrish, interpreter.*

**BROTHERS:**

We have taken your speech into consideration, and our eldest brother, Captain Brandt, is to relate the result of our meeting in private council yesterday.

Captain Brandt then spoke as follows, with nine strings of white and black wampum:

**BROTHERS:** I now address myself to you, General Chapin, of the United States, and to you, Major Littlehales, in behalf of the King, and thank the Great Spirit for bringing us again together in council, as what we are agoing to relate we wish the world to know.

**BROTHERS:** You have both heard the message we delivered to our brothers of the United States last fall, relative to a boundary line; and we expected a positive answer from you, brothers of the United States, whether you would accept of it or not.

**BROTHERS:** When we delivered the message to you last fall, for the United States, we had first taken it into serious consideration; we spoke the language of our hearts, and the Great Spirit knew our minds; all the Six Nations were of the same opinion, and we are well assured, that, had the United States accepted our proposed boundary line, peace would have certainly taken place.

**BROTHERS:** The speech you have brought us, has given us great uneasiness; we are greatly at loss how to act; we expected a direct answer to our proposals of a boundary line; now we are much distressed that you have brought us but half an answer; the kindling a council fire at a distant place, is what we are not prepared to give a reply to.

**BROTHERS:** Provided the United States had accepted our proposed boundary line, we should have sent immediately to our Western brethren, who know our sentiments, and we should have attended your council and confirmed it.

**BROTHERS:** Make your minds easy; but in consequence of the importance of your speech, we must have time to deliberate very seriously upon it; we cannot give you an immediate answer; we must have a general council of all the chiefs; only a few are now present, and we should all be together. The reason of so much counselling at different times, has proceeded from so small a number of our sachems and chiefs being assembled, and this has been the principal cause of the present trouble.

**BROTHERS:** You, General Chapin, live near us; we have two months and a half to consider of your speech, and by that time we will give you a final answer. We pray the Great Spirit that these difficulties may terminate to the happiness of both parties.

**BROTHERS:** You requested an answer as soon as was convenient, but in such very weighty business, it is impossible to give one immediately. With regard to provision, there is plenty in your country, and, if we should agree to meet you, you need not be particular about what we shall consume, for we shall not expect any thing but provision.

**BROTHERS:** We now conclude, and we pray the Great Spirit to protect you safe home, and we desire you will bear it continually on your minds, that you will soon receive an answer. [The nine strings of wampum delivered to General Chapin.]

*The address of General Chapin to the Six Nations.*

**BROTHERS:** I thank the Great Spirit for preserving us, and am happy that we are again met together on this important business. The answer that you have made to the President's speech, has been taken down in writing.

**BROTHERS:** The business which has been laid before you, is of great importance, and it gives me great pleasure that you consider it so, and that you are going to call together all your sachems and chiefs to consider upon it seriously.

**BROTHERS:** You may rest assured, that your father, General Washington, wishes for peace, and the reason he wishes for the proposed treaty is, that all the Indian nations may come and talk together in a most serious manner. It is his desire, that those that are at war, as well as the other Indian nations, may come and discuss the matter fairly, to find where the difficulty lies, that peace may be made. He is sensible that the Six Nations have been very active in endeavoring to bring about a peace, and he hopes that their good works may be attended with success.

**BROTHERS:** I shall now return to my seat, and wait patiently for your final answer, and I earnestly hope, that all the Indian nations may be agreed, and that matters may be settled in such a manner, as will give satisfaction to the United States and the Indian nations.

*Extract of a letter from Detroit, dated April 17, 1794.*

"We have lately had a visit from Governor Simcoe; he came from Niagara, through the woods; he has gone to the foot of the Rapids, and three companies of Colonel England's regiment have followed him, to assist in building a fort there."

CANANDAIGUA, 29th April, 1794.

SIR:

I had the honor of informing you in my last, that I had received a runner from Buffalo Creek, requesting my attendance at a council summoned to meet there.

The enclosed are the proceedings of that council.

I have every reason to suppose, that the Six Nations had fully made up their minds, previous to the meeting of the council, to hold a treaty, agreeable to the wishes of the United States, in order to bring about a general peace. But the inflammatory speech of Lord Dorchester, which was interpreted to them by Colonel Butler, together with the presents heaped on them by the British, on this occasion, induced them to give up that friendly intention.

Colonel Butler and Captain Bunbury attended the council, in behalf of the British Government. They took pains, on all occasions, to represent a war between their government and ours, as inevitable; and, although in my presence, they did not intimate that their assistance would be wanted by the King, yet, I am persuaded, that, on other occasions, every effort is made to secure it.

The presents that I brought from Philadelphia, for, and delivered to the Indians, proved very satisfactory to them; and am persuaded, that, at the present time, a continuation of the generosity of the United States will be highly serviceable.

This part of the country being the frontier of the State of New York, feels very much alarmed at the present appearance of war.

Destitute of arms and ammunition, the scattered inhabitants of this remote wilderness would fall an easy prey to their savage neighbors, should they think proper to attack them.

When I was at Buffalo Creek, Governor Simcoe had gone to Detroit. He started for that place immediately after receiving Lord Dorchester's speech to the Indians.

The expenses of the Indians increase very fast. Their demands increase with the importance they suppose their friendship is to us.

However, sir, you may rest assured, that I endeavor to make use of all the economy that I can.

I have the honor to be, with respect, sir, your obedient servant,

ISRAEL CHAPIN.

P. S. My son will inform you many particulars that I thought proper to omit mentioning in this letter.

*Reply of the Six Nations, assembled at Buffalo Creek, on the 21st of April, 1794, to a speech from General Knox, Secretary of War to the United States, delivered by General Chapin, on the 10th February, as interpreted by Jasper Parrish, one of the interpreters for the United States.*

Clear Sky (an Onondaga chief) spoke as follows:

GENERAL CHAPIN: We are happy to see that you are arrived safe at our council fire, and that you have been preserved, by the Great Spirit, in good health.

COLONEL BUTLER: We are also very happy to see you at our council fire, as representing the King.

Captain Brandt then spoke as follows:

BROTHERS: You, of the United States, listen to what we are going to say to you; you, likewise, the King.

BROTHERS: We are very happy to see you, Colonel Butler and General Chapin, sitting side by side, with the intent of hearing what we have to say. We wish to do no business but what is done open and above-board.

BROTHER: You, of the United States, make your mind easy, on account of the long time your President's speech has been under our consideration; when we received it, we told you it was a business of importance, and required some time to be considered of.

BROTHER: The answer you have brought us is not according to what we expected, which was the reason of our long delay; the business would have been done with expedition, had the United States agreed to our proposals. We would then have collected our associates, and repaired to Venango, the place you proposed for meeting us.

BROTHER: It is not now in our power to accept your invitation; provided we were to go, you would conduct the business as you might think proper; this has been the case at all the treaties held, from time to time, by your commissioners.

BROTHER: At the first treaty, after the conclusion of the war between you and Great Britain, at fort Stanwix, your commissioners conducted the business as it to them seemed best; they pointed out a line of division, and then confirmed it; after this, they held out that our country was ceded to them by the King; this confused the chiefs who attended there, and prevented them from making any reply to the contrary; still holding out, if we did not consent to it, their warriors were at their back, and that we would get no further protection from Great Britain. This has ever been held out to us, by the commissioners from Congress; at all the treaties held with us since the peace, at fort McIntosh, at Rocky river, and every other meeting held, the idea was still the same.

BROTHER: This has been the case from time to time. Peace has not taken place, because you have held up these ideas, owing to which much mischief has been done to the Southward.

BROTHER: We, the Six Nations, have been exerting ourselves to keep peace since the conclusion of the war; we think it would be best for both parties; we advised the confederate nations to request a meeting, about half way between us and the United States, in order that such steps might be taken as would bring about a peace; this request was made, and Congress appointed commissioners to meet us at Muskingum, which we agreed to, a boundary line was then proposed by us, and refused by Governor St. Clair, one of your commissioners. The Wyandots, a few Delawares, and some others, met the commissioners, though not authorized, and confirmed the lines of what was not their property, but a common to all nations.

BROTHER: This idea we all held out at our council, at Lower Sandusky, held for the purpose of forming our confederacy, and to adopt measures that would be for the general welfare of our Indian nations, or people of our color; owing to those steps taken by us, the United States held out, that when we went to the Westward to transact our private business, that we went with an intention of taking an active part in the troubles subsisting between them and our Western brethren; this never has been the case. We have ever wished for the friendship of the United States.

BROTHER: We think you must be fully convinced, from our perseverance last summer, as your commissioners saw, that we were anxious for a peace between us. The exertions that we, the Six Nations, have made towards the accomplishing this desirable end, is the cause of the Western nations being somewhat dubious as to our sincerity. After we knew their doubts, we still persevered; and, last fall, we pointed out methods to be taken, and sent them, by you, to Congress; this we certainly expected would have proved satisfactory to the United States; in that case we should have more than ever exerted ourselves, in order that the offers we made should be confirmed by our confederacy, and by them strictly to be adhered to.

BROTHER: Our proposals have not met with the success from Congress that we expected; this still leaves us in a similar situation to what we were when we first entered on the business.

BROTHER: You must recollect the number of chiefs who have, at divers times, waited on Congress; they have pointed out the means to be taken, and held out the same language, uniformly, at one time as at another; that was, if you would withdraw your claim to the boundary line, and lands within the line, as offered by us; had this been done, peace would have taken place; and, unless this still be done, we see no other method of accomplishing it.

BROTHER: We have borne every thing patiently for this long time past; we have done every thing we could consistently do with the welfare of our nations in general—notwithstanding the many advantages that have been taken of us, by individuals making purchases from us, the Six Nations, whose fraudulent conduct towards us Congress never has taken notice of, nor in any wise seen us rectified, nor made our minds easy. This is the case to the present day; our patience is now entirely worn out; you see the difficulties we labor under, so that we cannot, at present, rise from our seats and attend your council at Venango, agreeable to your invitation. The boundary line we pointed out, we think is a just one, although the United States claim lands west of that line; the trifle that has been paid by the United States can be no object in comparison to what a peace would be.

BROTHER: We are of the same opinion with the people of the United States; you consider yourselves as independent people; we, as the original inhabitants of this country, and sovereigns of the soil, look upon ourselves as equally independent, and free as any other nation or nations. This country was given to us by the Great Spirit above; we wish to enjoy it, and have our passage along the lake, within the line we have pointed out.

BROTHER: The great exertions we have made, for this number of years, to accomplish a peace, and have not been able to obtain it; our patience, as we have already observed, is exhausted, and we are discouraged from persevering any longer. We, therefore, throw ourselves under the protection of the Great Spirit above, who, we hope, will order all things for the best. We have told you our patience is worn out; but not so far, but that we wish for peace, and, whenever we hear that pleasing sound, we shall pay attention to it.

[The belt and speech, sent by General Knox, were then returned to General Chapin.]

#### *Speech of General Chapin to the Six Nations.*

BROTHERS:

I am happy in this opportunity of meeting you in so general a council, but am sorry to find that your exertions for bringing about a peace to the Westward, have been checked by the rumor of a British war. Lord Dorchester's speech, which has been explained to you, has been the cause of your uneasiness; and pains have been taken to increase that uneasiness, by filling your heads with an idea that a war between Great Britain and America is inevitable. For my own part, I do not believe that a war will take place. I am sure that our President and our Congress are averse to it; and that, if peace can, with honor, be maintained by the United States, that war is not their wish.

BROTHERS: I still hope and believe, that the black clouds that are gathering around us, will shortly be dispersed, the sun will again shine bright, and you will be able to keep your seats with comfort to yourselves.

BROTHERS: Even if the storm should thicken, why need your minds be troubled? Why need you be called from your seats, in order to forward the pretensions of Great Britain?

BROTHERS: You have not yet heard the voice of the President; he has not yet told you that we are going to take up the tomahawk. Until you hear this voice, I hope you will keep your seats, and not suffer your minds to be troubled by any fear of war. When the President does speak, I am sure that his voice will be pleasing to you. I have no more to say to you at present; I shall now return home to my seat.

General Chapin was then requested, by the chiefs, to forward their proceedings to the Secretary of War, either personally or by his son.

[NOTE.—For the correspondence with the British minister, see Foreign Relations, Vol. I. President's message of May 23, 1794.]

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 50.

[1st Session.]

## THE CREEKS AND SOUTHWESTERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, JUNE 2, 1794.

*Gentlemen of the Senate  
and of the House of Representatives:*

I send you certain communications, recently received from Georgia, which materially change the prospect of affairs in that quarter, and seem to render a war with the Creek nation more probable than it has been at any antecedent period. While the attention of Congress will be directed to the consideration of measures suited to the exigency, it cannot escape their observation, that this intelligence brings a fresh proof of the insufficiency of the existing provisions of the laws, towards the effectual cultivation and preservation of peace with our Indian neighbors.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, June 2, 1794.

*Copy of a letter from Major Richard Brooke Roberts to the Secretary of War.*

FORT FIDIUS, May 10, 1794.

SIR:

From the information of Mr. Barnard, the deputy of Mr. Seagrove, I have the following intelligence, which I conceived my duty, as commanding officer of this garrison, absolutely required my making you early acquainted with; and, from a letter directed to Major Gaither (which I opened) from a Mr. Jordan, whom Mr. Seagrove left in the Creek nation to give intelligence, I find that a village of the Tallassee town, called the Half-way-house, were determined for war, and meant to make a stroke somewhere on the frontier; that the head-men of the Cussetahs had sent to stop and prevent them from committing mischief, but that the event was doubtful.

I have the misfortune to acquaint you, that, two days ago, as the Dog king of the Cussetahs and his brother were hunting on Little river, twenty miles above its confluence with the Oconee, a party of ten whites, who crossed the river, penetrated as far as they were; on perceiving the Indians, two white men beckoned to them; the Indians seeing them make some motions with their guns, which indicated hostility, ran off; the whites fired on them; the Dog king unfortunately received the shot in his belly; they made their escape into a swamp, and his brother returned the fire without effect. The Dog king is not killed, and I am in hopes he will recover.

I have to observe, sir, on this occasion, some matters to you, which I hope may be attributed to the true motives, viz: the sole desire of doing my duty to the United States with fidelity and zeal.

The whole strength of this garrison amounts to no more than sixty-nine effective. The Indians and Georgians seem now mutually roused, and there is not a doubt in my mind, but that a war will break out in all its horrors, in about two months. Should an attack take place on this garrison, with this small force under my command, I leave you to judge what defence can be made. I shall be guarded on all occasions; I shall make use of every exertion in my power, to keep the people from molesting the Indians, and I shall make the best defence possible; both duty and inclination prompting me to maintain this post to the last extremity. I repeat to you, sir, a war with the Indians seems inevitable, and this handful of men, under my command, being entitled to their discharges, every day the force will be considerably reduced; but, small as it is, every thing shall be done that can be done.

I know that one great effort often commands success, and that vigilance often counteracts a superior force. I am determined to make use of all mine, and, at all events, prevent a surprise.

P. S. I have this moment received a letter from Lieutenant Sedgwick, commandant of fort Matthews, which I send enclosed to you. You will see from its contents, that a war with the Creeks is not mere conjecture. Should one take place, the situation of this country will be horrid, beyond description, as, from the information of Mr. Seagrove, lately from the nation, they can bring ten thousand gun-men into the field.

*Copy of a letter from Lieutenant Theodore Sedgwick to Captain Richard B. Roberts.*

FORT MATHEWS, 7th May, 1794.

SIR:

I have sent Frederick Myers and Lewis Branan, to Fort Fidius, whose terms are out. On the night of the 2d, the Indians stole some horses; about four or five miles from this, and were pursued by some of the inhabitants as far as the militia station, at the high shoals of the Apalachy, where they were joined by Lieutenant Hay, and some of his dragoons, which made eighteen in number. They then followed the Indians about fifteen miles, beyond the High Shoals, where the Indians lay in ambush, and defeated the militia, and killed Lieutenant Hay, and one of his men, and wounded another. Them that made their escape brought off six horses, besides one that was stole, that broke loose from the Indians in the time of action.

I am told that General Clarke is to cross here to day, with a number of militia; it is supposed with an intention to take some Indians that are at Montpelier.

N. B. The men that were in the action, say it was the Creek Indians that stole the horses.

*Copy of a letter from James Jordan to Major Henry Gaither, dated*

CUSSETAHS, 5th May, 1794.

SIR:

About ten days ago, there was a small party from the Usechees, set to steal horses, but on what part of the frontier they will strike, is unknown. The head-men of the town sent after them to bring them back, but the runners could not come up with them nor discover what route they had taken.



A town called the Half-way House, are determined for war, and are expected to start to-morrow. This, I have informed this town of, this morning, in the square. They have taken measures to endeavor to stop them, but whether they will succeed or no, I am not able to say.

I am in hopes of the horse being returned, which was stolen about the 20th ultimo. Some of the head-men have said, I may expect them when the pay comes for the negroes.

From circumstances, I do not know but what I may be obliged to leave the nation before the return of Mr. J. Seagrove, and, sir, by the letter which accompanies this, I have requested him to deposit one hundred dollars in your hands for me, which, sir, if you will be so good as to take charge of, I shall ever esteem it as a particular favor.

I am, sir, with due respect, your most humble servant,

JAMES JORDAN.

*Copy of a letter from Major R. B. Roberts to the Secretary of War, dated*

FORT FIDIUS, May 10th, 1794.

SIR:

Just after I enclosed my despatches to you, the friendly Indians, encamped on the bank of the river, were attacked by a party of militia, under the command of Major Adams. As soon as I heard the firing, I sent Doctor Dalcho over the river, to request the commanding officer of the party to desist from their proceedings. His report I send enclosed to you. The Indians flew to this garrison for protection, but I got them off safe, I expect, over the river. I fear very much the White Bird-tail king will be killed on his route to this post; he has been to Augusta with Mr. Seagrove, with the Tuckaubatchee king, &c. However, I am informed General Glascock will escort him with a strong party. Thus, sir, you see an Indian war has commenced. This garrison totally defenceless; no water within three hundred yards of the fort, that, from our force, may be taken possession of at any time by an enemy. The weak force of this garrison, not able to enforce a protection to either the inhabitants or themselves, they must fall a sacrifice. It has been long reported to the War Office, the weak situation of this garrison. If any misfortunes happen to it, it shall not be my fault, for I am determined to risk every thing in its defence.

*Copy of a letter from Constant Freeman, agent for the Department of War in Georgia, to the Secretary of War, dated*

FORT FIDIUS, 9th May, 1794.

I am, sir, extremely sorry, that almost every other letter I have had the honor to write you, has contained disagreeable intelligence. The prospect of a permanent peace with the Creeks was very flattering when Mr. Seagrove left the nation. The reverse is now the case.

On the night of the 1st instant, a party of Indians stole some horses from or near Spark's station, on the Oconee. They were pursued by a Lieutenant Hay, and fifteen horsemen, who fell into an ambuscade near the Apalachy High Shoals. Mr. Hay and two men were killed, and one wounded. It is not ascertained whether these Indians were Creeks or Cherokees, but, it is probable, they were of the latter. This has greatly alarmed the frontiers, and we are informed, that a large party has, or is about to march on their trail, until they shall come up with them.

It might have been possible for the Creeks, if they were not the aggressors, to have convinced the people of this State of their peaceable intentions; but an unfortunate accident happened yesterday, which will probably lessen their inclination to do it. The Dog king of the Cussetahs and his brother were hunting on the south side of Little river, when they fell in with a party of ten mounted militia, who seemed to be friendly, but, as the Indians approached them, they thought they discovered hostile intentions. They, therefore, turned about to run; the militia fired, and wounded the Dog king, and last night, they sent a runner to the camp, now opposite to this post, with the above information, which has greatly alarmed the Indians.

It appears, sir, by information this day received from the Creek nation, that there are many evil disposed men in that country, who wish to bring on a war. On or about the 5th instant, intelligence was received at the Cussetah town, that the Tame or Tallassee king had collected a party, to march against the upper settlements on this frontier. The next day, the Cussetah king, and the Big Warrior of the Cussetahs, the Hallooing king, and the Head Warrior of the Cowetas, set off to persuade the Tallassees to desist from their hostile intentions, and the runner who brings us the news, says, that there cannot be a doubt but that they would prevail upon them to be quiet. He farther says, that there had not any parties marched from the Creek nation before he left it. It is, therefore, probable, that the party which killed Lieutenant Hay were not Creeks.

It is also reported here, by some Uchee Indians, that, about the 23d of last month, three parties had set off from the Usechees and Chehaws, toward the lower frontier, on the Altamaha, with an intention to steal horses and negroes.

Notwithstanding these unfavorable accounts, it may be relied on that a majority of the Creek nation wish to live in peace with the inhabitants of this State, and they have lately given proofs of their good disposition.

I suggested, sir, to you, in my letter of the 10th of February, that the erecting posts on the Apalachy would give umbrage to the Indians, and Mr. Seagrove, and all those with whom I have conversed from the nation, confirm me in my opinion. I am now to inform you of the exact position of these posts. Lieutenant Sedgwick has transmitted me the following account of them: That there is one erected at the mouth of the Apalachy river, twenty miles; one at the High Shoals, ten miles; one at the Flat Shoals of the middle fork of the Oconee, eighteen miles, and the other at the Hurricane Shoals, on the north fork of the same river, twenty-five miles from fort Mathews. These posts are about eighteen miles from each other, and on a straight line to the Currahee mountain. They are each garrisoned by twenty horse and twenty foot.

He also informs me, that Captain Williamson had made an irruption into the Cherokee nation, and returned without seeing any Indians; and that the same officer proposed to march on the 5th instant, against the Creek towns. I have not heard whether the last expedition had taken effect.

The White Bird-tail king or Big king of the Cussetahs, and five other chiefs and warriors, went down to Augusta, with Mr. Seagrove. They have not yet returned. Mr. Baruard, who came this day from that place, informs me, that the Governor intends to send a strong guard under General Glascock, to escort them as far as this post.

The Indians, now opposite to this garrison, will, in consequence of the alarm, return immediately to the nation.

*Copy of a letter from Constant Freeman, Junior, Agent for the War Department in Georgia, to the Secretary of War, dated*

FORT FIDIUS, 10th May, 1794.

SIR:

The express was to have left this post early this morning, with the letters written yesterday to you and the Governor, containing information of the unpleasant situation of the frontiers. He was detained longer than was expected; and now I am under the disagreeable necessity of adding to the bad news.

This morning, between the hours of ten and eleven, the Indian camp, opposite to this post, was attacked by a party of one hundred and fifty mounted militia, under the command of Major Adams. There was, at the time, about twenty Indians in the fort, and about ten fled from the camp, and sought protection with us. We have been placed in a very critical position; to afford protection to the Indians, was irritating the militia; to deliver them up, would be to violate the faith of the United States, in which they had confided. It was, therefore, thought advisable to send

them away, and let them make their escape, if possible. Accordingly, they set off about two o'clock, and I have reason to believe they have crossed the river without interruption.

In the affair of this morning, one white man was mortally wounded: it is not yet ascertained whether any of the Indians have been killed or wounded. Soon after the firing was heard, Captain Roberts, the commanding officer, sent Dr. Dalcho over the river to the militia, to hear from them the reasons which induced the attack. I enclose you his report. The Indians were waiting for the return of their chiefs from Augusta, as I wrote you yesterday. I must now inform you, that all hopes of peace must be given up; nothing but the most cruel war will follow what has happened within these few days. Both sides are irritated beyond all reconciliation.

It is also proper that I should inform you, that the militia have threatened to take the Indians out of the fort by force. I therefore urged most strenuously to the commanding officer, the sending them away: for I conceived it never could be the intention of Government that the Federal troops should be involved in a contest with the militia. I am apprehensive that the chiefs who are on their return from Augusta will be killed, notwithstanding the guard which has them under their protection.

Since the party of Indians left us at two o'clock, Long Tom, and two other Indians, came to this fort to make inquiries relatively to the attack of this morning. As soon as we could give them some refreshment, they were hurried away. It is proper that the Government of the United States should be informed, that the Indians have always paid the greatest respect to the garrisons of the Federal troops posted in this country. They cannot understand the connexion there is between this State and the General Government: the idea is too complex for their comprehension.

I enclose the deposition of Mr. Barnard, Deputy Agent of Indian affairs.

*The report of Dr. Frederick Dalcho, Surgeon's Mate to the troops of the United States in Georgia.*

In consequence of an order from Richard Brooke Roberts, Captain-commandant, to ascertain the cause of the firing that was heard over the river, I crossed this morning for the purpose.

On rising out of the cane-brake, I saw two different parties of militia; the one on the edge of the cane-brake, employed in plundering the Indian camps; the other at some considerable distance, on the hill. I inquired for the commanding officer, whom I found to be Major Adams. I demanded, in the name of the United States, the cause of their attacking the Indians, who were on a friendly visit, with Major Seagrove, at this post, and while they were under the protection of the United States? He told me, that, in consequence of the death of Lieutenant Hay, on the Apalachy, he had raised one hundred and fifty men, to pursue and destroy any party of Indians he might gain intelligence of; that an Indian who was wounded at that time was now in our garrison, under the care of the surgeon, from which he supposed he was one of the party who are now here, and that he was determined not to return until the whole of them were killed; that he would advance to the mouth of the cannon, and take them from the fort: for he was able to do it. I assured Major Adams that the wounded Indian had not been at our garrison since the accident happened. I demanded Mr. Barnard's horses. This brought on the most bitter exclamations from a number of them, particularly Major Adams, who swore he would rather kill Barnard than an Indian; for he had given a pass to the Indians who killed Lieutenant Hay, certifying that they were friendly disposed towards this country; that this pass was found sticking up on a sapling, over the dead body. He told me that Mr. Barnard's horses should not be taken; when a number of his men exclaimed, that it was the lives of the Indians they wanted, and not their property; notwithstanding which, I discovered several of them with Indian horses, rifles, skins, &c. Mr. Barnard's negro boy, who was with me, was threatened by a number of the men. I was further informed, that the Big king, and the rest of the chiefs who are now on their return from Augusta, where they have been on a visit to the Governor, should be killed; that they should make no distinction of tribes. I told them it was in vain to talk so, for the Governor had given assurances to Major Seagrove that they should be escorted by a strong guard, under the command of Brigadier General Glascock. Some of them immediately replied, that they could raise more men than General Glascock, and would take them. I heard several of them mention, that a party, under Col. Lamar, were on their way down, on this side the river. One of the militia received a ball through his belly, which I believe will prove mortal; the loss of the Indians is not yet known: one only was seen to fall, who crept into the cane-brake. Just before I left them, Major Adams swore he would have hair before to-morrow night; and that Brigadier General Clarke had marched against the Creek towns.

Given under my hand, at Fort Fidius, this 10th day of May, 1794.

FRED'K DALCHO, S. M.

*And Paymaster to the regular troops in Georgia.*

FORT FIDIUS, on the Oconee.

I swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I have neither directly nor indirectly given any pass, or other licence, to any Indian or Indians, for any purpose whatever. So help me God.

TIMOTHY BARNARD.

Sworn before us:

JOEL McCLENDON, P.  
R. B. ROBERTS,  
CONSTANT FREEMAN, A. W. D.  
JOHN WHITNEY, C. M. S.  
STAATS MORRIS, Lt. of the U. S. Artillery,  
THOMAS FARLEY, S. M.  
FRED'K DALCHO, Paymaster.

[3d CONGRESS.]

No. 51.

[1st SESSION.]

## THE SOUTHWESTERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, JUNE 5, 1794.

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 5th, 1794.

SIR:

In obedience to the order of the President of the United States, I have the honor to submit to Congress, further information relatively to the recent events upon the Southwestern frontiers.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

The VICE PRESIDENT of the United States and  
President of the Senate.

*Copy of a letter from Constant Freeman, Agent for the Department of War, in Georgia, to the Secretary of War, dated .*

FORT FIDUS, 11th May, 1794.

SIR:

The Indians who left the fort yesterday, made their escape; had they remained until night, they would not have effected it, as parties of militia were lying on the banks of the river to cut them off. It is, perhaps, a fortunate circumstance, that they crossed without interruption, as it may yet be possible to restore peace, should the chiefs arrive from Augusta in safety. The officers of the Federal Government are placed in a delicate situation.

It is expedient that I should explain, sir, to you, the reasons of the Creeks having been about this garrison for some days past. When Mr. Seagrove returned from the nation, on the twenty-fifth of last month, he was accompanied by the Big king of the Cussetahs, and about forty other chiefs and warriors, who came with him to shew their attachment to his person, and the desire they had of perpetuating the peace. In the fullest confidence of security, the White-bird-tail king, or Big king of the Cussetahs, the Tuckaubatchee King, the head warrior of the Tallasses, the Mad Dog's nephew, of the Tuckaubatchees, George Tool, Big Fear, and the Little Warrior of the Cussetahs, all influential men, went with him to Augusta, to brighten the chain of friendship with the Governor. When Mr. Seagrove left this place, he directed the Indians who remained, to hunt between the Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers, until the return of their chiefs, and particularly cautioned them against going far above this post. Since he left us, several other parties came in, staid a few hours, and returned to their hunts; that, at one time, there were about one hundred and thirty at the camp opposite this garrison; they demeaned themselves peaceably, and did not, on any occasion, shew a hostile disposition, particularly Long Tom, brother to the two Cussetahs who were killed last December; he had assured Mr. Seagrove that he would not do any mischief, but wait until he should hear from him at Philadelphia. When Mr. Barnard returned from Augusta, on the 9th instant, where he had heard of the mischief which had been done above, and of the death of Lieutenant Hay, he sent the Indians away, lest any injury should befall them, and that night, the most of them decamped. At the time of the attack, yesterday morning, there were about twenty-five or thirty in the camp, and twenty in this post; their intentions were to have left us in the evening; they had been alarmed by the accident which had befallen the Dog king of the Cussetahs. Some, however, were desirous to stay for the return of their chiefs, for whose safety they were extremely anxious. What has happened to them since, under the persuasion that it was the Creeks who had done the mischief, I have before detailed in my letters to you, of the 9th and 10th instant.

It is possible that some straggling Indians of that nation may have stolen the horses at Sparks' station, but, the presumption is much stronger that it was done by the Cherokees. Had the former been disposed for war, they had the fairest opportunity to break up the settlements in this quarter; on the contrary, they went into the country without their arms, mixed with the inhabitants, and discovered no signs of fear; besides, it is well known that Indians are very careful to preserve the lives of their chief men. At the time the theft was committed, the Big king, and those before mentioned, were on their way to Augusta, and might well be supposed a security for the good behavior of those they had left behind. The exertions made by the Cussetah king, and the other chiefs, to prevent the Tallasses from marching against the settlement, most certainly are evidences of their peaceable temper. Things of less moment have also happened, which indicate that they were generally this way disposed. Some time ago, some horses strayed from a party of the French legion encamped opposite to the Rock Landing; they were found by three Creeks, who were hunting in that quarter, and brought to their owners, but, not before the whites had taken a number from an Indian camp. When Mr. Seagrove came to this garrison, a horse thief had made his escape from justice, had crossed the river, and was flying to the nation for refuge. He was stopped by some Indians, between this and the Oakmulgee, and although he broke from them, they brought the horse, and delivered it to the owner. Cattle have been put over the river; they have not driven them off, but complained regularly to Mr. Seagrove, and requested that they might be removed. I enclose you the copy of a letter which has been this moment received from Mr. Jordan, who had been left by Mr. Seagrove at the Cussetahs. By this, it also appears, that the general wish of the nation has been to preserve the peace. The runner who brought it, could not be prevailed upon to cross the river, but delivered it to a soldier who had been sent down to bring him over. The report of the Uchee Indians, mentioned in my letter of the 9th, was, probably, premature.

From the above statement of facts, it may be presumed, that the mischief which provoked the attack of yesterday, was not done by the Creeks, and that they had not any desire to renew the war with the people of this country.

Nothing has occurred in this quarter since yesterday. The Indians have all gone to the nation. We hear that a large party of militia were to have crossed the Oconee, at the Cedar Shoals, last night, to attack the Creek towns. I shall, this evening, despatch an express to the Governor, with a copy of the letter received from Mr. Jordan.

I am, &amp;c.

*Copy of a letter from James Jordan to Lieutenant Colonel-commandant Henry Gaither.*

SIR:

I wrote you a few days ago, by William Gray, that the Half-way house Indians were turning out for war; the report was, at that time, believed, but they have either been stopped by the Upper towns, or altered their intentions, for, at this time, is in, the Broken Arrow, and denies that it is his intention to go to war without the whole nation.

The head-men of this town are uneasy about their people that went down with Mr. Seagrove, and they are afraid that Gray will circulate the false report of the Half-way house Indians going to war.

They have ordered me to inform you, sir, and they request that you will endeavor to prevent Gray from circulating these lies, and, also, to inform the people of Greene and Franklin not to be under any apprehension of danger; they assure me, that, if they can hear or discover any thing of that kind, they will give them the earliest information they can, through you.

On this occasion, the head-men of this town, and the Cowetas, have exerted themselves much to their credit; they have runners out on all quarters, to stop them if they have, or had, attempted to go. But, sir, the king himself contradicts it.

On the 15th instant, one Milford is to have a meeting in the Broken Arrow, but, upon what business, I cannot say. I wish, if possible, Mr. Barnard to be here by that time, and will be much obliged to you to inform him of it, should he be at the fort.

I am, sir, &c.

JAMES JORDAN.

P. S. They request that you will prevent any scouts from crossing the river, as the people are all hunting between the Oakmulgee and Oconee, and that you will be so good as to inform Barnard that Gray's talks are all lies.

I am, &c.

J. J.

[Dated on the back, 7th May, 1794.]

A true copy.

Attest,

CONSTANT FREEMAN, *A. W. D.*

*Copy of a letter from Constant Freeman, Agent for the Department of War, in Georgia, to the Secretary of War.*

FORT FIDIUS, 14th May, 1794.

SIR:

The letter I had the honor to write you, on the eleventh inst. was to have been sent by the way of Savannah; but, the person to whom I had given it in charge, being stopped at the first house, after he had left this post, by some armed men, I thought it highly prudent to take the letter from him, lest they should make an improper use of the information it contained, if it should have fallen into their hands. It is now sent by the post from Augusta.

On the tenth, General Glascock left that place with the Big king, and the other chiefs, under his charge, whom he was directed to conduct to this post. On the eleventh he met the express I had sent to the Governor, who informed him of the attack made on the Indians, and of the threats which had been given out to take the chiefs from him: this being confirmed from other quarters, he altered his route; and, on the evening of the same day, he crossed the chiefs at the White Bluff, fifteen miles below this. They are, I imagine, safely arrived in the nation. General Glascock came last evening to this place.

Mr. Barnard, the deputy agent, had crossed the river, about an hour before, to return to the nation. It would have been fortunate if he had seen General Glascock; he has promised me that he would use all his influence to keep the Indians quiet, until measures can be taken to restore peace. If the chiefs should arrive in safety, it may yet be possible to prevent the horrors of war. Mr. Barnard will send a runner to me, as soon as he can learn the temper of the Indians. This man has suffered greatly for his attachment to the United States.

The Governor was sending on three of the Indians prisoners, taken last year at the Oakfuskee village; they had left Augusta. As soon as General Glascock heard the bad news, he directed them to return, as he was apprehensive of danger to their persons.

I have written this day to the Governor, requesting him to cause inquiry to be made into the affair of the tenth.

General Glascock, who takes this letter to Augusta, is now waiting for me to close it, or I should be more particular. It, however, contains the information upon which I should suppose you to be the most anxious.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, &c.

*Copy of a letter from James Seagrove, Agent for Indian Affairs, to the Secretary of War.*

SAVANNAH, 16th May, 1794.

SIR:

I had the honor of writing you on the 27th ultimo, from fort Fidius, by post: on the third instant I reached Augusta, with six of the principal Creek chiefs, on a visit of friendship to the Governor of Georgia, leaving at, and in the vicinity of, fort Fidius, near one hundred and fifty Indians, who came with, and followed me, out of friendship, when I came from the nation. Governor Mathews received the Indian chiefs with kindness; and I believe was fully satisfied, from what they informed him, of their ardent wish to live in peace with this country. Whilst the chiefs and myself were with the Governor, he received account of two men, belonging to the militia, being killed by Indians, (supposed to be Cherokees) and that the people of the upper part of this State were embodying, to destroy the Indians who came with me. This alarmed me for their safety, and I applied to the Governor, to have them safely conveyed back to fort Fidius; he accordingly put them under the care of Brigadier General Glascock and a party of horse, who left Augusta the same day I did, which was the 10th instant, but I have not yet heard of their arrival.

In my last I informed you that I had established peace with the Creeks, but I fear my labor is now destroyed by the outrageous doings of the lawless people of Georgia. The enclosed papers, which I received last evening by express, from Governor Mathews, and my letter to him, this day, will explain their conduct, and show you the unhappy situation of matters at this time.

I came here in order to meet some despatches which I was informed, at Augusta, were lodged here for me, from the War Office. I find that Major Habersham has sent them to St. Mary's, and that the same respects the fortifications to be erected there. I shall leave this to-day for that place; and, as soon as I have done what is desired, I shall lose no time in seeing you.

I am, with all possible respect, sir, your devoted, obedient, very humble servant,

JAMES SEAGROVE, *Agent Indian Affairs.*

*Copy of a letter from the Governor of Georgia to James Seagrove.*

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 12th May, 1794.

SIR:

Enclosed you will receive a letter from Captain Freeman, which will, I presume, inform you of the unpleasant situation we are likely to be placed in, with the Indians.

This unfortunate event has, in all probability, taken place in consequence of the depredations committed on us, whilst you was in Augusta; and which, there is too much reason to apprehend, was committed by the Creeks, as it appears, by a letter from Captain Roberts, that a small party, from the Usechees, had set off to steal horses on our frontiers, and that the Half-way house had determined for war.

Such is the situation of affairs, that it is difficult to know what is best to be done; however, I should suppose it would be most advisable for you to endeavor to know what will be the determination of the Indians, before you go on to Congress; and, from the circumstance of no lives being lost, I am hopeful some means may be adopted to prevent the peaceable part of the nation from being engaged in a war, which, I think, there is too much reason to fear, is inevitable.

I am, sir, with respect, your obedient humble servant,

GEORGE MATHEWS.

JAMES SEAGROVE, Esq. *Agent Indian Affairs, Savannah.*

*Copy of a letter from James Seagrave, Esq. to his Excellency the Governor of Georgia.*

SAVANNAH, 16th May, 1794.

SIR:

I received last evening the letter you did me the honor to write, of the 12th instant; it is impossible to express to your Excellency the mortification I feel, at the intelligence conveyed by it. After having submitted, for six months past, to live among the Indians, subject to every possible inconvenience, and exposed every moment to danger of being destroyed, for the purpose of establishing peace, to see the fruit of my labors destroyed in a moment, by the rash and lawless conduct of individuals, at a time when an entire good understanding was established, and in a manner which promised to be permanent, fills my mind with the deepest regret.

The Indians, on whom this attack has been made, were of tribes who have been the uniform friends of the white people, and it was done when the chiefs were under sanction of the United States and this State, giving your Excellency sincere proofs of their good disposition, by delivering the prisoners in their possession; and they were preparing, also, to deliver the property taken, since the conference at Colerain, as I had the honor of stating to your Excellency when I was at Augusta. The manner and circumstance attending this unfortunate affair, must convince your Excellency, as well as every other unprejudiced mind, that it is the result of a premeditated combination, among a number of individuals, to force the Indians to war, contrary to their ardent wishes for peace, and in violation of the laws of the United States and this State.

The persons who have committed these outrages are officers in authority in the militia, and some of whom have been guilty of similar acts not long since. What good purpose can it answer for the public agents to make compacts, or enter into explanations, and labor to avert the mischiefs of war, when the militia officers embody their men at pleasure, and attack and destroy even those who are under the immediate sanction and protection of your Excellency? This attack has been so wanton and unprovoked, that it would be vain to propose any terms of accommodation, unless the persons who made it are punished. Your Excellency, who is the depository of the public force, to execute the laws, can best judge how far that is right and practicable; but, unless something of that kind previously takes place, I am so certain the Indians would not listen to any overtures of accommodation, that I shall not propose any. I have done my duty. Peace was completely restored, and in a way that appeared to satisfy your Excellency that the Indians meant candidly to observe the terms of it. It now remains with the Government of Georgia to punish those of its citizens who have thus wantonly violated it on their part, or to prepare for a war with the whole Creek nation, the mischiefs of which are not so easily calculated.

The contest is between this Government and its citizens. If the latter cannot be restrained, the Indians have no alternative—they must defend themselves; if they are restrained, and the present aggressors punished, according to law, your Excellency then might certainly count on the continuance of peace; but, I confess, I think not otherwise. Should any opportunity offer of doing any thing, tending to a peace, I shall seize it with zeal.

I cannot yet believe that it was Creeks who stole the horses from Franklin county, on the 1st instant; but, allowing it was, it could not justify Major Adams' attack, with one hundred and fifty mounted militia, on the friendly Indians, encamped opposite fort Fidius, on the 10th instant, or that of another party, of ten horsemen, the preceding day, on the camp of the Dog king of the Cussetahs, who the militia shot through the body.

My fears for the safety of the six chiefs who visited your Excellency, and whom you sent, under care of General Glascock, for fort Fidius, is great, as I have information that their destruction was contemplated by parties of men from the upper counties of this State, and that the General, being apprehensive of danger to those people, had altered his route. Should any injury be done these chiefs, all hope of peace with the Creeks will be at an end.

Some unexpected public business calls me to St. Mary's, previous to my going to Philadelphia. I expect, however, to sail for the latter place in ten days from this time, and shall be happy to hear from you before then.

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 52.

[2d SESSION.

### GENERAL VIEW.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, NOVEMBER 20, 1794,

*And referred to in the speech of the President of the United States, of the 19th of the same month, of which the following is an extract:*

“The intelligence from the army, under the command of General Wayne, is a happy presage to our military operations against the hostile Indians, north of the Ohio. From the advices which have been forwarded, the advance which he has made must have damped the ardor of the savages, and weakened their obstinacy in waging war against the United States. And yet, even at this late hour, when our power to punish them cannot be questioned, we shall not be unwilling to cement a lasting peace, upon terms of candor, equity, and good neighborhood.

“Towards none of the Indian tribes have overtures of friendship been spared. The Creeks, in particular, are covered from encroachment by the interposition of the General Government and that of Georgia. From a desire, also, to remove the discontents of the Six Nations, a settlement, meditated at Presque Isle, on Lake Erie, has been suspended; and an agent is now endeavoring to rectify any misconception into which they may have fallen. But, I cannot refrain from again pressing upon your deliberations the plan which I recommended at the last session, for the improvement of harmony with all the Indians within our limits, by the fixing and conducting of trading houses, upon the principles then expressed.”

*Copy of a letter from Major General Wayne to the Secretary of War, dated*

HEAD QUARTERS, Greenville, 7th July, 1794.

SIR:

At seven o'clock in the morning of the 30th ultimo, one of our escorts, consisting of ninety riflemen and fifty dragoons, commanded by Major McMahon, was attacked, by a very numerous body of Indians, under the walls of fort Recovery, followed by a general assault upon that post and garrison, in every direction.

The enemy were soon repulsed, with great slaughter, but immediately rallied and reiterated the attack, keeping up a very heavy and constant fire, at a more respectable distance, for the remainder of the day, which was answered with spirit and effect, by the garrison; and that part of Major McMahon's command that had regained the post—

The savages were employed, during the night, (which was dark and foggy) in carrying off their dead by torch light, which occasionally drew a fire from the garrison: They, nevertheless, succeeded so well, that there were but eight or ten bodies left upon the field, and those close under the influence of the fire from the fort.

The enemy again renewed the attack, on the morning of the 1st instant; but were ultimately compelled to retreat, with loss and disgrace, from that very field where they had, upon a former occasion, been proudly victorious.

Enclosed is a particular general return of the killed, wounded, and missing. Among the killed, we have to lament the loss of four good and gallant officers, viz: Major McMahon, Captain Harthorne, and Lieutenant Craig, of the rifle corps, and Cornet Torry, of the cavalry, who all fell in the first charge. Among the wounded are the intrepid Captain Taylor, of the dragoons, and Lieutenant Drake, of the infantry.

It would appear that the real object of the enemy was to have carried that post by a *coup de main*: for they could not possibly have received intelligence of the escort under Major McMahon, which only marched from this place on the morning of the 29th ultimo, and deposited the supplies, the same evening, at fort Recovery, from whence the escort was to have returned at reveille the next morning; therefore, their being found at that post was an accidental, perhaps a fortunate, event. By every information, as well as from the extent of their encampments, (which were perfectly square and regular) and their line of march in seventeen columns, forming a wide and extended front, their numbers could not have been less than from fifteen hundred to two thousand warriors.

It would also appear that they were rather in want of provisions, as they killed and ate a number of pack horses, in their encampment, the evening after the assault; also, at their next encampment, on their retreat, which was but seven miles from fort Recovery, where they remained two nights, probably from being much incumbered with their dead and wounded. A considerable number of the pack horses were actually loaded with the dead.

Permit me now, sir, to express my highest approbation of the bravery and conduct of every officer and soldier of the garrison and escort, upon this trying occasion; and, as it would be difficult to discriminate between officers equally meritorious and emulous for glory, I have directed the adjutant general to annex the names of every officer of the garrison and escort, who were fortunate enough to remain uninjured, being equally exposed to danger with those who were less fortunate.

But I should be wanting in gratitude were I to omit mentioning, in particular, Captain Alexander Gibson, of the 4th sub-legion, the gallant defender of fort Recovery.

Here, it may be proper to relate certain facts and circumstances, which almost amount to positive proof, that there were a considerable number of the British and the militia of Detroit mixed with the savages, in the assault upon fort Recovery, on the 30th ultimo and 1st instant.

I had detached three small parties of Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians, a few days previous to that affair, towards Grand Glaize, in order to take or obtain provisions, for the purpose of gaining intelligence. One of these parties fell in with a large body of Indians, at the place marked *Girty's town*, (in Harmar's route) on the evening of the 27th ultimo, apparently bending their course towards *Chillicothe*, on the Great Miami. This party returned to Greenville, on the 28th, with this further information, "that there were a great number of white men with the Indians."

The other two parties got much scattered, in following the trails of the hostile Indians, at some distance in their rear; and were also in with them when the assault commenced on fort Recovery. These Indians all insist that there were a considerable number of armed white men in the rear, who they frequently heard talking in our language, and encouraging the savages to persevere in the assault; that their faces were generally blacked, except three British officers, who were dressed in scarlet, and appeared to be men of great distinction, from being surrounded by a large body of white men and Indians, who were very attentive to them. These kept a distance in the rear of those that were engaged.

Another strong corroborating fact that there were British, or British militia, in the assault, is, that a number of *ounce balls* and buck shot were lodged in the block houses and stockades of the fort. Some were delivered at so great a distance as not to penetrate, and were picked up at the foot of the stockades.

It would also appear that the British and savages expected to find the artillery that were lost on the 4th of November, 1791, and hid by the Indians in the beds of old fallen timber, or logs, which they turned over and laid the cannon in, and then turned the logs back into their former birth. It was in this artful manner that we generally found them deposited. The hostile Indians turned over a great number of logs, during the assault, in search of those cannon, and other plunder, which they had probably hid in this manner, after the action of the 4th November, 1791.

I therefore have reason to believe that the British and Indians depended much upon this artillery to assist in the reduction of that post; fortunately, they served in its defence.

The enclosed copies of the examination of the Pattawatamy and Shawanee prisoners, will demonstrate this fact, that the British have used every possible exertion to collect the savages from the most distant nations, with the most solemn promises of advancing and co-operating with them against the legion, nor have the *Spaniards* been idle upon this occasion.

It is therefore more than probable, that the day is not far distant, when we shall meet this *hydra* in the vicinity of Grand Glaize and Riche de Bout, without being able to discriminate between the white and red savages.

In the interim, I am in hourly expectation of receiving more full and certain intelligence of the number and intention of the enemy.

I have no further or other information respecting the mounted volunteers of Kentucky, than what you will observe in the enclosed copies of the correspondence between Major General Scott and myself. I hope they may be completed to their full number, because it would appear that we shall have business enough for the whole of them.

You will herewith receive the general and field return of the legion, the quarterly return of ordnance and ordnance stores, at this place, the Quartermaster General's return, and the return of the hospital department.

The horses that were killed, wounded, and missing, in the assault against fort Recovery, will not, in the least, retard the advance of the legion, after the arrival of the mounted volunteers, because I had made provision for those kind of losses and contingencies, which, from the nature of the service, must be expected, and will unavoidably happen.

I have the honor to be, &c.

ANTY WAYNE.

*Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of a detachment under the orders of Major McMahon, in the action near fort Recovery, the 30th of June, 1794.*

	KILLED.				Total commissioned officers, non-commissioned, and privates.	WOUNDED.				Total commissioned officers, non-commissioned, and privates.	MISS'G.		HORSES.						
	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Sergeants.		Captains.	Lieutenants.	Sergeants.	Corporals.		Misc.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.			
Cavalry, - - - - -	-	-	1	-	8	9	1	-	2	1	2	6	12	-	-	13	13	17	
Riflemen, - - - - -	1	1	1	-	6	10	-	-	1	-	-	5	6	-	-	-	-	-	
Garrison of fort Recovery, - - - - -	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	3	-	-	7	11	-	-	-	-	-	
<b>Total regular troops, - - - - -</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>17</b>	
Contractor's Department, - - - - -	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	3	4	9	204
<b>Aggregate, - - - - -</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>221</b>

JOHN MILLS, *Adjutant General.*

*Officers uninjured.*

Captain Gibson,  
Lieuts. Covington,  
Dunn,  
Michael,  
Shanklin,  
Ensigns Dangerfield,  
Dold.

*Names of the officers killed and wounded.*

Major William McMahon, 4th s. legion, killed,  
Captain Asa Hartshorn, 1st do. do.  
Lieutenant Robert Craig, 3d do. do.  
Cornet Daniel Torrey, Dragoons, do.  
Captain James Taylor, Dragoons, wounded.  
Lieutenant Samuel Drake, 2d s. legion, do.

*Examination of two Pattawatamies, captured by Captain Alexander Gibson, on the north side of the Miami of the Lake, on the 5th of June, 1794.*

*Query 1.* How long have you been from your nation?

*Answer.* Four days before our capture.

*Query 2.* When did your nation receive the invitation from the British to join them, and go to war with the Americans?

*Answer.* On the first of the last moon; the message was sent by three chiefs, a Delaware, a Shawanee, and a Miami.

*Query 3.* What was the message brought by those Indian chiefs, and what number of British troops were at Roche de Bout, on the 1st of May?

*Answer.* That the British sent them to invite the Pattawatamies to go to war against the United States; that they, the British, were then at Roche de Bout, on their way to war against the Americans; that the number of British troops then there, were about four hundred, with two pieces of artillery, exclusive of the Detroit militia, and had made a fortification round Colonel McKee's house and stores at that place, in which they had deposited all their stores of ammunition, arms, clothing, and provision, with which they promised to supply all the hostile Indians in abundance, provided they would join, and go with them to war.

*Query 4.* What tribes of Indians, and what were their numbers, at Roche de Bout, on the 1st of May?

*Answer.* The Chippewas, Wyandots, Shawanese, Tawas, Delawares, and Miamies. There were then collected about one thousand warriors, and were daily coming in and collecting from all those nations:

*Query 5.* What number of warriors do you suppose are actually collected at that place at this time, and what number of British troops and militia have promised to join the Indians to fight this army?

*Answer.* By the latest and best information, and from our own knowledge of the number of warriors belonging to those nations, there cannot be less than two thousand warriors now assembled; and were the Pattawatamies to join, agreeably to invitation, the whole would amount to upwards of three thousand hostile Indians. But we do not think that more than 50 of the Pattawatamies will go to war.

The British troops and militia that will join the Indians to go to war against the Americans, will amount to five hundred, agreeably to the promise of Governor Simcoe.

*Query 6.* At what time and at what place do the British and Indians mean to advance against this army?

*Answer.* About the last of this moon, or the beginning of the next, they intend to attack the legion of this place. Governor Simcoe, the great man who lives at or near Niagara, sent for the Pattawatamies, and promised them arms, ammunition, provision, and clothing, and every thing they wanted, on condition that they would join him, and go to war against the Americans; and that he would command the whole.

He sent us the same message last winter; and again, on the first of the last moon, from Roche de Bout; he also said, he was much obliged to us for our past services; and that he would now help us to fight, and render us all the services in his power, against the Americans.

All the speeches that we have received from him, were as red as blood; all the wampum and feathers were painted red; the war pipes and hatchets were red, and even the tobacco was painted red.

We received four different invitations from Governor Simcoe, inviting the Pattawatamies to join in the war; the last was on the first of last moon, when he promised to join us with 1500 of his warriors, as before mentioned. But we wish for peace; except a few of our foolish young men.

Examined, and carefully reduced to writing, at Greenville, this 7th of June, 1794.

*Examination of two Shawanese warriors, taken prisoners on the Miami of the lake, twenty miles above Grand Glaize, on the 22d instant, June.*

They say that they left Grand Glaize five moons since, i. e. about the time that the Indians sent in a *flag*, with propositions of peace.

That they belonged to a party of twenty, who have been hunting all this spring on the waters of the Wabash, nearly opposite the mouth of Kentucky river, and were on their return when taken; that about half the party had gone on before them; and that the remainder were coming on slowly, and hunting as they came. That they had stolen about fifty horses from the inhabitants of Kentucky, on the Salt river, during this spring and summer; that they only killed one man, and took no prisoners; that the man was killed by a white interpreter belonging to the party, whose name is *Riddle*; (those two Indians had five horses, loaded with deer and bear skins, and jerked venison.) That, on their way in, they met with a party, consisting of four Indians, i. e. three Delawares and one Pattawatamy, who were then on their way to the Big-bone-lick, to steal horses; that this party informed them that all the Indians on White river were sent for to come immediately to Grand Glaize, where the warriors of several nations were now assembled; that the chiefs were yet in council, and would not let their warriors go out; that they could not depend upon the British for effectual support; that they were always setting the Indians on like dogs after game, pressing them to go to war, and kill the Americans, but did not help them; that unless the British would turn out and help them, they were determined to make peace; that they would not be any longer amused by promises only.

That the Shawanese have 380 warriors at, and in the vicinity of Grand Glaize; and generally can, and do, bring into action about 300. Their great men, or sachems, are the *Black Wolf*, and *Kakia-pi-la-thy*, or *Tame Hawk*; their principal warriors are *Blue Jacket*, and *Captain Jonny*; that the Delawares have in and about Grand Glaize 480 warriors; that they actually had four hundred in the action against General St. Clair; that the Miamies are at present but about one hundred warriors, who live near Grand Glaize, several of them having removed towards Post Vincennes, and the Mississippi; that the Wyandots never send into action more than about one hundred and fifty warriors; they live along the lake, towards Sandusky; they don't know the number of the Pattawatamies, nor the number of the other Indians or nations that would actually join in a war, should they determine to continue it; that the Chippewas would be the most numerous, and were generally on the way to the council; but that war or peace depended on the conduct of the British; if they would help them, it would probably be war, but if they would not, it would be peace; that the Indians would no longer be set on like dogs, by themselves, unless the British would help them to fight; that the British were at the foot of the rapids, and had fortified at Roche de Bout; that there were a great number of British soldiers at that place; that they told the Indians they were now come to help them to fight;



and if the Indians would generally turn out and join them, they would advance and fight the American army; that Blue Jacket had been sent by the British to the Chippewas, and Northern Indians, a considerable time since, to invite them, and bring them to *Roche de Bout*, there to join the British and other hostile Indians, in order to go to war.

I do certify, that the foregoing is an exact and true narrative, delivered by the two Shawanese warriors, prisoners, upon examination before me, at Greenville, through my interpreter, Christopher Miller, this 26th day of June, 1794.

*Copy of a letter from Major General Wayne to the Secretary of War, dated Head Quarters, Grand Glaize, 14th August, 1794.*

SIR:

I have the honor to inform you, that the army under my command took possession of this very important post on the morning of the 8th instant—the enemy, on the preceding evening, having abandoned all their settlements, towns, and villages, with such apparent marks of surprise and precipitation, as to amount to a positive proof, that our approach was not discovered by them, until the arrival of a Mr. Newman, of the Quartermaster General's department, who deserted from the army near the St. Mary's, and gave them every information in his power, as to our force, the object of our destination, state of provision, number and size of the artillery, &c. &c. circumstances and facts that he had but too good an opportunity of knowing, from acting as a field quartermaster on the march, and at the moment of his desertion. Hence, I have good grounds to conclude, that the defection of this villain prevented the enemy from receiving a fatal blow at this place, when least expected.\*

I had made such demonstrations, for a length of time previously to taking up our line of march, as to induce the savages to expect our advance by the route of the Miami villages, to the left, or towards Roche de Bout, by the right; which feints appear to have produced the desired effect, by drawing the attention of the enemy to those points, and gave an opening for the army to approach undiscovered by a devious route, *i. e.* in a central direction, and which would be impracticable for an army, except in a dry season, such as then presented.

Thus, sir, we have gained possession of the grand emporium of the hostile Indians of the West, without loss of blood. The very extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens, show the work of many hands. The margins of those beautiful rivers, the Miamies of the lake, and Au Glaize, appear like one continued village for a number of miles, both above and below this place; nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn, in any part of America, from Canada to Florida.

We are now employed in completing a strong stockade fort, with four good block houses, by way of bastions, at the confluence of Au Glaize and the Miamies, which I have called *Defiance*. Another fort was also erected on the bank of the St. Mary's, twenty-four miles advanced of Recovery, which was named Adams, and endowed with provision and a proper garrison.

Every thing is now prepared for a forward move to-morrow morning, towards Roche de Bout, or foot of the rapids, where the British have a regular fortification, well supplied with artillery, and strongly garrisoned, in the vicinity of which the fate of the campaign will probably be decided; as, from the best and most recent intelligence, the enemy are there collected in force, and joined by the militia of Detroit, &c. &c. possessed of ground very unfavorable for cavalry to act in. Yet, notwithstanding this unfavorable intelligence, and unpleasant circumstances of ground, I do not despair of success, from the spirit and ardor of the troops, from the generals down to the privates, both of the legion and mounted volunteers.

Yet I have thought proper to offer the enemy a last overture of peace; and as they have every thing that is dear and interesting now at stake, I have reason to expect that they will listen to the proposition mentioned in the enclosed copy of an address, despatched yesterday by a special flag, who I sent under circumstances that will ensure his safe return, and which may eventually spare the effusion of much human blood.

But, should war be their choice, that blood be upon their own heads. America shall no longer be insulted with impunity. To an all-powerful and just God I therefore commit myself and gallant army, and have the honor to be, with every consideration of respect and esteem,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

The Hon. Major General Knox, *Secretary of War*.

To the Delawares, Shawanese, Miamies, and Wyandots, and to each and every of them, and to all other nations of Indians, northwest of the Ohio, whom it may concern:

I, Anthony Wayne, Major General and Commander-in-chief of the Federal army now at Grand Glaize, and commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States of America, for settling the terms upon which a permanent and lasting peace shall be made with each and every of the hostile tribes, or nations of Indians northwest of the Ohio, and of the said United States, actuated by the purest principles of humanity, and urged by pity for the errors into which bad and designing men have led you, from the head of my army, now in possession of your abandoned villages and settlements, do hereby once more extend the friendly hand of peace towards you, and invite each and every of the hostile tribe of Indians to appoint deputies to meet me and my army, without delay, between this place and Roche de Bout, in order to settle the preliminaries of a lasting peace, which may eventually and soon restore to you the Delawares, Miamies, Shawanese, and all other tribes and nations lately settled at this place, and on the margins of the Miami and Au Glaize rivers, your late grounds and possessions, and to preserve you and your distressed and hapless women and children from danger and famine, during the present fall and ensuing winter.

The arm of the United States is strong and powerful, but they love mercy and kindness more than war and desolation.

And, to remove any doubts or apprehensions of danger to the persons of the deputies whom you may appoint to meet this army, I hereby pledge my sacred honor for their safety and return, and send Christopher Miller, an adopted Shawanese, and a Shawanese warrior; whom I took prisoner two days ago, as a flag, who will advance in their front to meet me.

Mr. Miller was taken prisoner by a party of my warriors, six moons since, and can testify to you the kindness which I have shown to your people, my prisoners, that is, five warriors and two women, who are now all safe and well at Greenville.

But, should this invitation be disregarded, and my flag, Mr. Miller, be detained, or injured, I will immediately order all those prisoners to be put to death, without distinction, and some of them are known to belong to the first families of your nations.

BROTHERS: Be no longer deceived or led astray by the false promises and language of the bad white men at the foot of the rapids; they have neither the power nor inclination to protect you. No longer shut your eyes to your true interest and happiness, nor your ears to this last overture of peace. But, in pity to your innocent women and children, come and prevent the further effusion of your blood; let them experience the kindness and friendship of the United States of America, and the invaluable blessings of peace and tranquillity.

ANTHONY WAYNE.

GRAND GLAIZE, 13th August, 1794.

\* This man having called at the War Office, on his way from Niagara to Kentucky, (as he said) a few days previous to the receipt of this letter, immediately on the arrival thereof, information respecting him was transmitted to Pittsburg, with directions to apprehend and secure him. He has been accordingly taken, is now secured at that place, and ordered to be sent down the Ohio, to Head Quarters.

*Copy of a letter from Major General Wayne to the Secretary of War, dated*

HEAD QUARTERS, GRAND GLAIZE, 28th August, 1794.

SIR:

It is with infinite pleasure that I now announce to you the brilliant success of the Federal army under my command, in a general action with the combined force of the hostile Indians, and a considerable number of the volunteers and militia of Detroit, on the 20th instant, on the banks of the Miami, in the vicinity of the British post and garrison, at the foot of the rapids.

The army advanced from this place, on the 15th, and arrived at Roche de Bout on the 18th; the 19th we were employed in making a temporary post for the reception of our stores and baggage, and in reconnoitering the position of the enemy, who were encamped behind a thick brushy wood and the British fort.

At 8 o'clock on the morning of the 20th, the army again advanced in columns, agreeably to the standing order of March, the legion on the right, its right flank covered by the Miamies, one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left, under Brigadier General Todd, and the other in the rear, under Brigadier General Barbie. A select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the legion, commanded by Major Price, who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced, so as to give timely notice for the troops to form in case of action, it being yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or war.

After advancing about five miles, Major Price's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retreat. The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close thick wood, which extended for miles on our left, and for a very considerable distance in front, the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favorable covert for their mode of warfare. The savages were formed in three lines, within supporting distance of each other, and extending for near two miles, at right angles with the river. I soon discovered, from the weight of the fire and extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favorite ground, and endeavoring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance and support the first, and directed Major General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers, by a circuitous route; at the same time I ordered the front line to advance and charge with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when up, to deliver a close and well directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give them time to load again.

I also ordered Captain Mis Campbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, and which afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of infantry, that the Indians, and Canadian militia, and volunteers, were drove from all their coverts in so short a time, that, although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion, and by Generals Scott, Todd, and Barbie, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in season to participate in the action, the enemy being drove, in the course of one hour, more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one half their numbers.

From every account, the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants. The troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred.

This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison, as you will observe by the enclosed correspondence between Major Campbell, the commandant, and myself, upon the occasion.

The bravery and conduct of every officer belonging to the army, from the Generals down to the Ensigns, merit my highest approbation. There were, however, some, whose rank and situation placed their conduct in a very conspicuous point of view, and which I observed with pleasure, and the most lively gratitude. Among whom, I must beg leave to mention Brigadier General Wilkinson, and Colonel Hamtramck, the commandants of the right and left wings of the legion, whose brave example inspired the troops. To those I must add the names of my faithful and gallant Aids-de-camp, Captains De Butt and T. Lewis, and Lieutenant Harrison, who, with the Adjutant General, Major Mills, rendered the most essential service by communicating my orders in every direction, and by their conduct and bravery exciting the troops to press for victory.

Lieutenant Covington, upon whom the command of the cavalry now devolved, cut down two savages with his own hand, and Lieutenant Webb one, in turning the enemy's left flank.

The wounds received by Captains Slough and Prior, and Lieutenant Campbell Smith, an extra aid-de-camp to General Wilkinson, of the legionary infantry, and Captain Van Rensselaer, of the dragoons, Captain Rawlins, Lieutenant McKenny, and Ensign Duncan, of the mounted volunteers, bear honorable testimony of their bravery and conduct.

Captains H. Lewis and Brock, with their companies of light infantry, had to sustain an unequal fire for some time, which they supported with fortitude. In fact, every officer and soldier, who had an opportunity to come into action, displayed that true bravery which will always ensure success. And here permit me to declare, that I never discovered more true spirit and anxiety for action, than appeared to pervade the whole of the mounted volunteers, and I am well persuaded, that, had the enemy maintained their favorite ground for one half hour longer, they would have most severely felt the prowess of that corps.

But, whilst I pay this just tribute to the living, I must not neglect the gallant dead, among whom we have to lament the early death of those worthy and brave officers, Captain Mis Campbell, of the dragoons, and Lieutenant Towles, of the light infantry, of the legion, who fell in the first charge.

Enclosed is a particular return of the killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was more than double to that of the Federal army. The woods were strewn for a considerable distance with the dead bodies of Indians, and their white auxiliaries, the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets.

We remained three days and nights on the banks of the Miami, in front of the field of battle, during which time all the houses and cornfields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance, both above and below fort Miami, as well as within pistol shot of that garrison, who were compelled to remain tacit spectators to this general devastation and conflagration, among which were the houses, stores, and property, of Colonel McKee, the British Indian agent, and principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages.

The army returned to this place on the 27th, by easy marches, laying waste the villages and cornfields for about fifty miles on each side of the Miami. There remains yet a great number of villages, and a great quantity of corn, to be consumed or destroyed, upon Au Glaize and the Miami, above this place, which will be effected in the course of a few days.

In the interim, we shall improve fort Defiance, and, as soon as the escort returns with the necessary supplies from Greenville, and fort Recovery, the army will proceed to the Miami villages, in order to accomplish the object of the campaign.

It is, however, not improbable that the enemy may make one desperate effort against the army, as it is said that a reinforcement was hourly expected at fort Miami from Niagara, as well as numerous tribes of Indians living on the margin and islands of the lakes.

This is a business rather to be wished for than dreaded, whilst the army remains in force. Their numbers will only tend to confuse the savages, and the victory will be the more complete and decisive, and which may eventually ensure a permanent and happy peace.

Under these impressions, I have the honor to be your most obedient and very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

The honorable Major General H. Knox, *Secretary of War*.

N. B. I forgot to mention that I met my flag on the 16th, who was returning with an evasive answer, in order to gain time for the arrival of the reinforcement mentioned by the Shawanee Indian, and which actually did arrive two days before the action.

A RETURN of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the Federal Army, commanded by Major General Wayne, in the action of the 20th August, 1794, fought on the banks of the Miami, at the post of the Rapids, in the vicinity of the British post.

	KILLED.							Total killed.	WOUNDED.							Total wounded.	DIED OF THEIR WOUNDS SINCE THE ACTION.							Total dead & wound.	
	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Music.	Privates.		Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Music.	Privates.		Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Music.	Privates.		Total.
Squadron of dragoons artillery	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	8	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	12
1st sub-legion	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	9	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	12
2d sub-legion	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	8
3d sub-legion	-	-	-	1	-	-	6	7	-	-	1	2	2	2	27	32	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	3	39
4th sub-legion	-	1	-	1	-	-	11	13	1	1	-	2	1	-	23	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	41
Total of the legion	1	1	-	3	-	-	21	26	3	1	-	4	3	2	74	87	-	-	-	-	1	-	8	9	113
Kentucky volunteers	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7	1	1	1	-	-	-	10	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	20
Aggregate	1	1	-	3	-	-	28	33	4	2	1	4	3	2	84	100	-	-	-	-	1	-	10	11	133
<p><i>Names of the officers killed.</i>            Captain Robert Mis Campbell, of Dragoons,            Lieutenant Henry B. Towles, 4th sub-legion.</p>							<p><i>Names of officers wounded.</i>            Captain Solomon Van Rensselaer, Dragoons,            Captain Abner Prior, 1st sub-legion,            Captain Jacob Slough, 4th sub-legion,            Lieutenant Campbell Smith, 4th sub-legion, acting            as an aid-de-camp to Brigadier Gen. Wilkinson.</p>							<p><i>Names of officers of volunteers wounded.</i>            Captain Rawlins,            Lieutenant McKenney,            Ensign Duncan.</p>											

JOHN MILLS,  
Major of infantry and Adjutant General.

## No. 1.

*Major William Campbell to Major General Wayne.*

MIAMI RIVER, August 21, 1794.

SIR:

An army of the United States of America, said to be under your command, having taken post on the banks of the Miami for upwards of the last twenty-four hours, almost within the reach of the guns of this fort, being a post belonging to his Majesty the King of Great Britain, occupied by his Majesty's troops, and which I have the honor to command, it becomes my duty to inform myself, as speedily as possible, in what light I am to view your making such near approaches to this garrison.

I have no hesitation, on my part, to say, that I know of no war existing between Great Britain and America.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM CAMPBELL,

*Major 24th regiment, commanding a British post on the banks of the Miami.*

To Major Gen. WAYNE; &amp;c.

## No. 2.

*Major General Wayne to Major William Campbell.*

CAMP, ON THE BANK OF THE MIAMI, August 21, 1794.

SIR:

I have received your letter of this date, requiring from me the motives which have moved the army under my command to the position they at present occupy, far within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States of America.

Without questioning the authority or the propriety, sir, of your interrogatory, I think I may, without breach of decorum, observe to you, that, were you entitled to an answer, the most full and satisfactory one was announced to you from the muzzles of my small arms, yesterday morning, in the action against the horde of savages in the vicinity of your post, which terminated gloriously to the American arms; but, had it continued until the Indians, &c. were driven under the influence of the post and guns you mention, they would not have much impeded the progress of the victorious army under my command, as no such post was established at the commencement of the present war between the Indians and the United States.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE,

*Major General, and Commander in Chief of the Federal Army.*

To Major WILLIAM CAMPBELL, &amp;c.

## No. 3.

*Major William Campbell to Major General Wayne.*

FORT MIAMI, August 22d, 1794.

SIR:

Although your letter of yesterday's date fully authorizes me to any act of hostility against the army of the United States of America in this neighborhood, under your command, yet, still anxious to prevent that dreadful decision, which, perhaps, is not intended to be appealed to by either of our countries, I have forborne, for those two days past, to resent those insults you have offered to the British flag flying at this fort, by approaching it within pistol shot of my works, not only singly, but in numbers, with arms in their hands.

Neither is it my wish to wage war with individuals; but, should you, after this, continue to approach my post in the threatening manner you are at this moment doing, my indispensable duty to my King and country, and the honor of my profession, will oblige me to have recourse to those measures, which thousands of either nation may hereafter have cause to regret, and which, I solemnly appeal to God, I have used my utmost endeavors to arrest.

I have the honor to be, sir, with much respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM CAMPBELL,

*Major 24th regiment, commanding at Fort Miami.*

Major General WAYNE, &amp;c. &amp;c.

[No other notice was taken of this letter than what is expressed in the following letter. The fort and works were, however, reconnoitred in every direction, at some points possibly within pistol shot. It was found to be a regular strong work, the front covered by a wide river, with four guns mounted in that face. The rear, which was most susceptible of approach, had two regular bastions, furnished with eight pieces of artillery, the whole surrounded by a wide deep ditch, with horizontal pickets projecting from the burn of the parapet over the ditch. From the bottom of the ditch to the top of the parapet, was about twenty feet perpendicular. The works were also surrounded by an abattis, and furnished with a strong garrison.]

## No. 4.

*Major General Wayne to Major William Campbell.*

CAMP, BANKS OF THE MIAMI, 22d August, 1794.

SIR:

In your letter of the 21st instant, you declare, "I have no hesitation, on my part, to say, that I know of no war existing between Great Britain and America."

I, on my part, declare the same, and that the only cause I have to entertain a contrary idea at present, is the hostile act you are now in commission of, i. e. by recently taking post far within the well known and acknowledged limits of the United States, and erecting a fortification in the heart of the settlements of the Indian tribes now at war with the United States. This, sir, appears to be an act of the highest aggression, and destructive to the peace and interest of the Union. Hence, it becomes my duty to desire, and I do hereby desire and demand, in the name of the President of the United States, that you immediately desist from any further act of hostility or aggression, by forbearing to fortify, and by withdrawing the troops, artillery, and stores, under your orders and direction, forthwith, and removing to the nearest post occupied by his Britannic Majesty's troops at the peace of 1783, and which you will be permitted to do unmolested by the troops under my command.

I am, with very great respect, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

Major WILLIAM CAMPBELL, &amp;c.

## No. 5.

*Major William Campbell to Major General Wayne.*

FORT MIAMI, 22d August, 1794.

SIR:

I have this moment the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date; in answer to which I have only to say, that, being placed here in the command of a British post, and acting in a military capacity only, I cannot

enter into any discussion, either on the right or impropriety of my occupying my present position. Those are matters that I conceive will be best left to the ambassadors of our different nations.

Having said this much, permit me to inform you, that I certainly will not abandon this post at the summons of any power whatever, until I receive orders to that purpose from those I have the honor to serve under, or the fortune of war should oblige me.

I must still adhere, sir, to the purport of my letter this morning, to desire that your army, or individuals belonging to it, will not approach within reach of my cannon, without expecting the consequences attending it.

Although I have said, in the former part of my letter, that my situation here is totally military, yet, let me add, sir, that I am much deceived, if his Majesty, the King of Great Britain, had not a post on this river, at and prior to the period you mention.

I have the honor to be, sir, with the greatest respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,  
**WILLIAM CAMPBELL,**

*Major 24th regiment, commanding at fort Miami.*

To Major General WAYNE, &c.

[The only notice taken of this letter, was, by immediately setting fire to, and destroying, every thing within view of the fort, and even under the muzzles of the guns. Had Mr. Campbell carried his threats into execution, it is more than probable he would have experienced a storm.]

*Examination of a Shawanee prisoner, taken by Captain Wells, on the evening of the 11th of August, 1794, near the foot of the Rapids.*

*Question.* When did the Indians receive information of the advance of the army?

*Answer.* The first information was from a white man, who came in of his own accord, about ten days since.

*Question.* Where are the Indians at this time?

*Answer.* At Colonel McKee's.

*Question.* Where are the British, and what are their numbers?

*Answer.* In a fort about one mile below Colonel McKee's, on the north side of the river, situate on a hill, or bank, close by the margin, where there are about 200 men. They are now at work at the fort.

*Question.* What number of great guns have they in the fort?

*Answer.* Four or five.

*Question.* What number of warriors are at McKee's, and what nations do they belong to?

*Answer.* There are six hundred, who abandoned this place on the approach of the army.

Shawanees, about	- - - - -	200, but not more.
Delawares, - - - - -	- - - - -	300
Miamies, - - - - -	- - - - -	100
Warriors of other tribes,	- - - - -	100

Total, 700

*Question.* What number are expected to assemble, in addition to those now at the foot of the Rapids?

*Answer.* In all, about 400 men, viz.

Wyandots, - - - - -	- - - - -	300
Tawas, - - - - -	- - - - -	240
		540

*Question.* What number of white men are to join, and when?

*Answer.* Mr. or Captain Elliot set out for Detroit six days since, and was to be back yesterday, with all the militia, and an additional number of regular troops, which, with those already there, would amount to 1000 men. This is the general conversation among the Indians, and Captain Elliot promised to bring that number. Colonel McKee's son went with Elliot, as also the man who deserted from the army on its march.

*Question.* When, and where, do the Indians mean to fight this army?

*Answer.* At the foot of the Rapids. The white man who came in, told the Indians and Colonel McKee, that the army was destined for that place.

*Examination of Antoine Lassell, a native of Canada, and a volunteer in Captain Caldwell's company of refugees, friends and allies of the hostile Indians, captured in the action of the 20th instant.*

He says that he has resided for twenty-nine years in Upper Canada, twenty-one of which he has passed at Detroit, and on this river, and that he has constantly traded with the Indians all that time; that he resided at the Miami villages for nineteen years before Harmar's expedition, when he kept a store at that place, and used to supply other traders with goods; that he has since lived chiefly at Bean creek, or Little Glaize, at the Little Turtle's town.

That, having lived so long among the hostile Indians, he is perfectly acquainted with the tribes and numbers.

That the Delawares have about 500 men, including those who live on both rivers, the White river, and Bean creek. That the Miamies are about 200 warriors, part of them live on the St. Joseph's, eight leagues from this place; that the men were all in the action, but the women are yet at that place, or Piquet's village; that a road leads from this place directly to it; that the number of warriors belonging to that place, when all together, amounts to about 40.

That the Shawanees have about 300 warriors; that the Tawas, on this river, are 250; that the Wyandots are about 300.

That those Indians were generally in the action of the 20th instant, except some hunting parties. That a reinforcement of regular troops, and 200 militia, arrived at fort Miami a few days before the army appeared; that the regular troops in the fort amounted to 250, exclusive of the militia.

That about seventy of the militia, including Captain Caldwell's corps, were in the action. That Colonel McKee, Captain Elliot, and Simon Girty, were in the field, but at a respectful distance, and near the river.

That Colonel McKee's existence now depends upon the exertions he can make to retrieve the loss and disgrace of the Indians; that he will use every influence and means in his power, to raise the distant nations to come forward immediately; and assist in the war.

That, should they not be able to collect in force sufficient to fight this army, their intention is to move on the Spanish side of the Mississippi, where part of their nations now live; that Blue Jacket told him (Lassell) that he intended to move immediately to Chicago, on the Illinois.

That the Indians have wished for peace for some time, but that Colonel McKee always dissuaded them from it, and stimulated them to continue the war.

CAMP GRAND GLAIZE, 23th August, 1794.

*Examination of John Bevin, a drummer in the 24th British regiment, commanded by Colonel England:*

Who says, that there are now four companies of the 24th at fort Miami, averaging about 50 men, non-commissioned officers and privates included; that there was part of Governor Simcoe's corps in the garrison, together with

about sixty Canadians; that the whole number of men actually in the garrison, including officers, &c. exceeded 400; that the number of Indians, Canadians, &c. in the action, were at least 2,000, according to the report made by Colonel McKee and Captain Elliot, to Major Campbell, after the action, who declared, in his presence, that there was actually that number engaged.

That there were four nine six-pounders, two large howitzers, and six six-pounders, mounted in the fort, and two swivels, and well supplied with ammunition.

That the Indians were regularly supplied with provision drawn from the British magazine, in the garrison, by Colonel McKee.

That a certain Mr. Newman, a deserter from the American army, arrived at the fort about eight days before the army made its appearance, who gave information to Major Campbell, that the object of the Americans was to take that post and garrison; that General Wayne told the troops not to be uneasy about provision, that there was plenty in the British garrison.

That Governor Simcoe was expected at that place every hour; in consequence of an express sent to Niagara, after the arrival of Newman, the deserter, but had not arrived when he came away; that the distance from fort Miami to Detroit, is sixty miles, which is generally performed in two days.

That the militia of Detroit, and its vicinity, amounts to near two thousand; that a Colonel Baubee commands them; that McKee is also a Colonel of militia; that a Lieutenant Silve, of the 5th British regiment, is in the Indian department, and acts as secretary to Colonel McKee; that a Captain Bunbury of the same regiment is also in the Indian department.

That he has seen a great number of wounded Indians pass the fort, but did not learn what number were killed; that the retiring Indians appeared much dejected, and much altered to what they were in the morning before the action; that he knew of one company of volunteers, commanded by Captain Caldwell, all white men, and armed with British muskets and bayonets, who were in the action.

*James Neill's information to the Secretary of War, taken 21st October, 1794.*

James Neill, a pack-horseman in the service of Elliott and Williams, aged about 17 years, and belonging to Beardstown, in Kentucky, was in the action of the 30th June, at fort Recovery, and taken prisoner by the Indians, together with Peter Keil, and another by the name of Cherry, all three pack-horsemen.

After he was taken prisoner he was carried to the British fort, at the Miami, where, however, he was not permitted to be seen by the British, as the Indians wanted to carry him to their own town; thence he was taken to Detroit, and thence to Michilimackinac, where a British officer bought him, who sent him to Detroit, to Colonel England, who treated them well, and sent them to Niagara, at which place Peter Keil, being an Irishman, enlisted in the Queen's rangers.

Neill understood that there were of Indians and whites, 1,500 in the attack of fort Recovery; he himself did not see the whole, but he saw upwards of seven hundred.

He understood they lost a great many in killed and wounded; he himself saw about twenty dead carried off, and many wounded, while he was tied to the stump of a tree, about half a mile distant from the firing.

The Indians, on their return to the Miami fort, asserted, that no enemy ever fought better than the people at fort Recovery; and Neill was told, by Captain Doyle, at Michilimackinac, that the Indians lost two to one that they did at St. Clair's defeat.

Neill was taken by the Shawanese, and made a present to the Ottawas, who live near the fort at Michilimackinac.

Neill was at Detroit when the news arrived of General Wayne's action with the Indians, the 20th August. He received the information from one John Johnson, who had been a deserter from General Wayne's army, and then was a militia man of Detroit, and in the action against General Wayne. He spoke of the affair as a complete defeat; that the Indians lost a great many, but he could not tell how many. He says the Indians, upon being defeated, wanted to take refuge in the British fort; that they were denied, which greatly exasperated them.

The militia of Detroit were again ordered out, and several Captains put in the guard-house for refusing. He understood the militia men were forced on board of vessels and sent to Roche de Bout.

Upon his arrival at Niagara, he understood that most of the troops were ordered to reinforce the garrison at the Miami river, but Governor Simcoe did not go.

Neill says, that it was generally said, there were only seven hundred Indians at General St. Clair's defeat.

*Copy of a letter from the Governor of Georgia to the Secretary of War.*

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 19th August, 1794.

SIR:

I had the pleasure to receive your communication of the 28th ultimo, this day, and it is with real regret I inform you, that the information therein contained, is in a great part too true. Some time in May I learnt that settlements were making on the southwest side of the Oconee; the supposition then was, that the adventurers were part of those who had embarked in the French interest, and that, in a short time, they would of themselves disperse; but finding that not to be the case, and fearing lest they might contemplate a serious settlement, I, on the 20th of May, ordered General Irwin to direct the settlers immediately to remove; soon after, I was informed the removal had taken place. On the 14th July I received a letter from Lieutenant Colonel Gaither, stating that Elijah Clarke, late a Major General in the militia of this State, with a party of men, had encamped on the southwest side of the Oconee, opposite to fort Fidius. On the 24th, General Irwin sent a couple of officers to Clarke, with orders for him to move off immediately, which he positively refused; and, on the 28th, I issued a proclamation, forbidding such unlawful proceedings. I also wrote to one of our judges to issue his warrant, and have Clarke apprehended. At the supreme court in Wilkes county, I am informed, he surrendered himself to the judge, who, on consulting with the attorney general, referred him to some of the justices of the county; a copy of their decision is herewith enclosed, and from which there is reason to conclude, there are too many who think favorably of the settlements; but I still flatter myself a large majority of the citizens are opposed to such lawless acts.

Enclosed is a copy of my instructions to Captain Fauche, who commands the troop I informed you, in my letter of the 5th instant, I had called into service. It will be necessary, I conceive, for the captain to be reinforced with another troop, which I shall immediately order, and with which I am hopeful the objects of his command will be effected; should it prove otherwise, I shall lose no time in having recourse to a sufficient military force: for, however unpleasant the task may be, of shedding the blood of acquaintances, and those whom we wish to view as fellow-citizens, yet the President may rest assured that no exertions on my part shall be wanting.

Herewith I transmit a copy of a talk I sent lately to the Creek Indians, and a copy of a deposition of William Jones, taken by Judge Walton. I sincerely wish it had been in my power to have given a more pleasant account of the situation of things in this quarter.

GEORGE MATHEWS.

*Discharge of General Clarke by the Justices of Wilkes County.*STATE OF GEORGIA, *Wilkes County:*

Whereas a proclamation was issued, on the 28th day of July last, by his Excellency George Mathews, Esquire, Governor of this State, stating, that "Elijah Clarke, Esquire, late Major General of the militia of this State, has gone over the Oconee river, with an intent to establish a separate and independent government, on the lands allotted for the Indians for their hunting grounds, and commanded, in the said proclamation, all judges, justices, sheriffs, and other officers, and all the other citizens of this State, to be diligent in aiding and assisting in apprehending the said Elijah Clarke, and his adherents, in order that they might, severally, be brought to justice: And whereas the said Elijah Clarke, who is the object of the said proclamation, hath this day personally appeared before us, the undersigned, justices of the peace for the county of Wilkes, and surrendered himself into custody, and it being our duty to do speedy justice to the said State, as well as the party charged, we proceeded to the most mature consideration of the cause, and, after an examination of the laws of the State, and the treaties made, and laws passed, by the United States, do give it as our decided and unanimous opinion, that the said Elijah Clarke be, and is hereby, discharged.

R. WOOSHAM, *J. P.*  
R. CHRISTMAS, *J. P.*  
G. WOOLDRIDGE, *J. P.*  
WILLIAM BELL, *J. P.*

Attest,

J. MERIWETHER, *Secretary E. D.**Instructions for Captain Fauche.*

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 30th July, 1794.

SIR:

You will recruit a troop of horse, to consist of (besides commissioned officers) six sergeants, six corporals, one farrier, one trumpeter, and eighty-six privates, and station a sub-sergeant, corporal, and twenty dragoons, at each of the following places, viz. Wafford's, the high shoals of the Apalachy, fort Twigg, and the White bluff; a sergeant, and six dragoons, you will send to Phillips' mile shoal. The detachment at Wafford's will perform as constant a scout to Ward's station, on Tugelo, and the hurricane shoals of the Oconee, as the horses are capable of; that at the high shoals of Apalachy will, in like manner, scout to the Hurricane shoals, and to the mouth of the Apalachy; that at fort Twigg, to the mouth of the Apalachy, and to fort Fidius; and that at the White bluff, to fort Fidius, and Carr's bluff. You will take care to render the citizens every protection in your power, and endeavor to prevent parties of men from crossing the temporary line, except in cases where they are in pursuit of Indians that have committed murder, or stolen property; in those cases, you will use your best exertions to recover the property, and chastise the offenders.

You will be particularly vigilant in preventing provisions, or parties of men, from being thrown into the posts which have been established, without authority, by Elijah Clarke, Esquire, on the southwest side of the Oconee; and, in case either should fall into your hands, you will take them to the nearest magistrate, in order that the men may be bound over to their good behavior, and the provisions subjected to a legal adjudication. You will conduct yourself with the greatest circumspection, and, in no instance, commit an act of hostility, unless in self-preservation.

You are to inform Lieutenant Colonel Gaither you will receive his orders in any emergency that may occur. Should any Indians come on the frontiers in a friendly manner, for the purpose of restoring prisoners or property, you will treat them with friendship and attention.

Your knowledge as an officer, renders it unnecessary for me to urge the necessity of a strict discipline being observed in your troop.

J. MERIWETHER, *Secretary E. D.**To the Head-men and Warriors of the Creek Nation.*

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 11th August, 1794.

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:

I have received three talks from your land, by Mr. Mordecai, part of which I take well, others I am at a loss what they mean.

When your head-men were at New York, and made peace with General Washington, the great warrior of America, I was there. Agreeably to that treaty, the river Apalachy, or Tulapaka, was agreed to be the temporary line between your nation and the people of Georgia. Some goods were promised to you, which you received; and you were to make a plain line between our people and yours. This you failed to do. Some time after, General Washington, your father, heard you were poor, and wanted bread for your squaws and children; to relieve you from want, he sent you corn to St. Mary's, for which he asked nothing. Agreeably to his promise, a store was opened there for you to trade to; your father hoping, by this kind treatment, that the good men of your nation would return the property you promised at the treaty at New York, run the line, and be at perfect peace and friendship with all white people of the United States.

After all this kindness, what have your nation done? You have not returned our prisoners, nor restored our property, or acted as friends. The men that kept the store for you to trade to, were killed by your people, and the goods carried into your land; you have not punished the men that did this, or given any satisfaction for the injury done. John Galphin was the main hand in those murders and robberies. Major Seagrove informed me, last winter, he was condemned to die in your land, and had fled to the Spaniards. I am informed he is now returned as their agent; and, wishing to disturb your land with bad talk, wants you to go to war with the United States. This is Mr. Panton's doings; he wishes to have all your trade, and make you give what prices he pleases to ask for his goods. Does your father, General Washington, order any of his agents to ask you to make war on any other nation? No, he is too good a man to do it; he wishes to see you, and all nations, at peace and friendship. You have killed many of our citizens, and carried away a great number of our horses, cattle, and negroes; all this your father, General Washington, has borne with, from a wish to be the friend of your nation, and all the red people, as he is to all white ones. As a proof of this, he sent Major Seagrove into your land last winter, to see if peace was to be restored; you told Mr. Seagrove you were for peace, and that you would give the prisoners and negroes, and return the property; but in the spring, when he returned, he only brought four prisoners, and none of our negroes, or property. After so many disappointments, on your part, ask yourselves, what your father, General Washington, or the people of Georgia, have to expect from you? On his part, all the goods that were promised you, have been given; and a wish still remains to keep the path open and white, and with your nation it rests whether it will be so or not. If you return to us our prisoners and property, restrain your bad men from stealing our horses, all will be peace, and General Washington will open a trade to your land, when you may have goods for one-fourth less than you now give Mr. Panton for them, and get more for your skins and furs.

In one of your talks you say a ship of Mr. Panton's is taken, that was bringing your goods; and ask, whether we are at war with the British and Spaniards? To which I answer, we are neither at war with the British nor Spaniards, or know, or care, any thing about Mr. Panton, or his ship; the British and Spaniards are at war, with your fathers, the Frenchmen, who have taken a great many of their ships, and it is possible Mr. Panton's is one of them.



**FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:** In wars between white people, I would advise you to take no part; peace is best for you; carry your skins and furs to the nation that will give you the most for them, and let you have goods cheapest: for, compared with any white nation, you are a poor and weak people; you cannot make your own cloths, nor guns that kill your provisions, nor your powder or lead; therefore, you are in need of the assistance of white people, and should make it your study to be at peace with them all; and when any white men wishes you to go to war on their account, they wish to ruin your nation.

You ask about forts on the Apalachy, or Tulapaka. There are two forts built by my orders on that river; I told the White-bird king last winter, at fort Fidius, I would build them; our situation with the Cherokees required it; they are on the north side of the river, and on the lands that were given by your nation at the treaty at New York, for which you have been paid, and cannot see why you complain of it. By that treaty your nation is to receive twelve hundred dollars a year for the lands, which is ten times as much as all the game you can kill on it in one year is worth. I cannot see how your nation can dispute the river's being the line, as it was agreed on at three treaties in Georgia, and the one at New York. At the one at New York, all your warriors that met General Washington, your father, at the great council house, where the old men of the United States sat to make laws for the whole nation, the treaty you had signed was read and interpreted, and General Washington, on his part, for the United States, promised to perform it, and all your warriors then promised the same on the part of your nation; from this, it appears to me, you only wish to treat with a view to get presents, and have no intention of complying with any part of your treaties. The fort you complain of over the Oconee, is not built by my orders, nor your father, General Washington; it is done by men that are acting without any authority. I am informed they intend to rent the land of you; but if you don't choose to let them live on it, and you will comply with your treaties, by giving up our prisoners, and restoring our property, you need not be uneasy about them; your father, General Washington, will have them put off of it. You talk of two men you had killed on the Oconee last winter—I might tell you of many.

You have killed our people, but I refrain doing so. If we wish to have peace, we must not think of matters that are past. We must pull up a large oak tree, bury the bones of those that have been killed on both sides under it, then plant the tree, that it may grow in remembrance of our being one people; then, when we meet in the woods, we will eat and drink together as friends, and not wish to kill one another.

You say, you are afraid we wish to take all your lands; that it is your father, and can't spare it. If you will be at peace, we want no more of your land. It is a father to us as well as you; by ploughing and planting, it gives bread and meat to our wives and children, and gets us all the goods we want. But, when your bad men steal our horses, we cannot plough and work our land, and our wives and children want meat and clothes. Therefore, when you steal our horses, you rob us of what our father, the land, gives us.

**FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:** Open your ears, and hear now what your father says to you. If you stain our land again with blood, your father, General Washington, will not think of peace with you again. Your land will be the seat of war, and you will have no place of safety for your squaws and children; but if you listen to the talk of peace I now send you, and return our prisoners and property, I will write to your father, General Washington, to open a trade with you, so that your nation may be supplied with every thing you want. We live in the same land, and under the same sun; therefore, good sense and reason says, we should be friends. Major Seagrove, your friend, has gone to see your father, General Washington; he was sick for some time after he left your nation, therefore you must not expect to see him as soon, by two moons, as he told you.

True copy.

Attest,

J. MERIWETHER, S. E. D.

*Deposition of William Jones.*

**GEORGIA:**

William Jones, of the county of Wilkes, in the State aforesaid, being duly sworn, maketh oath, and saith, that, about four months ago, he was employed, and did go through the Creek country, to carry a letter to Ford, Reid, & Co. at Pensacola, from Willing, Morris, and Swanwick, of Philadelphia; that, arriving at Pensacola, the Lieutenant Governor directed him to go to the principal Governor at New Orleans, which the deponent did; that, returning from New Orleans, and arriving again at Pensacola, about four weeks since, he there saw Colonel Brown and Colonel Richard Paris, of and from the island of New Providence, with letters from Lord Dunmore to the Governor of Pensacola, to obtain a passport to the Creek country, which letters he saw delivered; and that the deponent understood they had a large quantity of goods for the Creeks, and was told by Baillie China, and the Indian Trader Russel, that they were to hold a treaty with the Creek nation. The deponent further saith, that, from the above facts, and the circumstances of the apparent gladness of the Tories, who fled from the States, and live there and at Tombigny, he supposes they were on a public embassy, and not on a trading scheme.

The deponent, upon his said oath, further saith, that the house of Panton, Leslie, and Forbes, lately sent a parcel of goods to the Chickasaw country, and that the Mountain Leader had seized them, and made prisoners of the traders, alleging a treaty with the United States; and the deponent heard that their goods were also sent by the said Brown and Paris.

Sworn to in Scriven county, the 15th day of August, 1794.

WILLIAM JONES.

In addition, the deponent further saith, that although he had been promised a pass to return to Georgia, after the arrival of Brown and Paris, he was refused, otherwise than circuitously by water.

Sworn as above, before me.

GEO. WALTON,

*One of the Judges of the Superior Court for the body of the said State.*

Taken from the original.

EDWARD WATTS, S. E. D.

*Copy of a letter from his Excellency the Governor of Georgia to the Secretary of War.*

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, 30th August, 1794.

SIR:

Nothing extraordinary has taken place since my communications to you of the 19th instant. I have to request the President's instructions with respect to the prisoners which may fall into my hands in the event of a military force being employed against the settlements forming on the southwest side of the Oconee. Enclosed I send you a printed copy of Judge Walton's charge to the grand jury of the county of Richmond. I feel myself much indebted to the Judge for his spirited exertions on this occasion.

I have furnished General Twiggs with copies of that charge; the solicitor general's opinion, and your letter, and directed him to repair to the settlements before alluded to, and, after explaining the nature of his mission, to order the settlers immediately to remove. Should the order not be obeyed, I shall lose no time in drawing together a force adequate to compelling them.

I have no doubt of your having instructed the agent of supplies to direct the contractor to furnish what may be wanting in the commissary's and quartermaster's department.

GEO. MATHEWS.

*Judge Walton's charge to the Grand Jury of Richmond County, State of Georgia.*

## GENTLEMEN OF THE GRAND JURY:

The eastern circuit, for the present summer, ended in Burke; the term for this county being appointed to be held after all the rest, it is to be considered as the court at which the judges are met to decide on cases reserved for consultation; and by an union of session, to assimilate the doctrine and practice of the circuits, and to close the whole in like manner as it used to be in Burke.

With the knowledge and experience of this usage, and with this construction of the intention of the Legislature, I do propose to share the labors and responsibility of office with my brother Smith, upon the present occasion.

I shall do this the more readily, because the moment is eventful; because the eyes of the Union are necessarily turned towards this State; and because it is disgraceful for public men to shrink from the duties of their appointment.

In addition to the presentment of the grand juries for the counties of Chatham and Burke, where I presided, I have seen in the public prints, that it is alleged by the Executive department of Government, that certain and divers persons have gone over the temporary boundary line, between the white and Indian inhabitants of this State, "with intent to establish a separate and independent government, on the lands allotted to the Indians for their hunting grounds." That the proclamation in which this is alleged, warns the citizens from engaging in such unlawful proceeding, and commands and requires all judges, justices, sheriffs, and other officers, to be aiding and assisting in apprehending and bringing them to justice.

What has been done in pursuance of this proclamation, I know only from general report, and the public prints. These state that General Clarke, who is at the head of the enterprise, surrendered himself at Washington, in the county of Wilkes, during the sitting of the superior court, to a justice or justices of the peace, and was discharged, as having offended against no known law.

Not having been in the way to act, and duly respecting the presentments of the grand juries before mentioned, as well as the Executive department and the Government of the United States, I consider it a duty I am not at liberty to dispense, as one of the judges of the republic, to state this case, in my place, for your information, and that of my fellow citizens at large.

In doing this, I feel myself moved by no other considerations than those of the public law and order, the collective and individual rights of the citizens, and the obligations of office. With the gentleman who directs this enterprise, I have been a long time in the habits of regard and friendship; I have known his virtues, and esteemed them. In the long and arduous war, which produced our liberty and independence, he stands high in the lists of Revolutionary patriots and soldiers. But he himself will forgive and justify me, in detailing the laws against a scheme which tends to undermine the fair fabric he contributed to raise, and to subvert the order of that society, of which he has been so long an useful member.

It was in a former charge to the grand jury, at Washington, in Wilkes county, in the summer western circuit of the year 1792, that I had occasion before to treat of this subject. It was then, and in that place, that I stated the existing laws against encroachments on the Indian hunting grounds, belonging to the State, and before a very large assemblage of the citizens, and which the present occasion demands to be repeated.

Before the Revolution, the laws imposed the severest penalties upon those encroachments. But, as these succeeded a new order of things, we will confine our attention to the acts which have been passed since.

Immediately after the peace, a law passed at Savannah, for opening the Land Office, dated the 17th day of February, 1783, and which contained the following clause:

"*And be it further enacted,* That all surveys, which have or may have been made, or lines run, by any means or under any pretence whatever, beyond the present temporary boundary line within this State, between the white inhabitants and the Indians belonging to the same, or on any part of the lands not already laid out into counties, but allowed to remain as hunting grounds for the Indians at present, shall, and the same is, and are hereby, declared to be null and void, to all intents and purposes, as though such surveys or lines had never been made; and all and every person and persons whatsoever, who shall hereafter survey, or assist in surveying, or procure to be surveyed, and marked with lines, any of the lands above described, whereon the Indians are allowed to hunt for their support, or who shall obtain, or attempt to obtain, a grant for the same, before such lands are taken, within the boundary of the white inhabitants of this State, and the mode of granting such lands so to be taken in, be agreed and determined on by the Legislature, and published by proclamation, all and every such person and persons shall forfeit and pay a penalty of twenty shillings for every acre of land he, she, or they, shall so run, or attempt to run or obtain, or attempt to obtain a grant for; which said penalty shall be recovered in any court of record or conscience (according to the amount thereof) within the State; and shall be for the use of any person or persons, who will inform of, and sue for the same, either by way of information or action; and if any person or persons, against whom a judgment shall be obtained, for any penalty as aforesaid, shall be unable to pay the same, or will not produce property whereon the sheriff may levy to the amount thereof, he, she, or they, shall be liable, and the justices of the county where such cause shall be tried, shall order him, her, or them, into close confinement, without bail or mainprize, for the space of two days, for every twenty shillings the said penalty, so recovered as aforesaid, shall consist of, and which shall remain unpaid out of the property of the delinquent."

And to another clause in the same act, declaring the real boundary line of the State, it is added:

"*Provided nevertheless,* That nothing herein before contained, shall extend, or be construed to extend, to authorize and empower any surveyor, or other person or persons whatsoever, to survey, run, or mark lines, upon the lands before described, as being allowed to the Indians for hunting grounds, or any part or parcel thereof, before or until permission for that purpose shall be granted by the Legislature, and made known by proclamation."

Two years after this, on the 22d February, 1785, the Legislature passed another act, having for object, among other things, the prevention of surveys being extended over the temporary boundary line. The clause respecting the latter is as follows:

"*And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That, in case any surveys have been made, or grants obtained, for any lands lying and being without, or beyond, the lines of some one of the counties of this State, already laid out, all and every such survey or grant, shall be considered as fraudulent, and the same is hereby declared to be null and void; and the person or persons making such survey, or obtaining such grants, shall be prosecuted, and punished agreeable to the 11th section of the said land act, passed the 17th February, 1783."

This doctrine was again repeated two years afterwards, on the 10th of February, 1787, in an act passed for the appointment of commissioners to run the line designating the Indian hunting grounds. By this act, fine and imprisonment for the first offence, are added to the penalties herein before pointed out, for marking, surveying, or attempting to survey, or obtain, grants beyond the temporary line; and the second is made felony.

It was some time afterwards, in the year 1791, the two branches of the Legislature passed the following resolution: "*Resolved,* That the judges of the superior courts of this State, or one of them, be required, on proper information thereof being given, to issue a warrant against any surveyor or surveyors, who have or shall run any lands beyond the boundary line, designating the Indian hunting grounds; so that they may be, and appear, before the superior courts, in their respective counties, to answer for such conduct."

Thus far on the part of this State. On that of the United States, it is provided in the federal constitution, section 3d of article 4th: "New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress."

And, in an act of Congress of the 1st March, 1793, is the following clause:

"*And be it further enacted,* That, if any such citizen or inhabitant shall make a settlement on lands belonging to any tribe, or shall survey such lands, or designate their boundaries, by marking trees or otherwise, for the purpose of settlement, he shall forfeit a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, nor less than one hundred dollars, and suffer imprisonment not exceeding twelve months, in the discretion of the court before whom the trial shall be; and it shall, moreover, be lawful for the President of the United States, to take such measures as he may judge

necessary, to remove, from lands belonging to any Indian tribe, any citizens or inhabitants of the United States who have made, or shall hereafter make, or attempt to make, a settlement thereon."

The same act contains a clause prohibiting any purchases to be made, but through the agency of the United States.

Soon after the accession of all the States to the present federal constitution, I stated my doubts to a grand jury, also of Wilkes county, as to treaties with savages being of the same rank of those with civilized nations; and was inclined to be of opinion, that they ought not to be considered in the list of supreme laws, and of equal efficacy with those in the statute book; but the construction of the United States has been otherwise. This has established it in law, in practice, and opinion, and it is my duty to acquiesce. It appears, indeed, that General Clarke claims with impunity, from the tenor of an article in the treaty of New York, which gives to the Indians the right of repelling, and which it would seem, he did not fear. That treaty, therefore, may, on every account, be fairly resorted to.

The 5th article of the said treaty is in the following words: The United States solemnly guaranty to the Creek nation, all their lands within the limits of the United States, to the westward and southward of the boundary described in the preceding article. And the Creeks have lately demanded of the Governor, whether this settlement has been made with the knowledge and consent of the President.

Whether, therefore, we have reference to the laws of the United States, or of this State, the enterprise must be considered as illegal, and of course liable to prosecution and penalty, if persisted in.

But, independent of this, and regarding the persons engaged as still our friends and fellow citizens, it will not be amiss to state, that the lands, which are the object of their plan and their hopes, belong to the public or State at large; and that all the citizens have an equal claim upon them, when they shall be made grantable, and of which they will be deprived by this anticipating monopoly. This is unjust; and this opinion has been of long standing with me.

In the charge before referred to, is the following clause: "The motives which have uniformly governed the Legislature, and induced it so often to repeat its prohibitions, were no doubt of a general nature; to preserve good faith with the Union, and peace with the savages, to prevent surreptitious grants, and the monopoly of vacant territory; but more especially, that all the citizens should have equal and common right, when such territory is permitted by law to be taken up. Upon this occasion I will add, that it is well, at any time, to be right; but still better to be uniform."

Should the spirit which generated the plan of this new settlement, still urge its pursuit, what mischiefs may it not produce to the community. A young country, scarcely recovered from former ravages, but with the means of progressive amplification and aggrandizement, to be involved in a civil war, with all the evils incident to it, will have the effect of arresting its progress, and putting it in the back of any present calculation.

It is already known that the President of the United States has directed, in the event of other means failing, that the settlement should be suppressed by military coercion. And shall the blood of citizens be spilled, to support the pretensions of a small part of the people—pretensions without law, and resting not on the foundations of justice? But, it is said, they have expatriated themselves. This is neither fact, or capable of being made so. The district, the object of their contemplation, is still Georgia; and they must be either citizens or insurgents. Would that these new settlers might attend the voice of reason, of benevolence, and moderation, before they plunge themselves and their country in distress and trouble. A little time will extend our limits, and we shall then be all upon a footing.

But suppose that the State, from the recollection of the past services of the principal in this adventure, and a tender regard to his adherents, (the United States out of view for the moment) should be disposed to wink at the establishment of this intended settlement, Is the extent of the precedent perceived? The richest jewel the State of Georgia possesses, and the real basis of her future wealth and rank in the Union, is her western territory; and if one set of men should be permitted to take possession, and keep a part of it, without the consent of her government, will it not be an example of right, for any other set of men to do the same, with any other part, or with the whole of it?

Hence, I conclude, that if General Clarke has the same regard for the State he has heretofore given so many proofs of, he will desist from an enterprise so pregnant with evils to her. It is not to be wished, that the Federal Government should have occasion to exert its power upon any such occasion. It might, one day, give color to pretensions, not consonant with the interests of the State. There ought to exist no fears at present; but who can keep pace with the progress of time and of revolution?

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY:

I have now given a state of this case to you and to the world. In doing it, I have done my duty, because I think so. At the seat of Government, in the centre of business, and where courts so very frequently return, it is not necessary for me to add any thing upon your particular duties. Intend well, and act as you intend. Consult your oath, and be governed by it, and you cannot fail to do right.

GEORGE WALTON.

AUGUSTA, 26th August, 1794.

*Extract of a letter from the Governor of Georgia to the Secretary of War, dated*

STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, October 12, 1794.\*

Major General Twiggs having returned from the settlements formed by Elijah Clarke, on the southwest side of the Oconee, with a positive answer from Clarke that he would not relinquish his enterprise, I lost no time in putting Brigadier General Irwin in motion, with a sufficient detachment of militia to cut off the communication, and otherwise act as circumstances should require. I also ordered another detachment to hold themselves in readiness to march as soon as some heavy artillery could be brought from Savannah, but, from the prudence and address of General Irwin, the marching of this detachment became unnecessary. He soon compelled the adventurers to propose relinquishing their unlawful attempts, and submit to the laws of their country. The posts are all burnt and destroyed, and the whole business happily terminated without the loss of blood. I have the pleasure to inform you that the militia, on this occasion, showed a determined disposition to act with firmness in support of the laws of their country.

Enclosed you will receive a copy of a deposition relative to some murders and depredations which have lately been committed by the Indians in Greene county. I have also received a letter from General Jackson, informing me of some negroes and horses which have been taken from Liberty county; and late accounts from the Creek nation state, that the Tallassee King and Broken Arrow are both for war.

STATE OF GEORGIA, *Greene County:*

The year and day hereafter specified, came before me, Messrs. John Mikal, wagon-man, and Davis Harrison, of aforesaid State and county, and, after being duly sworn, declareth; that, on the 30th of September, 1794, they both were near fort Fidius, where a young lady of the name of Catharine Cessna, had been just shot down, and, on examination, found a shot gun wound through her body, of which wound she died, and had been scalped; they also declare having seen a negro wench, which had received two gun shot wounds, was scalped, but had yet life in her; that, by every circumstance, they have reason to believe these horrid murders were committed by Indians; that they have heard the negro wench declare she saw five Indians, and that she was thus barbarously treated by them. The aforesaid deponents further say nothing.

September 30, 1794.

\* Received November 8, 1794.

I do certify the above to be the truth, being there shortly after, and seeing the dead and wounded, and followed the trail of said Indians some distance.

Sworn to the above on the above date.

GEO. REID, J. P.

*Copy of a letter from Constant Freeman, Agent for the Department of War, in Georgia, to the Secretary of War.*

FORT FIDUIS, 29th September, 1794.

SIR:

I have the pleasure to inform you, that the post opposite to us, on the south side of the Oconee, has been taken and destroyed by the militia, and that General Clarke and his adherents have been removed.

Soon after the Governor's proclamation was issued against General Clarke, he delivered himself up to the superior court in the county of Wilkes, who dismissed him, because it was their opinion that he had not violated the laws of this State. This decision greatly encouraged his party, and the settlements were pushed with vigor. The measure had also become very popular, and it was believed by him and his adherents, that the militia would never march against them. Under these flattering circumstances, his works were completed; houses were erected within his forts, a town was laid off at fort Advance, the post opposite to us; General Clarke was chosen Major General, and placed at the head of the enterprise; the members were elected for the general committee, or committee of safety, and every thing bore the appearance of a permanent settlement. I enclose you a copy of the letter written by General Clarke, on this occasion, which has been furnished me by Colonel Melton.

On the third instant, Lieutenant Devereaux, of Fauche's dragoons, stopped a wagon, said to be loaded with military stores, for fort Advance, but, as nothing was found, it was dismissed; about this time the Governor received his orders from the President of the United States. His Excellency directed one third of the militia to hold themselves in readiness to march. In the mean time, he sent Generals Twiggs and Irwin to General Clarke, to induce him to remove. These officers visited him at his post; and General Gunn and Mr. Carnes had an interview with him at Georgetown, thirty miles from hence, but without effect.

General Twiggs had ordered Major Adams to cross the river, and endeavor, by persuasion, to remove the settlers from fort Defiance, six miles above; his life was threatened, and the person who commanded ordered his men to fire upon him. This exasperated the inhabitants in that neighborhood, who held a meeting, the result of which was, that Major Adams should proceed to Augusta, and request the Governor to give him orders to dispossess these people.

On the twenty-third, a cornet and eighteen men, of Fauche's dragoons, came to this post, and, near to it, took a prisoner, one of General Clarke's lieutenants; the same day, a lieutenant and twenty men joined, took two prisoners, and occupied the landing opposite to fort Advance, and, as far as their force would admit, cut off the supplies. On the twenty-fifth, Captain Fauche joined, with another detachment of his corps, and took two prisoners. General Clarke made every exertion to strengthen his post. Some of those above were abandoned, and the garrison removed to fort Advance.

General Irwin had collected a party of militia, and lay at Town creek, nine miles from hence; on the twenty-sixth he encamped on the bank opposite to fort Advance; Colonels Melton and Lamar, Major Adams, and other officers of the militia, crossed the same day, with one hundred and thirty men, and cut off the communication on the south side of the river. General Irwin promised General Clarke that, if he would evacuate the post, himself and his men should be protected in their persons and property. Accordingly, next morning, the baggage was removed, and, in the evening, a party of the militia took possession of the works. Yesterday morning the fort was set on fire, and destroyed, and parties were detached to demolish fort Defiance, and the other posts above. There has been no lives lost in this business; the prisoners are all set at liberty except one, who is detained in our guard house until farther orders.

I never could, sir, ascertain, with any precision, the number of men who have joined General Clarke in his enterprise; there have a great many enrolled themselves, who would not appear on the present occasion; the greatest force that has, at any time, been collected at fort Advance, was on the morning of the twenty-sixth, when there were about eighty men within the fort, but, at the time it was taken, there were not twenty.

The militia have shown great zeal to support the laws, and have preserved good order and conduct; there has been the greatest harmony between them and the Federal troops. They all returned to their homes yesterday, and were mustered before they left this place. I suppose there has been about two hundred, exclusively of Fauche's dragoons. As soon as I receive the rolls I shall transmit them.

It is of consequence that I should, sir, inform you that settling the lands on the south side of the Oconee is a favorite object with the inhabitants of the upper counties, although General Clarke's plan has not been approved.

They would conceive themselves safe from Indian depredations, were these lands occupied, and exertions will be made to induce the Assembly, at their next session, to open a land office for that purpose. I enclose you the copy of a petition which has been offered to the inhabitants in this neighborhood. It is to be observed, that it has been drawn up by the party the most violently opposed to General Clarke.

It is a singular circumstance, sir, that not the least opposition has been shown by the Indians to the settlements which were making on their lands; otherwise than by representations to the Governor, and they have at no time been more quiet than they are at present; we have not heard from the nation since the fourth ultimo. Colonel Gaither proposes, as soon as he can procure a proper person, to send a message to the Indians, to inform them that the Government has removed all encroachments from their lands:

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.  
CONSTANT FREEMAN.

*Copy of a petition for opening an office for the lands south of the Oconee, which is to be presented to the Legislature of Georgia.*

*To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia:*

Your petitioners humbly shew: Whereas the State has an only right of soil to the vacant territory granted the Indians for their hunting grounds, who dwells within its respective limits, and who as a conquered people preserved merely to themselves the claim of vassals at the definitive treaty of peace, concluded between the United States of America and Britain, &c. and that said claim, through cruel outrages, has frequently been broke by the most aggravating hostile proceedings on their part; and that our government, by a law, entitled "An act to suppress the violence of the Indians," passed in 1787, has guaranteed certain bounties to soldiery raised for the purpose of repelling the dangers of such unwarrantable doings of said savages, together with other reasons which is too tedious to be described here, which we humbly conceive justice and policy loudly call on you seriously to consider, and actuated by the high sense generally entertained of the magnanimity and wisdom of the honorable the Legislature, and from a mature consideration become sensible of the grand benefit an enlargement would speedily render to the State from the rapidness of migration of substantial farmers from our sister States and Europe, that stand in need of farms, your petitioners humbly solicit that you, in your wisdom, may open an office for the land lying southeast of a line drawn from the Currahee mountain, the nearest direction to the Chatahoochee river, thence down the said river until it intersects the Spanish line, thence with the said line to the temporary line on St. Mary's river.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

*Copy of a letter from General Clarke to the Committee of Safety.*

FORT ADVANCE, 5th September, 1794.

GENTLEMEN:

Your favor of the 3d instant is now before me; accept my thanks for your information and attention to what may, if ever neglected, so materially injure our enterprise. I consider myself honored by meeting with the unanimous voice of all the officers belonging to the different garrisons. I shall always endeavor to acquit myself worthy of the command committed to my charge. The information you have received agrees with mine from Augusta. The artillery of Augusta are ordered to be in readiness to march in eight or ten days, and one-third of the militia are directed to be draughted. It has been tried in Burke and Richmond counties, but quite unsuccessful; the troops declare they will not fight against us. I am happy to find the disposition of the people with you, so exactly agrees with my own friends' here; I believe it to be the general disposition of every garrison. I am determinately fixed to risk every thing, with my life, upon the issue, and for the success of the enterprise; you will apply to the enclosed orders how to conduct yourselves with inimical individuals. In case of a body appearing, you will give me the earliest information. If you are summoned to surrender in the garrison, you must refuse, with a firmness ever accompanying the brave. Inform those who apply, that, if you have done wrong, and the grand jury of the county have cognizance of your crime, you will cheerfully submit to be tried by a jury of your fellow-citizens. But you will consider any orders from the Secretary of War, to be unconstitutional; the Governor's proclamation, as determined in Wilkes, illegal. I am informed that Captain Fauche's troop are directed to stop men and supplies, crossing to the south side of the Oconee. They have no right to take hold of any private property whatever, and, for every thing detained, to the value of one shilling, belonging to any adventurer, they shall suffer the penalty of the law. If such case should turn up, apply to a magistrate, and bind the party offending to the next superior court. To avoid disputes, it will be best to use a prudent precaution in every case. The president of the board of officers, E. Bradley, Esq. mentions my appointing a meeting of the committee of safety on Monday, the fifth of October; if it is the first Monday of the month, that is the day on which our constitution requires them to meet. If two members meet, they may adjourn from day to day, until the whole or a majority of them can be convened. It is entirely out of my power to appoint the 22d of this month, or any other day, if it does not agree with the constitution; you will attend to appointing your members for the committee on the 15th of this month, at the several garrisons. Meet the first Monday in next month, but, in case of the election as mentioned, the members who cannot attend on Monday, meet on Tuesday or Wednesday, that is, those who first meet must adjourn from day to day, until they are convened. Must beg you to copy orders, and send them to the several garrisons above you.

Yours, &amp;c.

E. CLARKE.

NOTE.—You receive one petition, which will suit every body but a real tory. Our own people and particular friends will subscribe them, with the addition of the office being opened to no persons but those who will become settlers.

*Copy of a letter from Constant Freeman, Agent for the Department of War, in Georgia, to the Secretary of War.*

AUGUSTA, 12th October, 1794.

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose a duplicate of my letter to you of the twenty-ninth of last month. I arrived at this place, from fort Fidius, last evening. When I left the frontiers, the troops were in perfect health, excepting Col. Gaither, who was then indisposed.

The Indians, who had been for some time quiet, killed and scalped, on the thirteenth ultimo, a white woman and a negro wench, near the Cow ford on the Oconee; they also have stolen horses and negroes, from Liberty county. Colonel Gaither has received letters from the nation, informing him that the Tallassee king had gone out for war; the chiefs disapproved of his conduct. We have not, however, heard of any mischief being done by him; and as runners were sent after him, to persuade him to return, I have hopes that he has not proceeded.

As soon as I shall have examined and forwarded the militia muster and pay rolls for the services performed last year, I shall return to the frontiers.

Yours, &amp;c.

CONSTANT FREEMAN.

*Copy of a letter from the Secretary of War to his Excellency the Governor of Georgia, dated*

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 28th, 1794.

SIR:

It is with great regret that the President of the United States has been lately informed, that a considerable body of people, in the upper part of Georgia, have associated themselves for the purpose of setting up an independent government on the territory belonging to the Creek Indians, and of erecting forts from the Oconee to the Oakmulgee. We only understand, in general, here, that such a movement, without the sanction of your Government, is contrary to the laws, without being informed, at the same time, of the name and degree of offence in your criminal code.

Notwithstanding the formation of a new State cannot take place without the consent of Congress, as well as the State concerned; and the United States, on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive of a State, when its Legislature cannot be convened, are bound to protect it against domestic violence; it might, perhaps, be proper to leave this attempt, under its present circumstances, to the management of your own State, if it were not that the laws of the United States are infringed thereby. And yet, sir, so serious a struggle as this against the authority of the State, and the erection of forts, (both of which steps may be so easily turned against the United States) would be sufficient in themselves to call forth precautions on the part of the General Government.

The President, however, entertains the most perfect reliance on your exertions, to repel the mischief arising from this quarter.

But the Government has its own obligations to fulfil on this occasion. The President is required, by a law of the United States, passed the 28th February, 1793, entitled "An act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes," to take such measures as he may judge necessary to remove from lands, belonging to any Indian tribe, any citizens or inhabitants of the United States, who make, or attempt to make, a settlement thereon.

We cannot expect to live in peace with those tribes, if individuals are at liberty to invade their lands. We cannot expect to bring them to the proper temper for any of the operations of Government.

These considerations determine the President to meet the evil in the commencement, and he therefore requests your Excellency to adopt the following line of conduct, without delay:

1st. To warn, by proclamation, these disturbers of the peace, that they are offending against the laws of the United States and of Georgia, and that their attempts will be repelled by military force.

2d. To embody such parts of your militia as may be necessary to accomplish the business with decision.

3d. To call upon the commanding officer of the Federal troops in Georgia, who is instructed to obey your Excellency's orders, to co-operate in the removal of these settlers from the Indian lands.

The foregoing is founded on the supposition of the intelligence, stated at the head of the letter, being true. Indeed, it is supposed to be known to your Excellency to be true. If it be not of the magnitude represented here,

still a monitory proclamation seems to be expedient, and upon the whole of this affair, it is confided to you to render your efforts commensurate with the necessity, so as in the most complete manner to avert the evil which threatens the United States from these turbulent spirits.

The President, moreover, requests your Excellency to communicate to him, at the earliest possible moment, the actual state of things in your quarter, and particularly to note whether it will be necessary to resort to the militia of any other State for aid. The Attorney of the United States for the District of Georgia will receive your commands, and be ready to institute prosecutions in any cases which you may be pleased to lay before him.

*Copy of a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury to his Excellency the Governor of Georgia, dated*

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 25, 1794.

SIR:

In the absence of the Secretary of War, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letters to his Department, of the 5th, 19th, and 30th of August, and to reply to such parts as are the most pressing, referring the others to the return of that officer.

Among the posts which have been established, that at Doclar's town creates a question, in consequence of Lient. Colonel Gaither's information, that it is within the Indian boundary. This is a matter which ought to be unequivocally ascertained, and if found to be within the Indian line, or if it be even doubtful whether that be the case, the post must be immediately removed. It is deemed essential that no encroachment should take place. And your Excellency is relied upon for a strict and scrupulous adherence to this principle.

Under the circumstances which led to it, the President has thought proper to authorize the adoption, by the United States, of the new troop ordered by you into service, from the time of its commencement, and to continue until the first of November ensuing, when it is to be disbanded.

And you are at liberty, if the state of things shall render it, in your judgment, essential, to substitute at that time a company of infantry for the same service. Corps of horse, upon the terms on which that in question is engaged, are expensive in the extreme; and in a much greater proportion, compared with infantry, than any supposable superiority of usefulness can justify. Indeed, it would require a treasury much better supplied than that of the United States, to support the expense of a multiplication or extension of such corps. Consequently, that multiplication or extension would tend to defeat its own object: for our instruments of defence, to be durable, must be relative to our means of supporting them. And when we find, as in the instance of the insurrection now existing in the western parts of Pennsylvania, that those for whose immediate benefit the objects of military expenditure occur, are among the first to resist, even to violence, the necessary means of defraying them, it is easy to appreciate the perplexing dilemma to which the Government is reduced, between the *duty* and the *means* of affording protection, and the necessity, consequently, of economy in the modes of effecting it.

Your Excellency is pleased to express your concern, at being so repeatedly compelled to solicit protection for the State of Georgia. This is not understood as implying any want of due disposition on the part of the Executive of this Government, to afford all the protection which is within the compass of the means placed within its power, having regard to all the objects which, along a very extended frontier, equally demand attention. It is not doubted that you render justice, in this respect, to the views of the Executive.

But the observation you have made, in this particular, naturally leads to another, which calls for the most serious attention of the Governments of the States, exposed to Indian depredations. It is this, that there is a reciprocal duty in the case. The obligation upon the United States, to afford adequate protection to the inhabitants of the frontiers, is no doubt of the highest and most sacred kind. But there is a duty no less strong upon those inhabitants, to avoid giving occasion to hostilities, by an irregular and improper conduct; and upon the local Governments, sincerely and effectually to punish and repress instances of such conduct, and the spirit which produces them. If these inhabitants can, with impunity, thwart all the measures of the United States for restoring or preserving peace; if they can, with impunity, commit depredations and outrages upon the Indians, and that in violation of the faith of the United States, pledged not only in their general treaties, but even in the special (and, among all nations, peculiarly sacred) case of a safe conduct, as in the instance of the attack upon the Indians, while encamped within our protection, on the 10th of May last; can it be surprising if such circumstances should abate the alacrity of the National councils to encounter those heavy expenses, which the protection of the frontiers occasions, and of the readiness of the citizens of the United States, distant from the scenes of danger, to acquiesce in the burdens they produce? It is not meant, by these remarks, to diminish the force of the excuse, within due limits, which is drawn from the conduct of the Indians towards the frontier inhabitants. It cannot be denied, that frequent and great provocations to a spirit of animosity and revenge are given by them; but a candid and impartial survey of the events which have from time to time occurred, can leave no doubt that injuries and provocations have been too far mutual; that there is much to blame in the conduct of the frontier inhabitants, as well as in that of the Indians. And the result of a full examination must be, that, unless means to restrain, by punishing the violences which those inhabitants are in the habit of perpetrating against the Indians, can be put in execution, all endeavors to preserve peace with them must be forever frustrated.

An example, worthy of imitation, in its spirit, has lately been given, by the surrender to Governor Blount of some Indians who lately committed a murder upon one John Ish, an inhabitant of the Southwestern territory, and who have been tried and executed. The record of such an example of justice and fair dealing, will give occasion to us to blush, if we can cite no instance of reciprocity, amidst the numerous occasions which are given for the exercise of it.

These reflections, your Excellency may be assured, are merely designed to present to consideration some very important truths—truths, a due attention to which are of the most serious concern to those States which have an exposed frontier. To give full weight to their claims, upon the exertions of the Union to afford the requisite protection, it is of great moment to satisfy the United States, that the necessity for them has not been created, or promoted by a culpable temper, not sufficiently restrained, among those to whom the protection is immediately to be extended.

The President learns, with great pleasure, the measures your Excellency had begun, and was about to pursue, for the removal of the settlers under General Clarke. It is impossible to conceive a settlement more unjustifiable in its pretexts, or more dangerous in its principle, than that which he is attempting. It is not only a high handed usurpation of the rights of the General and State Governments, and a most unwarrantable encroachment upon those of the Indians; but, proceeding upon the idea of a separate and independent government, to be erected upon a *military* basis, it is essentially hostile to our republican systems of government, and is pregnant with incalculable mischiefs. It deeply concerns the great interests of the country that such an establishment should not be permitted to take root, and that the example should be checked by adequate punishment; in doing which, no time is to be lost: for, such is the nature of the establishment, that it may be expected rapidly to attain to a formidable magnitude, involving great expense and trouble to subvert it.

The President, therefore, depends absolutely upon measures, equally prompt and efficacious, to put an end to it.

Mr. Habersham, agent for supplies, is instructed to co-operate; and the Governor of South Carolina is requested to afford, upon your application, the aid of the militia of that State, if circumstances, as does not appear probable, should require it.

No agreement or arrangement which may be made, or pretended to be made, between these settlers and the Indians, ought to be suffered to make any alteration in the plan of suppressing the settlement: for, no such agreement, or arrangement, can possibly be legal, or, considering the manner in which the settlement has been commenced, can, without affording a most pernicious example, receive the future sanction of Government.



You desire instructions with regard to the prisoners that may be made, in the event of the employment of force. You will be pleased to cause them to be delivered over to the custody of the judiciary, and in preference, to that of the United States; as their laws define and prescribe particular punishments in such cases.

ALEX'R HAMILTON.

*Extract of a letter from his Excellency Governor Mifflin to the President of the United States.*

Permit me, sir, to take the present opportunity of transmitting, for your information, a copy of an act of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, entitled "An act for laying out a town at Presqu' Isle;" and of the proceedings which have been instituted for the purpose of carrying that law into effect.

PHILADELPHIA, 28th March, 1794.

*Copy of an Act of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, for laying out a town at Presqu' Isle.*

Whereas establishing a town at Presqu' Isle would promote the settlement of the neighboring country, and thereby place the frontiers of Pennsylvania in a safer situation: Therefore,

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That the Governor be, and he is hereby, empowered to cause to be surveyed, the tract reserved, at and near Presqu' Isle, by the act, entitled "An act for the sale of the vacant lands within this Commonwealth," passed the third day of April, 1792; and at the most eligible place, within the said tract, he shall cause to be laid out and surveyed, sixteen hundred acres of land, in town lots, not more than one-third of an acre each; and, also, three thousand four hundred acres, adjoining the same, in out lots, not less than five acres, nor more than ten acres each: *Provided, always,* That the Governor shall reserve, out of the lots of the said town, so much land as he shall deem necessary for public uses; also, so much land, within or out of the said town, as may, in his opinion, be wanted by the United States for the purpose of erecting forts, magazines, arsenals, and dock yards.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the first two hundred persons that shall actually inhabit and reside, on or before the first day of January next, within the said town, shall each and every of them be entitled to one unappropriated town lot, and one out lot, to be ascertained by lottery, for which they shall, respectively, receive a deed, clear of all charges: *Provided,* That such persons, respectively, or their respective representatives, or assignees, shall inhabit and reside within the said town, for the term of three years; and, also, within the said town, build, or cause to be built, a house at least sixteen feet square, and containing, at least, one brick or stone chimney, on the town lots to be granted in pursuance of this act.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the Governor is hereby authorized to sell two hundred of the town lots, exclusively of those granted by the next preceding section, and the whole of the other out lots, in such manner as he shall think most to the advantage of the State, and make conveyances of the same; excepting, always, such as shall be made upon this condition: that the respective purchasers shall, and do, within the term of three years, erect and build one house, at least sixteen feet square, and containing, at least, one brick or stone chimney, on each and every town lot by them purchased; and no deed of conveyance shall be granted by the Governor, to any purchaser, nor, after the expiration of the said term of three years, shall the sale be deemed, or construed, to vest any title, claim, or demand, in any purchaser, unless satisfactory proof be first given that a house has been erected and built, on the town lots sold, as aforesaid, according to the true intent and meaning of this act.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the streets, lanes, and alleys, of the said town and out lots, shall be common highways forever; and that, previous to the sale, or sales, of the said town lots and out lots, notice shall be given of the same, in at least three of the newspapers of the State, at least ten weeks previous to such sale or sales.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the expenses necessary to carry this act into operation, shall be paid out of the moneys arising from the aforementioned lots and out lots.

GERARDUS WYNKOOP,

*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

SAMUEL POWELL,

*Speaker of the Senate.*

APPROVED: April 8, 1794.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, *Governor of Pennsylvania.*

*Copy of a letter from Governor Mifflin to Captain E. Denny.*

PHILADELPHIA, 1st March, 1794.

Sir: Enclosed you will receive a copy of an act of the General Assembly, entitled "An act for more effectually securing the trade, peace, and safety, of the port of Philadelphia, and defending the Western frontiers of the Commonwealth;" a commission, by which you are appointed Captain of the Alleghany company; a sketch of the appointments and arrangements of all the companies directed to be raised; and a copy of an act, entitled "An act for laying out a town at Presqu' Isle."

You will be pleased, sir, to take all lawful measures, under the instructions of the brigade inspectors of the county, and with the aid of the officers of your company, for engaging, during the term, and for the pay prescribed by the act for the defence of our frontiers, four sergeants, four corporals, one drummer and fifer, or two buglers, and sixty-five rank and file, or privates. In making your enlistments, you will stipulate with the men, that, if the state of the war, on the frontiers, shall, in my judgment, require their continuance in the service of the Commonwealth, after the expiration of the term of eight months, mentioned in the law, they shall continue accordingly, until the meeting of the Legislature, next ensuing the expiration of the said term, or for any shorter period that I may direct.

From the sketch of the appointments, and arrangements of the several companies, you will perceive that you are called on to command the detachment which is made, in order to carry into effect the act, entitled "An act for laying out a town at Presqu' Isle;" and the importance of the object, as well as the difficulties that may attend its accomplishment, will evince the confidence that is reposed in your zeal, spirit, and prudence. In the discharge of your trust, I am persuaded you will pay a due respect to the design and spirit of the laws which I have communicated to you; and, therefore, I shall content myself with suggesting the following general regulations:

1st. Messrs. Irvine, Ellicot, and Gallatin, the commissioners who are employed to lay out the town at Presqu' Isle, will probably be engaged in that duty, early in the month of May next. It will be necessary, therefore, that, before that time, arrangements should be made for establishing some post of protection and defence in the neighborhood of Presqu' Isle; and the commissioners have thought that a spot at Le Bœuf will be the most eligible and convenient for their undertaking. The lieutenant, who is detached from the artillery company, will transport thither, under the convoy of his detachment, a competent supply of provisions, cannon, arms, ammunition, and camp equipage. Of these articles, an officer, in the nature of quartermaster, will have the immediate custody; but they are, nevertheless, to be considered as being under your superintending care and disposition, to be preserved with the greatest caution; not to be used, but in cases of necessity; and to be accounted for, by you, to any person



who may be appointed to succeed in your command, or who may be authorized to receive the same, where the purposes of the post shall be attained. You will be pleased to strengthen the detachment of artillery by a party of the infantry, under your command, whenever they advance from Pittsburg; and this party should consist, I think, of not less than a sergeant and fifteen men, or, if circumstances will admit, of an officer and twenty men.

2d. As the object of the detachment under your command is to carry the act for establishing a town at Presqu' Isle into effect, you shall deem it your duty to comply with every lawful request of the commissioners, in stationing the men in such numbers, and at such places, as they shall, from time to time, think requisite to ensure their safety and defence, and generally, in aiding and facilitating their measures by all the means in your power.

3d. The Legislature having made provision for surveying and opening the roads, one from Reading, and the other from French Creek, to Presqu' Isle, it is obvious that the establishment of the town is intimately connected with those objects; and therefore, you shall deem it your duty to grant all the aid and protection to the respective commissioners and contractors employed in surveying and opening those roads, that is compatible with a due attention to the particular charge which is confided to you.

4th. In the present state of our Northern frontier, you will deem it a duty peculiarly incumbent on you, to avoid giving any occasion of offence to the peaceable Indians, or to the British garrisons which are in that quarter. You will endeavor, in case any intercourse should necessarily or accidentally take place with them, to conciliate and cultivate a good and friendly understanding, and you are, above all things, to remember, that the objects of your appointment are strictly those of protection and defence, and that any act of aggression or hostility, committed against any person or persons, in amity with the United States, or committed against any person or persons whomsoever, out of the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania, will be unauthorized, and punished according to law.

5th. For the purposes of information, you will keep a journal of your proceedings, and maintain a regular correspondence, as well with the commissioners appointed to lay out the town at Presqu' Isle, as with the Brigade Inspector of Alleghany county; and when any matter of public importance shall occur, you will, with all possible despatch, communicate the same to me.

To these regulations, it is perhaps unnecessary to add, that it is expected that you will give the strictest attention to the health, order, and discipline, of the detachment under your command; and in all things so act, as to justify the confidence which your country has reposed in you.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To EBENEZER DENNY, Esq. *Captain of the Alleghany Company, &c.*

True Copy: A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary.*

*Copy of a letter from Mr. Dallas to the Secretary of War.*

SIR:

In the absence of the Governor, permit me to communicate to you, for the information of the President, copies of letters which have been received this day from General Wilkins and Captain Denny, relatively to the arrangements that are made for laying out a town at Presqu' Isle, agreeably to a law of the State of Pennsylvania, and the possible opposition which the Indians may give to the accomplishment of that object.

A. J. DALLAS.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE, PHILADELPHIA, 9th May, 1794.

*Copy of a letter from General Wilkins to Clement Biddle, Esquire, Quartermaster General of Pennsylvania.*

FORT FRANKLIN, 25th April, 1794.

DEAR SIR:

I arrived at this place yesterday evening. There came a party along, consisting of about forty men, from Captain Denny's command, and thirty volunteers, from the county of Alleghany. We proceed to-morrow to Cassawago. The news at this place is not favorable towards our establishment at Presqu' Isle. All the persons most conversant with the Indians at this place, as well as the commanding officer of this fort, agree, that the Indians, irritated by the British, are meditating an opposition to the designs of Government respecting that place. Cornplanter, and the other Indians on the Alleghany river, have been invited to a council at Buffalo creek, to which place he and they immediately went; and, on the result of that council, seems to hang peace or war, between us and the Six Nations. There have been a great deal of pains used lately, by the English, to sour their minds; and they seem, in some measure, to have effected it. The claims of the Six Nations seem to rise as the Western Indians are successful against the army of the United States, and as the British promise to afford them assistance. This council, to which the English has summoned, and the readiness with which the Indians obeyed the summons, promises no good towards this part of the country.

My intention is to proceed to Cassawago, and wait for further intelligence a day or two; and should a serious opposition seem to be meditating by the Indians, to proceed no farther with the stores, until reinforced by more men, to enable the effecting an establishment at Le Bœuf. The water is very low; it is with the utmost difficulty we will be able to go on with small canoes at present, but live in hopes that we shall have a rise in the waters.

JOHN WILKINS, Jun.

True Copy: A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary.*

*Copy of a letter from Captain Denny to Governor Mifflin.*

PITTSBURG, April 25th, 1794.

SIR:

I had the honor of writing to you by the last post, mentioning the necessity we were under of calling out a few militia, in order to take advantage of the rivers, while up. I then could not calculate, with any certainty, what time the detachments from the other counties would arrive; however, the greatest part of them came in time to join the volunteers. They marched on Monday last, and encamped, the first night, twenty one miles from here, on the route to fort Franklin, and in all probability would reach that place yesterday. Ensign Mehaffy, from Westmoreland, had the direction of the State troops, two sergeants, two corporals, and forty three privates; the volunteers consisted of a captain, lieutenant, thirty men; total, one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, and seventy-seven men. They will go no further than Le Bœuf.

I have not such confidence in the Six Nations as to think they will favor the establishment; and a small party, subject to the power of a few ill disposed Indians, would be more liable to be stopped by them; not that I think they will offer any violence immediately, but I think they will throw some objections in the way; perhaps desire the business postponed for a while. We have certain information, that the chiefs were lately assembled in council at the mouth of Buffalo; their meetings there have always been influenced by British agents, and I should not be surprised to find them return with a wish to prevent the settlement at Presqu' Isle. I have received letters from the Inspectors of Washington and Westmoreland counties, informing me of the orders they had from you, telling me

that, whatever reinforcements we required, might be depended on. Doctor Wilkins is gone in company with the party to Le Bœuf. I have requested him, and directed Mehaffy, to write to me by every opportunity; and should any thing material be discovered, to send off an express.

I am, with respect, &c.

EBENEZER DENNY *Captain.*

True Copy: A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary.*

*Copy of a letter from Captain Denny to Governor Mifflin.*

PITTSBURG, *May 2d, 1794.*

SIR:

I had the honor to address you on the 25th ultimo, since which nothing material has happened. The party sent forward to establish a post of protection and defence at Le Bœuf, consisted of a captain, lieutenant, and thirty volunteers, and an ensign and forty-seven of the State troops; they were at fort Franklin the 24th, as expected. A very seasonable rain, which fell while they were on their march to that post, will (provided the way is open) enable the contractor to push all the provisions and stores up the creek, without loss of time. We are not without apprehensions that this council-holding between the chiefs of the Six Nations and the British, at the mouth of Buffalo creek, may terminate unfavorably to our establishment. The Cornplanter is not with them; but I am told he has ordered away the traders, who had stores in his town.

Before our detachment proceeds farther than Mead's settlement, the disposition of those Indians will be known; and, in case any opposition is offered, the party will halt, and secure themselves and the stores until a sufficient reinforcement joins them. I depend upon Doctor Wilkins and Ensign Mehaffy's earliest notice.

Lieutenant Murphy and Ensign Patterson have been about three weeks away, endeavoring to find men for the Alleghany company. Patterson has been tolerably successful; Murphy, I have not heard from; he is in Fayette county. They must both be here in a few days, now. No doubt but you have been informed of the death of Lieutenant Hazlewood; his men will reach this, perhaps, in six days.

I acknowledge the honor of your letter of the 25th April. The delays which took place in sending on the men from the other counties; the inspector took pains to account for, and I am in hopes there will be no ill consequences. The inspectors are all desirous to promote the establishment at Presqu' Isle, and have informed me of their orders from the Governor.

E. DENNY, *Captain.*

True Copy: A. J. DALLAS.

*Copy of a letter from Governor Mifflin to the Secretary of War.*

PHILADELPHIA, *May 23, 1794.*

SIR:

As I am desirous to furnish the President with every article of useful intelligence which I receive, I have thought it proper to communicate to you, for that purpose, a copy of a letter from Brigadier General Wilkins, dated the eleventh current, relatively to the murder of a friendly Indian at fort Franklin, and the prospect of opposition from the British troops, in laying out a town at Presqu' Isle, agreeably to the directions of the Legislature of Pennsylvania. On the first of these subjects, I have received the copy of Lieutenant Polhemus' letter, enclosed in yours of this day, but the depositions mentioned by General Wilkins, as well as by Lieutenant Polhemus, have not been transmitted to me; I shall, however, refer the case to the attorney general of this State, with instructions for proceeding, in the most expeditious manner, to bring the murderer to justice.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

*Copy of a letter from General Wilkins to Governor Mifflin.*

FORT FRANKLIN, *11th May, 1794.*

SIR:

On the 1st of this month a very disagreeable affair happened at this place. A white man by the name of Robertson killed a friendly Indian. The man was taken into custody immediately, by the commanding officer, and still remains in confinement. Robertson is a young man, and perhaps was a little intoxicated, but his character is not good. It is thought best not to remove him from this place, until the Indians are satisfied. If he is removed before, some innocent person may suffer, as the Indians say the white people always tell them they will punish crimes of this kind, but never yet have done it, and they are determined not to let this instance pass without having justice. The father of the young man, who is a decent old man, living at Pittsburg, has sent Joseph Nicholson to endeavor to satisfy the friends of the deceased. Yesterday, Nicholson had a council with the Indians that were here, at which we all assisted, and offered about one hundred dollars to replace, in the Indian way, the man that is dead. The Indians were all well satisfied with the offer. The property is to be deposited in the hands of the commanding officer, until the relations come for it, if they are satisfied with it, and the young man is to remain in confinement at this place, until the opinion of the relations is taken. Too much cannot be done at present, by the State of Pennsylvania, to keep the Six Nation Indians friendly, and, perhaps, on this occasion, some person might be authorized to make them some presents. I enclose the depositions I took of some white men who were present.

The troops of the State took possession of the forks of French creek, about two miles below the old post of Le Bœuf, and had a small block-house built, to which place I accompanied them. I was with them two days, but a runner from the Indians occasioned my return to this place, on account of the man being killed. The troops would move forward to Le Bœuf in two or three days; only waited the cutting of logs out of the creek, which obstructed the navigation, and until the fatigue parties had finished getting materials, so that the whole might go forward at once, and cover themselves. This part of the business has been accomplished by about seventy men, consisting of forty men, raised by Captain Denny's command, and thirty volunteers from Alleghany county. The greater part of the military stores have been forwarded as far as Cassawago, but, owing to the low waters, from the advanced season of the year, they now remain, and I am waiting the first rise in French creek, to convey them completely to Le Bœuf.

No doubt but you have been officially informed of the result of the council at Buffalo creek, held by the Six Nations. They refuse attending a treaty they were invited to, at this place, by the agent of the United States.

All the friendly Indians I have talked with here and at other places, say, the British are determined to oppose the progress of the State troops from Le Bœuf to Presqu' Isle. An Indian, this day, a very honest intelligent fellow, told me, that the English were fixed in making an opposition to the first party that should attempt opening the road from Le Bœuf to Presqu' Isle, by sending a number of Indians and English to cut them off. Cornplanter writes to the commanding officer of this post nearly to the same effect. I mention these circumstances, and I mean to know more, as it is probable he will have to be strengthened by a party of militia.

I am, &c.

JOHN WILKINS, Jun.

True copy: A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary.*

*From Governor Mifflin to the President of the United States, dated*

PHILADELPHIA, 25th May, 1794.

SIR:

I have occasion to regret that your opinion on the expediency of suspending, for the present, the establishment at Presqu' Isle, was not communicated to me previously to the receipt of the letter from the Secretary of War, dated yesterday, in which that opinion is, for the first time, explicitly expressed. I am apprehensive, indeed, that it is too late to prevent the execution of the measures, which, under the authority of the law of Pennsylvania, were concerted relatively to that object, and of which, I had the honor, regularly, to apprise you. But, ever anxious to promote the views of the General Government, and to avoid increasing the dissatisfaction of the Six Nations, or, in any other manner, extending the sphere of Indian hostilities, I shall consider your interposition and request as a sufficient justification for attempting, even at this late period, to arrest the progress of the commissioners in laying out the town at Presqu' Isle, conformably to those directions of the Legislature, which, I could not, on any less authority, venture to supersede. Copies of my letters to the commissioners, to the captain of the detachment, and to the brigade inspectors of the western counties, for that purpose, are now enclosed.

It may not, at the same time, be improper, sir, to remark, in vindication of the measure projected by the Legislature, that the territory, within which the town is directed to be laid out, has not only been purchased from the United States by Pennsylvania, but has likewise been ceded to her, for a valuable consideration, by the Six Nations. It could not, therefore, be in the contemplation of her government, that any hostile opposition would be made to her settling upon a property thus fairly acquired, or, that the advancement of her peculiar interests in that respect, would be deemed incompatible with the general interests of the Union. In regard to my agency upon the occasion, permit me also to trouble you with a short recapitulation. On the 8th of April, 1793, the act for laying out a town at Presqu' Isle, was passed, in which I was empowered to obtain a survey of the reserved tract in that quarter, and directed to cause a certain number of acres to be surveyed and laid out in town lots and out lots. It was obviously the intention of the Legislature, that this trust should be speedily executed, as the bounty offered to settlers, was limited to those who should actually inhabit and reside in the town, before the 1st of January, 1794. But the dangerous state of the frontiers, at that time, induced the commissioners, appointed for making the survey, to protract their departure till the meeting of the Legislature, in December last, when I represented the necessity of providing adequate means for the protection and safety of those gentlemen, if the accomplishment of the plan confided to them was deemed of immediate importance. Accordingly, during the same session, two laws were passed; by one of which, I was authorized to make a detachment for that particular service, from the four defensible companies raised by Pennsylvania, and the other, the period for allowing bounties to settlers, was extended to the 1st day of May, 1795. The language and spirit of these Legislative provisions left me no alternative, but as to a choice of means for carrying them into effect; and lest, even in that respect, any interference with the Federal arrangements should occur, I have punctually communicated to you, information of every step that was taken, as you will perceive by a reference to my several letters of the 28th of March, the 9th, 23d, and 24th of May, 1794.

Under these circumstances, sir, I trust it will appear, that I could not, with justice to my official station, act upon the bare intimation given on the 10th current, by the Secretary of War to the Secretary of the Commonwealth, and, that I sufficiently manifest my confidence in your advice, by pursuing it, when it is expressly stated.

[ENCLOSURES.]

No. 1.

*Governor Mifflin to the Commissioners for laying out a town at Presqu' Isle, dated*

PHILADELPHIA, May —, 1794.

GENTLEMEN:

The enclosed copy of a letter from the Secretary of War, which was transmitted to me, subsequently to the departure of the post on the 24th current, will show you, that it is the particular request of the President of the United States, that the survey and establishment of the town at Presqu' Isle should, for the present, be suspended. Though I have reason to lament that this interposition was not made at an earlier period, a sincere desire to promote the views of the General Government, and to avoid the imputation of extending the sphere of Indian hostilities, commands, on my part, a prompt and willing acquiescence. You will therefore be pleased to suspend all proceedings for executing the law directing a town to be laid out at Presqu' Isle, until further orders, and, in the mean time, I shall direct Captain Denny's detachment to remain at Le Bœuf.

No. 2.

*From the Governor to Captain Denny, dated Philadelphia.*

SIR:

The enclosed copy of a letter from the Secretary of War, which was transmitted to me, subsequently to the departure of the post, on the 24th current, will show you, that it is the particular request of the President of the United States, that the survey and establishment of the town at Presqu' Isle should, for the present, be suspended. Though I have reason to lament that this interposition did not take place at an earlier period, a sincere desire to promote the views of the General Government, and to avoid the imputation of extending the sphere of Indian hostilities, commands, on my part, a prompt and willing acquiescence. I have, consequently, instructed the commissioners to suspend all proceedings for executing the law directing a town to be laid out at Presqu' Isle; and, as the only object of your detachment, was to protect them in discharging that trust, your further progress has of course become unnecessary. You will, therefore, remain at Le Bœuf, until further orders, taking every lawful precaution for the safety of your detachment, and the general protection of the neighboring frontier.

No. 3.

*From the Governor to the Brigade Inspectors of the Western counties, dated*

PHILADELPHIA, 24th May, 1794.

SIR:

At the particular instance and request of the President of the United States, (communicated to me subsequently to the departure of the post, with my letter of the 23d current) I have been induced to suspend, for the present, the execution of the act of the General Assembly for laying out a town at Presqu' Isle. You will therefore consider my orders for draughting from your brigade — men, being your quota of one thousand militia, intended to support the detachment under Captain Denny's command, as rescinded by this letter.

I do not mean, however, to withdraw, or to impair the general authority, which I have heretofore given, for embodying, in cases of emergency, a force of the militia, competent to repel any threatened or actual invasion, and hostility: for the existing circumstances of the Indian war seem, on the contrary, to require the utmost vigilance and spirit, in providing for the safety and defence of our frontiers.

*From Governor Mifflin to the President of the United States, dated*

PHILADELPHIA, 24th May, 1794.

SIR:

The information contained in the letter from General Wilkins, which I communicated to you yesterday, and the general aspect of our affairs on the frontiers, enforcing the necessity of an immediate exertion, to support the detachment which the Legislature of Pennsylvania directed to be formed, for the purpose of protecting the commissioners, who were authorized to lay out a town at Presqu' Isle, I have issued orders for draughting one thousand militia from the Western brigades, for that particular service. I have the honor to enclose a copy of my orders.

[CIRCULAR.]

*From the Governor to the Brigade Inspectors of Westmoreland, Washington, Alleghany, and Fayette counties, dated*

PHILADELPHIA, 23d May, 1794.

SIR:

The information that I have received, relatively to the hostile disposition of the Indians, as well as of the British, upon our Northern frontier, convinces me of the necessity of immediately taking effectual measures, to ensure the execution of the law, which directs a town to be laid out at Presqu' Isle. Notwithstanding, therefore, the general discretionary authority which I have formerly given, I have determined to direct a draught of one thousand militia, officers included, from the brigades of Westmoreland, Washington, Alleghany, and Fayette, expressly to co-operate under the command of General Wilkins, with Captain Denny's detachment. The quota of the \_\_\_\_\_ brigade, amounts to \_\_\_\_\_, which you will muster with all possible despatch, and march them to such place of rendezvous as General Wilkins and the Brigade Inspectors of the other counties, above mentioned, shall agree upon. In this and every other arrangement, however, relatively to the Presqu' Isle object, I wish particular attention to be paid to the opinion and advice of General Irvine, who will, I hope, be at Pittsburg before the receipt of this letter. Should the establishment of block-houses, on the route to Presqu' Isle, be deemed indispensable to the safety of the detachment, and the execution of the law, a judicious and an economical plan, of that kind, will also meet my approbation.

I rely essentially upon your zeal and prudence, in the execution of these orders, which, owing to my distance from the scene of action, and the nature of the service, must be in a great measure discretionary; but I am persuaded you will proceed with such circumspection as to preclude every idea of reproach, either with respect to your own conduct, or the confidence I have reposed in you. I shall therefore only add a wish to hear from you, by every regular opportunity, and if any extraordinary event occurs, you will communicate it by express.

*From Governor Mifflin to the Secretary of War.*

PHILADELPHIA, June, 1794.

SIR:

For the information of the President, I have enclosed a copy of a letter from Brigadier General Wilkins, dated the 23d of May, in which he represents some circumstances relatively to the disposition of the British and Indians, on our Northern frontier.

I am, &c.

*From Brigadier General Wilkins to General Mifflin, enclosed in the foregoing.*

PITTSBURG, 23d May, 1794.

DEAR SIR:

I this moment received yours of the 17th instant. I arrived about fifteen minutes ago from Le Boeuf. I have left the small detachment there well covered, and in good spirits. They have built, under my directions, two small block-houses, picketed, which, I think, will render them sufficiently strong, until the reinforcement goes under Captain Denny. The Indians I have conversed with, still continue of opinion, that the British will make an opposition to the establishment at Presqu' Isle. There arrived at Cassawago, while I was there, an Indian from Sandusky, where he had been left by the Senecas last fall, sick. He says, McKee, the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, and Elliot, the Indian agent, both refugees from this country, were visiting all the Indian towns in that quarter, and exciting them then to continue their opposition to the Americans, and assuring them of support from their father, the British monarch. He further adds, that they were prepared for fighting General Wayne, the moment he moved, and that the British were erecting garrisons at the Miami river. He confirms the accounts of the other Indians, that they were determined to oppose the establishment at Presqu' Isle. I cannot say more, as the post is just going.

I am, &c.

*From Governor Mifflin to the President of the United States.*

PHILADELPHIA, 13th June, 1794.

SIR:

I think it proper to communicate the letters which I have received from the western counties, representing the hostile proceedings of the Indians in that quarter, and the dissatisfaction of the citizens, at the suspension of the Presqu' Isle establishment, in compliance with your request. As I wish to answer these letters by to-morrow's post, I have, for the sake of despatch, transmitted the originals, which you will be pleased to return as soon as you have perused them. I take the liberty to request, likewise, that those parts of this correspondence, which are of a private nature, may be considered as a confidential communication.

I am, &c.

*List of original letters referred to in the foregoing:*

- No. 1. The Presqu' Isle commissioners to the Governor, June 5, 1794.
- No. 2. General Gibson to the Governor, 6th June, 1794.
- No. 3. Captain Denny to the Governor, 4th June, 1794.
- No. 4. Brigade inspector of Alleghany to same, 6th June, 1794.
- No. 5. Brigade inspector of Westmoreland to same, 5th June, 1794.
- No. 6. Andrew Ellicott to the Secretary.
- No. 7. From Mr. Jack to the Governor, 6th June, 1794.
- No. 8. From General Irvine to the same, 3d June, 1794.

NOTE.—In this last letter, are sent a part of General Wilkins' narrative to General Irvine, and a copy of a letter from John O'Bail to Lieutenant John Polhemus.  
[Originals returned; copies of which have not been furnished the War Office.]

*From Governor Mifflin to the President of the United States.*

PHILADELPHIA, 14th June, 1794.

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge your answer, communicated in a letter from the Secretary of War, (dated this day) to my letter of the 13th instant, stating that the reasons, which induced your opinion relatively to the suspension of the Presqu' Isle establishment, continue to operate, and have not been weakened by any information since received.

The nature of the trust reposed in me, by the act of the General Assembly, the dissatisfaction which the suspension of the proceedings of the commissioners has excited, and the ambiguity of some of the expressions contained in the Secretary's letter, seem to demand an early explanation of the principles that have regulated my conduct upon this occasion.

As it is the peculiar province of the Legislature to judge of the policy of the laws, it would be thought, perhaps, an act of supererogation on my part, were I to attempt to enumerate the various motives, which suggested, and justify, the act for laying out a town at Presqu' Isle; but I may be indulged in observing, generally, that the maintenance of a system (for the sale and settlement of the public lands, by which a sufficient revenue had been produced to exonerate the State from the pressure of her debts) and the obligation of the Government to strengthen the means of protecting our distant frontiers, might fairly be considered by the representatives of Pennsylvania, as very cogent inducements to the measure which they contemplated. With a right acquired by honest purchase, either to advance, or to decline, the establishment of a town at Presqu' Isle, the expediency of exercising that right must have formed the principal subject of consideration; and, when we reflect, that the consequences of a rupture with the Six Nations, would, in a peculiar manner, be injurious to the citizens of this State, we must presume, that the Legislature either thought that the improvement of our territory in that quarter could not be obnoxious to the Indians, or, that the projected establishment would afford the most effectual defence against that hostile disposition, which even the Northern tribes had previously manifested, for reasons certainly unconnected with our plan of settlement. Nor could a collision of the State and Federal institutions have been anticipated, as naturally flowing from the measure, since it was rather to be expected by the Legislature, that, independently of the constitutional obligation of the Union, to protect all its members in the enjoyment of their respective territorial rights, the General Government was, in this instance, peculiarly bound to maintain the title and occupancy of the State, as vendor, for a valuable consideration, of the property in question.

But, whatever may be the policy of the Legislature, however erroneous in its principle, or pernicious in its consequence, the province of an executive magistrate is certainly circumscribed to inquire what the law is, not what it ought to be; to perform the task prescribed, not to arraign the wisdom that prescribed it. Hence, sir, you will perceive, from the documents (which have been regularly communicated to you) that the prosecution of the preparatory steps for forming a settlement at Presqu' Isle, was imposed upon me as a duty; and, consequently, that the most cogent reasons will be necessary, on my part, to justify a neglect or suspension of the work. By the act of the 18th April, 1793, it is declared, in mandatory terms, that, in the most eligible spot within the reserved tract on lake Erie, "the Governor shall cause to be laid out and surveyed, one thousand six hundred acres of land, in town lots, not more than one third of an acre each; and also, three thousand four hundred acres adjoining the same, in out lots, not less than five acres, nor more than ten acres." And, that every obstacle arising from an apprehension of hostile opposition might be removed, an act of the 28th February, 1794, after providing for the security of the port of Philadelphia, and the defence of our Western frontiers, authorizes "the Governor to detach from the several companies of artillery and infantry, raised by the State, as many men as can be conveniently spared from the specific objects of protection and defence, for which the companies were particularly destined; and to station the detachment, so made, at such place, or places, at, or near, Presqu' Isle, on Lake Erie, as shall, in his judgment, be best calculated to carry into effect, the act, entitled "An act for laying out a town at Presqu' Isle, to protect the infant settlements beyond the river Alleghany, and to promote the general defence of the frontiers." By the language of these acts, it is obvious, (as I have remarked on a former occasion) that nothing was expressly left to my discretion but the mode of carrying them into effect; and conclusively to demonstrate the legislative expectation of a speedy execution of that trust, it can only be necessary to consider, that, by the first regulation, the time for allowing a bounty to persons who "shall actually inhabit and reside within the town," was limited to the first of January, 1794; that, by the second regulation, it is only protracted to the first of May, 1795; and that, by the third regulation, the very existence of the companies, from which the detachment is formed, to carry into effect the act for laying out the town, is limited, in its utmost extent, to the meeting of the General Assembly in the ensuing month of December.

Acting under these peremptory injunctions, to perform a specific duty, I have not, sir, been regardless, either of the respect that is due to the General Government, or of the precautions, which a movement of so deliberate a nature required. The laws, and my instructions founded on those laws, for forming the detachment and laying out the town, were communicated to you during the session of the General Assembly; and, although any attempt to interrupt the proceedings of the commissioners, must have been accompanied with a deliberate and hostile invasion of the territory of Pennsylvania, for it never has been intimated that the station at Presqu' Isle is actually pre-occupied by any other power, whether British or Indian; I admonished the officers and commissioners to observe a friendly and conciliatory conduct towards every description of persons whom they should meet; and, even in the event of an attack or menace, from any quarter, to confine their resistance strictly to defensive operations within the acknowledged boundaries of the State.

The machinating efforts of the agents of a foreign nation, in the neighborhood of the United States, and not the inimical disposition of the Indians, produced in my mind the apprehension of a design to oppose the settlement at Presqu' Isle, soon after the detachment for effecting this object was formed at Pittsburg; and the intelligence which was brought by successive posts, and punctually communicated to you, sir, rendered it, at last, expedient, in my judgment, to resort to the general authority of the militia law, for calling into actual service a competent force to repel the threatened invasion; to support the party destined for Presqu' Isle; and, generally, to prevent a failure of the measures which the Legislature had directed to be pursued, and which, without father authority, I did not conceive it would be warrantable to abandon. On your receipt of a copy of my orders for making this draught, it was, for the first time, directly stated to me, that you deemed it advisable to suspend, for the present, the establishment at Presqu' Isle; and "it will, indeed, be happy, that the circumstances which have already occurred should not be found to have matured the evil beyond the possibility of a remedy." I derive some consolation in recollecting, that you were possessed of the law while the Legislature (whose power was alone competent to repeal it) was in session; that you were seasonably apprised of every step that was taken to carry it into effect; and that, if, from information unknown to me, an earlier discontinuance of the Executive proceedings was deemed salutary, my conduct will evince the readiness with which I should have acquiesced in an earlier declaration of that opinion.

But I confess, sir, that, on this ground, I perceive very little cause for disquietude or reproach. If the Legislature has prescribed a task to the Executive magistrate, which cannot be performed without endangering the public tranquillity, the Legislature, and not the Executive magistrate, must be responsible for the consequences. But there is, indeed, another reflection, which weighs heavily on my mind at the present moment, and which claims, perhaps, an interest in your consideration of the subject. Can the requisition or advice of the Executive authority of the United States justify the act which suspends the operation of a positive law of Pennsylvania? The constitutional

supremacy of the laws of the Union will not be disputed: but may it not be asked, what law of the Union does, nay, what power is there to pass a law which could control the Commonwealth in the legitimate exercise of her territorial jurisdiction? Where there is no law, there can be no obligation; nor, consistently with the principles of a republican government, can reasons of State, or the admonition of circumstances, (upon which the Secretary of War relies) furnish an Executive Magistrate with an authority to substitute his opinions for legislative institutions. While, then, I was impressed with these sentiments, the prompt compliance which followed the communication of your wishes for the suspension of the Presqu' Isle establishment, must, at least, be regarded as an incontrovertible evidence of an official disposition to promote the views of the General Government; of an ardent desire to cultivate every possible means of peace; and of a personal confidence in your judgment and patriotism. But, however consolatory such considerations may be to my private feelings, as my public trust may require other instruments of vindication, I receive with peculiar satisfaction "an assurance, that nothing will be omitted to obviate the temporary obstacles which exist."

The bare suspension of our measures, will, probably, indeed, increase the difficulty of accomplishing them; and any great delay might eventually introduce a controversy upon the right of doing so. The evil would become irremediable by any peaceable process, if, taking advantage of the circumstances which have already occurred, either the Six Nations, or any other ill-disposed neighbor, should seize on the station which has been designated for our establishment.

For these contingencies, however, and for the expense which the State has already incurred, I have no doubt the justice of the General Government will satisfactorily provide. It only remains, therefore, sir, to repeat, that (notwithstanding the remark made by the Secretary of War in his letter of the 24th ultimo) I am not sensible of having failed in duly appreciating every consideration of delicacy and moment, connected with the subject; and that, whatever may be the result, the establishment at Presqu' Isle will be suspended until you shall vary the opinion which you have delivered.

I am, &c.

*Letter from Governor Mifflin to the President of the United States.*

PHILADELPHIA, June 19th, 1794.

SIR:

I have the honor to transmit, for your information, a copy of the despatches which I have received this morning from General Gibson, relatively to the hostile disposition of the Six Nations, instigated and supported, as it is alleged, by the British, and to be, &c. &c.

*List of the documents above referred to.*

1. A letter from General Gibson to the Governor, dated 11th June, 1794.
2. The deposition of D. Ransom, taken the 9th June, 1794.
3. The deposition of H. Verts, taken the 9th June, 1794.
4. A letter from Ellicot & Denny to General Gibson, dated 8th June, 1794.
5. A letter from Denny to General Gibson, dated June, 1794.
6. A letter from Presley Neville, Brigade Inspector, of Alleghany, to the Governor, dated 10th June, 1794.

No. 1.

*From General Gibson to Governor Mifflin.*

PITTSBURG, June 11, 1794.

DEAR SIR:

Enclosed are two depositions, taken by me, by which you will be informed of what has happened since my last to you, per post; also of the disposition of the Indians: From every account, I have reason to believe the Six Nations mean to be hostile.

The detachment under Captain Denny, with whom went Mr. Ellicot and General Wilkins, marched from this place on Saturday last, and, on Sunday evening, I received from them the enclosed letters. I immediately transmitted to them a copy of Vert's deposition, and gave it as my opinion that they ought to remain where they were, until Ransom and the Broken Twig came here, as we then might be better able to judge what was best to be done; since which I have not heard from them. I have wrote to the different inspectors of my division, pressing them to have the men ready, agreeable to the requisition of the Adjutant General, and you may rely on my using every means in my power for the protection of the Western frontiers. The bearer, Mr. Sloops, intended setting out on Monday, but I detained him until Ransom came in: he has promised to go express with those letters. I hope you will please to allow him for his trouble.

I shall esteem myself happy on hearing from you, and am, &c.

No. 2.

*Deposition of D. Ransom.*

ALLEGHANY COUNTY, &c.

Personally appeared before me John Gibson, one of the associate judges of the above county, Daniel Ransom, who, being duly sworn, depose and saith, that he, this deponent, has, for sometime past, traded at Fort Franklin with the Senecas and other Indians, and that a chief of the Senecas, named Tiawancas, or the Broken Twig, came there and informed him the times would soon be bad, and advised him to move off his family and effects. On this he, this deponent, asked him how he knew the times would soon be bad. The Indian then informed him that the British and Indians had sent a belt of wampum to him, inviting him to council at Buffalo creek; that he had declined going, and that the messengers then informed him of the intended plans of the Indians: they said that the Cornplanter had been bought by the British, and had joined them; that he, the Cornplanter, intended soon to come to fort Franklin, on pretence of holding a council respecting the Indian who was killed by Robertson; that there the British and Indians were to land at Presqu' Isle, and then form a junction with Cornplanter on French Creek, and were then to clear it by killing all the people, and taking all the posts on it; that he was so much affected as to shed tears, and said, what shall I do? I have been at war against the Western Indians, in company with Captain Jeffers, and killed and scalped one of them. If I now go back to the Indians, after having discovered this, they will kill me. He also informed this deponent, that a number of cannon had been purchased by the British, and collected at Junisadagoe, the town where Cornplanter lives, for the purpose of conveying the Indians down the river.

He, this deponent, further saith, and the Standing Stone, a chief of the Onondagoes, also informed him, at fort Franklin, that he thought the times would soon be bad, and pressed him very much to leave fort Franklin, and assisted him in packing up his goods, &c.; that, from what he heard, and seen, from other Indians, he has every reason to believe the above account to be true.

That seven white men came down the Alleghany, a few days ago, to fort Franklin, who informed him they saw the abovementioned cannons at Junisadagoe, and that the Indians appeared very surly, and had not planted any corn on the river, at their towns.

Sworn and subscribed at Pittsburg, this 11th June, 1794.

D. RANSOM.

Before me,

JOHN GIBSON.

A true copy: attested. JOHN GIBSON.

## No. 3.

*Deposition of Henry Verts.*

ALLEGHANY COUNTY, ss.

Personally appeared before me, John Gibson, one of the associate judges for the above county, Henry Verts, who, being duly sworn, deposeth and saith: That he, this deponent, left fort Franklin, at the mouth of French creek, on Thursday, the fifth instant, in company with three other men, at three o'clock, P. M.; that they came along the road leading to this place, about ten miles, and encamped; that, in the night, one of the cattle, which had been sent off the day before, by a certain Ransom, in order to be driven to this place, passed them in the night; that the next morning, they started by break of day, and came along the road, about four miles, when they met the remainder of the cattle, turning back to fort Franklin; that, on their proceeding about a mile further, he, this deponent, heard a noise like a man groaning, and immediately discovered a man lying on the ground, dead, or dying, as he appeared bloody about the shoulders and body; that the party being very much alarmed, they left one of their horses, and luggage, and immediately took into the woods, came to the mouth of Pine creek, on the Alleghany river, and from thence to this place. He further saith, that the commanding officer and inhabitants, at fort Franklin, told them they were expecting an attack from the Indians, daily, and were much alarmed.

Sworn and subscribed, this 9th of June, 1794.

his  
HENRY + VERTS.  
mark.

At Pittsburg, before me,

JOHN GIBSON.

A true copy: JOHN GIBSON.

## No. 4.

*From A. Ellicot and E. Denny to General Gibson.*

CAMP, three miles from Pitt, June 8, 1794.

SIR:

From the information received last evening, by two men from fort Franklin, we have some reason to apprehend, that the Six Nations have determined upon joining our enemies. The account is, that D. Ransom was told, by the Standing Stone, that it was, or would be the case; and it seems Ransom must believe it, from his breaking up his store at French creek, and bringing off all his effects, cattle, and every part of his property; and it appears, that Tiavancas, an old friendly Indian, has also taken the alarm (from some cause, no doubt) and is on his way down, with all his family. The bearer is sent back to bring forward to us the facts upon which these apprehensions are founded. We wish you, sir, to take Ransom's deposition, and to get every thing possible from the Indian. You will be able to judge whether we ought to proceed, or not, until reinforced by volunteers, or by a draught of militia. If it is true, that the Six Nations are at war, it would be no difficult matter for them to send a party to meet us. The bearer will wait your orders, and remain until Ransom gets down, which will be to day, we suppose. We intend halting at Ewault's Cabins until he joins us, and will be governed by your opinion.

We are, &amp;c.

## No. 5.

*From Captain Denny to General Gibson.*

EWAULT'S CABINS, 2 o'clock, June 8, 1794.

DEAR SIR:

Since we have been on this ground, Mr. Woods, one of the spies, came to us, and informed us, that four men had made their way good to the mouth of Pine creek, where Woods left this morning. That the said four men were just from fort Franklin; that they came ten miles only, upon the common road, and there met with Ransom's cattle, turned back; that the people who were drawing them down to Pitt, were killed by the Senecas; however, you will have an opportunity of getting more particular information, and we trust you will take such measures as will be best.

## No. 6.

*From Presly Neville to Governor Mifflin.*

PITTSBURG, June 10, 1794.

SIR:

On Friday last, General Wilkins, Mr. Ellicot, and some volunteers, with Captain Denny, and his detachment, left this place for Le Bœuf, since which, alarming accounts have arrived from Venango, by one Ransom, a trader, and an Indian, called *Broken Twig*, of the Senecas. The statement of the former, on oath, is forwarded to you by General Gibson. The substance of the whole is, that the Six Nations, at the instance of the British, had joined the other Indians against us, and that a large body assisted by them (the British) some in crossing the lake, and others in descending the Alleghany, were to take fort Franklin, destroy the settlements at Cassawago, and make an establishment at Presqu' Isle. What credit is to be given to these reports, I will not pretend to say; but this trader, well acquainted with Indian affairs, believes them. He moved his family and goods to this place by water, and sent his cattle with three white men, who were killed near fort Franklin. For my own part, I have no doubt of the hostile disposition of the Senecas, and that they actually committed the late murder on the Alleghany river.

I think we shall have interesting news shortly from Venango, which I shall communicate without delay.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

*From Governor Mifflin to the President of the United States.*

PHILADELPHIA, June 20, 1794.

SIR:

I have the honor to transmit, for your information, copies of two letters, both dated the 15th instant, and received by yesterday's post, from Pittsburg; one from General Gibson (enclosing a letter from Lieutenant Polhemus) and the other from Mr. Neville.

I am, &amp;c.

*From General Gibson to Governor Mifflin.*

PITTSBURG, June 13, 1794.

DEAR SIR:

Since my last, per Mr. Sloops, I received the enclosed from Lieutenant Polhemus, commanding at Venango. The messenger who brought it says, that the Senecas disavow the relation of the Broken Twig, as mentioned in my last, and threaten to kill him. Captain Denny, and his party, have proceeded on to Venango. I have



wrote him, that on his arrival there, in case he found the reports to be well founded, to inform me, and I would endeavor to support him.

I have also wrote to the different brigadiers and brigade inspectors to have their quotas ready, and shall think myself justifiable in ordering them out, should these accounts prove to be true.

Captain Powers, in a letter from Cassago to General Wilkins, writes, that on the people who live there, hearing of the murder of the two men, as mentioned in the letter of Lieutenant Polhemus, they were going away, and that he would, if possible, try and move the artillery to fort Franklin.

I have ordered one hundred and fifty of the militia of Westmoreland to range on the frontiers of that county, in order to protect the inhabitants. Should the present alarm subside, they shall immediately be discharged.

I have appointed James Bryson, Esquire, one of my aids. You will please to order a commission to be sent for him.  
I have the honor to be, &c.

*From Lieutenant Polhemus to General Gibson.*

FORT FRANKLIN, 9th June, 1794.

SIR:

From my letter, which I expect you have received from Mr. Wolf, who left this place the 2d instant, you may have reason to suppose, I consider those under my command exposed to the intentions of the hostile Indians; since which time, on the 5th day of this month, three men, named Wallace, Power, and Richard Van Sickler, on their way to Pittsburg, were overpowered by Indians. The two former were killed; the latter returned, who gave me this information. The day following, I ordered five Seneca Indians, and five white men, not belonging to the garrison, to go in search of the deceased. They found Wallace and Power, shot, scalped, and tomahawked.\*

You will please to judge, whether the application which I have already made, be rational; I will endeavor not to be deficient in doing that which may be most for the benefit of my country.  
I am, &c.

*From Presley Neville to Governor Mifflin.*

PITTSBURG, June 13th, 1794.

DEAR SIR:

Since I had the honor of addressing you last, we learn that one man of the party, said to be all killed near fort Franklin, had escaped. We have, also, reason to believe, that the Indians who did the mischief were from the West, and not of the Six Nations; nay, by the accounts from the officer commanding fort Franklin, so far from being hostile, a party of Senecas, joined to a detachment of that garrison, went in pursuit of the perpetrators of that last murder. The fluctuation and inconsistency of our news is such, that it is difficult to form a proper opinion; Captain Denny has continued his march, and, I suppose, is now at Venango. I shall continue the company of militia, about thirty-five in number, on the frontier of this county.

We have only twelve of Denny's men; should you think proper to order a completion of the Presqu' Isle business, and a draught be necessary for that purpose, I flatter myself this county will be excused, on account of having spared her whole protection already to that object; for the twelve men left as above mentioned, are the refuse of the earth, some of them cannot walk.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*Governor Mifflin to the Secretary of War.*

PHILADELPHIA, 24th June, 1794.

SIR:

The cultivation of a good understanding between the officers of the Federal and State Governments, has been among the favorite objects of the administration, which my fellow-citizens have entrusted to my care, and I am persuaded that the President of the United States will not perceive any thing, in the recent explanation, which I have given of my conduct, relatively to the Presqu' Isle establishment, that would warrant a deviation from that cordial and harmonizing spirit, by which he has been reciprocally actuated.

That the Northern Indians, previously to the passing of the act, by which I was enabled to carry into effect the law for laying out the town at Presqu' Isle, had manifested a hostile disposition, for reasons unconnected with our plan of settlement, is a fact of such notoriety, that I did not think the evidence of official documents would be necessary to establish it. But it may be proper, in answering your letter of the 21st instant, to refer you to the reply which the Six Nations made to a speech, delivered by General Chapin, on the 10th of February last, a copy of which you transmitted to me on the 24th day of May. By this document, furnished from the records of your office, independently of all other evidence, it will, I think, appear, that some old grievances, alleged to have been suffered from the Union, the inflammatory speech of Lord Dorchester, the constant machinations of British agents, and the corruption of British bribes, had, in truth, previously excited that hostile disposition, which you seem to consider as the effect of the measures pursued by Pennsylvania, for establishing a town at Presqu' Isle.

I am not inclined, sir, to enter into a discussion of the extent or operation of those principles of society, or of that practice of political communities "which," you observe, "will frequently concur in postponing the enjoyment of a particular right, or interest, of a part of a nation, to considerations respecting the safety or welfare of the whole nation;" but it is obvious, that a doctrine of this nature must depend essentially upon the terms of the social or political compact to which it is applied, and that, of all the modifications of which it is susceptible, the least adapted to our system of Government, (a Federal Republic) would, perhaps, be the acknowledgment of a discretionary power in the Executive magistrate of a particular State, to suspend, under any circumstances, the execution of a law, enacted by the only competent authority, and directed by legitimate means, to a legitimate end. The question on the propriety of consulting the welfare and interest of the whole nation, at the expense of a part of it, might, indeed, be justly proposed to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, and would, I am persuaded, receive, from that department of our Government, a liberal consideration; but you will recollect, sir, that my difficulty occurred, because the question was proposed to the Executive magistrate, who, if he had not originally the authority to interpose, could not, I was apprehensive, acquire it, merely from the consideration of "the weight of the reasons" which might be suggested on the subject.

It may be proper here to remark, that my determination to continue the suspension of the Presqu' Isle establishment, till the President shall vary the opinion which he has delivered, is founded principally on the assurances I have received, that the obstacles are of a temporary nature; and, consequently, that the success of the attempts, which you inform me are put in train to remove them, may be so seasonably attained, as to admit, not only of an accommodation of the views of the General Government, but also, of the execution of the law of Pennsylvania, within the period contemplated by the Legislature. For, although no arguments can be necessary to convince me of the patriotic attention of the President to the interests of the Union, it would be contrary to the ideas which I entertain of his justice, candor, and wisdom, to suppose, that, in order to facilitate the duties of his station, he would advise me to pursue a measure, inconsistent with the duties of mine, or that he would deliver an opinion to the Executive of any State, which it might be thought indelicate to disregard, and illegal to adopt.

I am, with great respect, sir, your most obedient servant,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

\* You will please to have the above inserted in the Pittsburg Gazette.

*Copy of a letter from Governor Mifflin to the Secretary of War.*

PHILADELPHIA, 30th June, 1794.

SIR:

On the receipt of your letter of the 24th, covering an extract from General Chapin's letter, dated the 12th current, in which that gentleman states, "That the Indians do not acknowledge the validity of the Cornplanter's sale to Pennsylvania," referring, I presume, to the triangular tract on lake Erie, I have thought it proper to prepare and communicate the enclosed copies of the deeds of cession, for the information of the President.

I take this opportunity likewise to transmit a copy of a letter, dated the 20th inst. and the accompanying documents, which I received from General Gibson by the last post.

I am, &amp;c.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

*Copy of the articles between the Chiefs, &c. of the Six Nations of Indians and the Commissioners of Pennsylvania.*

BE IT REMEMBERED, BY ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

That, on the ninth day of January, in the year of our Lord 1789, in open and public council, we, the undersigned chiefs, warriors, and others, representing the following named tribes of the Six Nations, to wit: the Ondawagas, or Senecas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, and Oneidas, for, and in behalf of ourselves, our tribes, our and their heirs and successors, on the one part, and Richard Butler and John Gibson, Esqrs. commissioners for, and on behalf of the State of Pennsylvania, (Onas) on the other part, did make, and conclude upon the following articles, viz:

ARTICLE 1. That, as soon as these articles are signed, interchangeably, by the aforesaid chiefs and commissioners, the said chiefs will execute a deed of conveyance to the State of Pennsylvania, for a tract of country, as shall hereafter be described.

ARTICLE 2. The signing chiefs do acknowledge the right of the soil, and jurisdiction to, in, and over, that tract of country, bounded on the south, by the north line of the State of Pennsylvania; on the east, by the west boundary of the State of New York, agreeable to the cession of that State, and the State of Massachusetts, to the United States; and on the north, by the margin of lake Erie, including Presqu' Isle, and all the bays and harbors along the margin of said lake Erie, from the west boundary of Pennsylvania to where the west boundary of the State of New York may cross, or intersect, the south margin of the said lake Erie; to be vested in the said State of Pennsylvania, agreeable to an act of Congress, dated the 6th day of June last, 1788.

ARTICLE 3. The said chiefs do agree that the said State of Pennsylvania shall, and may, at any time they may think proper, survey, dispose of, and settle, all that part of the aforesaid country, lying, and being west of a line running along the middle of the Conowago river, from its confluence with the Alleghany river into the Chadochque lake, thence along the middle of said lake, to the north end of the same, thence a meridian line from the north end of the said lake, to the margin, or shore, of lake Erie.

ARTICLE 4. The said chiefs do agree, that the navigation, or water communication, of the said Conowago river, and the Chadochque lake, shall be free to the citizens of the State of Pennsylvania, in common with themselves; but that neither party shall build, or erect dams, over or across the Conowago river, so as to obstruct the passage of boats or canoes, up and down the same to the Alleghany river.

ARTICLE 5. That, as several villages, belonging to the signing chiefs and their people, are now living on the said Conowago creek, and in other parts of the country, supposed to be within the tract of country west of the west line of the State of New York, and east of the line through the waters, as described in the third article: and as they have no country to remove to, from where they now live, the said chiefs do reserve for their own and their people's residence, hunting and fishing, all that part of the tract of country described in the second article, passing from the Alleghany river, along the middle of the Conowago creek, the Chadochque lake, and a meridian line from the north end of said lake to lake Erie.

ARTICLE 6. The said chiefs do engage for, and in behalf of themselves and their tribes, to give protection to the citizens of the said State of Pennsylvania, and others who may come to trade or transact business, under proper authority, among them, and to live peaceably with all the citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE 7. The said Richard Butler and John Gibson, Esqrs. commissioners, for, and in behalf of the State of Pennsylvania, do agree to the aforesaid articles, in their true intent and meaning; and they do further engage, on the faith of the State of Pennsylvania, that the aforesaid chiefs, and the people of their tribes, shall have full and peaceable liberty to hunt and fish within any part of the country first above described, they demeaning themselves peaceably towards the inhabitants. But the said chiefs, or their successors, shall not, at any time hereafter, directly, or indirectly, lease, rent, or make sale of, any part, or parcel, of the tract here reserved, for their use and residence, to any other State, person, or persons.

In testimony of the above articles being duly, openly, and fairly agreed and concluded upon, the chiefs and commissioners aforesaid, have interchangeably set their hands, and affixed their seals, the day and year first above written.

SENECAS . . . . .	Gyantwachia, or the Corn-planter,	+	L. s.
	Gyashota, or the Big Cross,	+	L. s.
	Kanassee, or the New Arrow,	+	L. s.
	Achiout, or the Half Town,	+	L. s.
	Anachkout, or the Wasp,	+	L. L.
	Chishekoa, or the Wood Bug,	+	L. s.
	Sessewa, or the Big Bale of a Kettle,	+	L. s.
	Sciawhowa, or the Council Keeper,	+	L. s.
	Tewanias, or the Broken Twig,	+	L. s.
	Souachshowa, or the Full Moon,	+	L. s.
	Cachunevasse, or Twenty Canoes,	+	L. s.
TUSCARORA CHIEF .	Hichonquash, or Tearing Asunder,	+	L. s.
SENECAS . . . . .	Cageahgea, or Dogs about the Fire,	+	L. s.
	Sawedowa, or the Blast,	+	L. s.
	Kiondashowa, or Swimming Fish,	+	L. s.
ONANDAGO CHIEF .	Oncahye, or the Dancing Feather,	+	L. s.
CAYUGAS . . . . .	Soahaes, or Falling Mountain,	+	L. s.
	Otachsaka, or Broken Tomahawk,	+	L. s.
ONEIDA CHIEF . . .	Tekahiets, or the Long Tree,	+	L. s.
SENECA CHIEF . . .	Onesechter, or the Leaded Man,	+	L. s.
MUNSEY CHIEFS . .	Kiatulahoh, or the Snake,	+	L. s.
	Aqueia, or the Bandy Legs,	+	L. s.
SENECAS . . . . .	Kiandoch-gowa, or Big Tree,	+	L. s.
	Owenewah, or Thrown-in-the-water,	+	L. s.

N. B. The two Munseys signed as being residents on the land, but not owners.

R. BUTLER.

In the presence of

AR. ST. CLAIR,  
 JAMES HARMAR, Lt. Col. Com. 1st U. S. Regt. and Brig. Gen. by brevet.  
 DAVID ZEIGLER, Captain 1st U. S. Regt.  
 WINTHROP SARGENT.  
 JOHN TRACEY.  
 N. McDOWELL, Ensign.  
 JACOB MELCHER, Cadet in 1st U. S. Regiment.  
 JOSEPH NICHOLSON.

Be it remembered, that, on the 30th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1792, and in the 16th year of the independence of the United States of America, came, personally, Joseph Nicholson, one of the witnesses within named, before me, James Biddle, Esq. president of the courts of common pleas, in the district consisting of the city and county of Philadelphia, and counties of Bucks, Montgomery, and Delaware, and made oath, on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that he was present, and saw the twenty-four grantors, and two commissioners, in the within deed named, make the signatures, or marks, to the said deed, and seal and deliver the same, as their act and deed, voluntarily and freely; and that the said deponent subscribed his name as a witness to the execution thereof; and that he also saw the other seven witnesses subscribe their names within written, respectively, to the same deed, and that the name, Joseph Nicholson, thereunto subscribed, is of his own proper hand-writing.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, at Philadelphia, the same day and year aforesaid.  
 JAMES BIDDLE.  
 JOSEPH NICHOLSON.

Enrolled in the Rolls Office for the State of Pennsylvania, in Commission Book, No. 1, page 309.  
 Witness my hand and seal of office, the 19th of June, 1794.

MATHEW IRWIN, M. R.

A true copy from the original.

JAMES TRIMBLE, Deputy Secretary.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE, Philadelphia, June 30th, 1794.

*Copy of the Deed from the Six Nations of Indians to the State of Pennsylvania.*

Know all men by these presents, that we, the undersigned chiefs, warriors, and others, representing the following named tribes of the Six Nations, to wit: the Ondawagas, or Senecas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, and Oneidas, for, and in consideration, of the sum of two thousand dollars, to us in hand paid, by Richard Butler and John Gibson, Esquires, commissioners for, and in behalf of, the State of Pennsylvania, the receipt whereof we do hereby acknowledge, and we, for ourselves, our tribes, our and their heirs and successors, are therewith fully paid and satisfied: have granted, bargained, sold, and assigned over, and, by these presents, do grant, bargain, sell, remise, release, quit claim, and assign over, unto the said State of Pennsylvania, all our and their right, title, claim, and interest of, in, and to, all that tract of country situate, lying, and being, within the territory of the United States, bounded on the south by the north line or boundary of the State of Pennsylvania, on the east by the western line or boundary of the State of New York, agreeably to an act of cession of the said State of New York and the State of Massachusetts, to the United States; and on the north, by the southern shore, or margin of lake Erie, including Presqu' Isle, and all the bays and harbors along the shore or margin of the said lake Erie, from the west boundary of the said State of Pennsylvania, to where the west line, or boundary, of the State of New York, may cross or intersect the southern shore, or margin, of the said lake Erie: to have and to hold the said tract, as above described, with all its appurtenances and advantages, to the only proper use and behoof of the said State of Pennsylvania, forever, under, and subject to the provisos and reservations made and agreed upon in behalf of ourselves and our tribes, their heirs and successors, mentioned in certain articles of agreement, made and concluded with the aforesaid Richard Butler and John Gibson, Esquires, commissioners for, and in behalf of, the said State of Pennsylvania; which articles were signed by the aforesaid chiefs and commissioners interchangeably, before the executing and signing of this deed.

In testimony whereof, we, the said chiefs, have hereunto set our hands and seals, this — day of January, in the year of our Lord 1789.

SENECAS . . . . .	Gyantwachia, or the Corn-planter,	+	L. s.
	Gyashota, or the Big Cross,	+	L. s.
	Kanasee, or the New Arrow,	+	L. s.
	Achiout, or the Half Town,	+	L. s.
	Anachkout, or the Wasp,	+	L. s.
	Chishekoa, or the Wood Bug,	+	L. s.
	Sessewa, or Big Bale of a Kettle,	+	L. s.
	Sciawhowa, or the Council Keeper,	+	L. s.
	Tewanias, or the Broken Twig,	+	L. s.
	Souachshowa, or the Full Moon,	+	L. s.
	Cachunevasse, or Twenty Canoes,	+	L. s.
TUSCARORA CHIEF .	Hichonquash, or Tearing Asunder,	+	L. s.
SENECAS . . . . .	Cageahgea, or Dogs about the Fire,	+	L. s.
	Sawedowa, or the Blast,	+	L. s.
	Kiondashowa, or Swimming Fish,	+	L. s.
ONADAGO CHIEF . .	Oncahye, or the Dancing Feather,	+	L. s.
CAYUGA CHIEFS . .	Soahaes, or Falling Mountain,	+	L. s.
	Otachsaka, or Broken Tomahawk,	+	L. s.
ONEIDA CHIEF . . .	Tekahiefs, or the Long Tree,	+	L. s.
SENECA CHIEF . . .	Onesechter, or the Leaded Man,	+	L. s.
MUNSEY CHIEFS . .	Kiatulahoh, or the Snake,	+	L. s.
	Aqueia, or B.ndy Legs,	+	L. s.
SENECAS . . . . .	Kiandoch-gowa, or Big Tree,	+	L. s.
	Owenewah, or Thrown-into-the-water,	+	L. s.

N. B. The two Munseys signed as being residenters on the land, but not owners. R. BUTLER.

In the presence of

AR. ST. CLAIR.  
 JOS. HARMAR, Lieut. Col. Com. 1st U. S. Regt. and Brig. General by brevet.  
 DAVID ZEIGLER, Captain 1st U. S. Regiment.  
 WINTHROP SARGENT.  
 JOHN TRACEY.  
 N. McDOWELL, Ensign.  
 JACOB MELCHER, Cadet 1st U. S. Regiment.  
 JOSEPH NICHOLSON.

Be it remembered, that, on the 29th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1790, and in the fifteenth year of the independence of the United States of America, came personally, Joseph Nicholson, one of the witnesses within named, before the Hon. Thomas McKean, Esq. Doctor of Laws, chief justice of the supreme court of the State of Pennsylvania, and made oath, on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that he was present, and saw the twenty-four grantors, in the within deed named, make the signatures or marks to the said deed, and seal and deliver the same, as their act and deed, voluntarily, and freely; and that the said deponent subscribed his name as a witness to the execution thereof; and that he also saw the other seven witnesses subscribe their names within written, respectively, to the same deed; and that the name, Joseph Nicholson, thereto subscribed, is of his own proper hand-writing.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, at Philadelphia, the same day and year aforesaid,

THOMAS MCKEAN.

Recorded in the office for recording of deeds, &c. for the city and county of Philadelphia, in Deed Book, No. 31, page 184.

Witness my hand, and seal of office, the 5th day of May, 1792.

MATHEW IRWIN, *Rec.*

A true copy from the original.

JAMES TRIMBLE, *Deputy Secretary.*

SECRETARY'S OFFICE, Philadelphia, June 30, 1794.

*Copy of a letter from General Gibson to Governor Mifflin.*

PITTSBURG, June 20, 1794.

Sir:

I had the honor of receiving yours per this day's post: in my last, I informed you that I had ordered one hundred and fifty militia, for the protection of the frontiers of Westmoreland, and have wrote to the different brigade inspectors to have their quotas complete.

The enclosed letters have since come to hand, and from their contents, and the information received by a man, who left Cornplanter's town about twelve days ago, we have every reason to conclude that the Six Nations will be obliged to join the Western Indians. This man declares, that an attempt had been made to take his life, by an Indian, but that the Cornplanter prevented it, by telling the Indian the time was not yet come for them to strike: that the Indians, at the towns, appeared very surly and ill-natured, and that a person of the name of Jennings, who lives at the Cornplanter's town, informed him, that he thought the Cornplanter must join the Western Indians.

I am in great hopes Captain Denny, with his detachment, will get safe to Le Bœuf, and will be able to make a stand, until he can be supported. I shall use every means for the protection of the frontiers, and shall afford Captain Denny every assistance in my power, if necessary.

It is more than probable, that, in a few days, the result of the council at Buffalo creek will be known; if favorable, the Indians will send in messengers to palliate their conduct; if the reverse, they will strike on our frontiers. I shall, at any rate, give you the earliest information.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

*Extract of a letter from Captain Denny, dated fort Franklin, June 14th, 1794.*

Sir:

I have the honor of acknowledging your two letters, dated the 9th and 11th instant: after receiving the first, we concluded it would be best to proceed upon our march. We arrived here the day before yesterday, all well. The account of Ransom's people being killed was too true, but by what nation of Indians, is yet doubtful. Mr. Ellicot and Mr. Wilkins have written, and sent two runners for the Cornplanter, and they have requested me to wait the return of the express: when they arrive you shall be informed of the success of the message. I am suspicious the old fellow will not show himself. The fact is, that the Indians, about here, from twenty downwards, for some time past, have been exceedingly insolent, treated the officer, the fort, and every person about it, with the utmost contempt; but, since our arrival, they have altered their tune, so say Lieutenant Polhemus and Doctor McCray. We have written to Le Bœuff, and gave the officer there a caution: the day after to-morrow the runner is to be back. Van Horn and Bales, the two men who brought your last letter, saw one Indian at the plain, about twenty miles this side of Pittsburg, and the trace of six or seven.

June 16th. Yours, enclosing a copy of Polhemus', came yesterday. The Cornplanter's nephew arrived from the towns about the same time. He delivered a long speech from his uncle to Lieutenant Polhemus. Upon summing up the whole, we have not a shadow of doubt, but that a plan was formed to destroy all the posts and settlements in this quarter. It was all done upon the strength or prospect of a war between the British and ———; that subsiding, the other, I am in hopes, has also. There is no doubt but the English will urge them to join the Western Indians, and have done every thing possible, and perhaps a few may; but I rather think that, unless we have a war with them, we'll have none with the Six Nations generally.

The Cornplanter has gone to another council at Buffalo; he set out the same time the nephew started for this place, and will return in about ten days. He says he is very sorry for the mischief done lately, and is extremely concerned at the account given of their going to take up the hatchet; says they are bad men that reported it; that it's a lie, and insists upon knowing who the information came from, as it is evident that a stroke was meditated, but now, perhaps, dropped. Every apology, which he can possibly make, won't be sufficient to clear him of the imputation of a traitor.

Some of the nation say the English have bought O'Beal. We shall spend two days to come, in helping Mr. Polhemus to put his garrison in some state of defence: for, should any thing happen it, we should fare the worse above.

*Copy of a letter from Governor Mifflin to the President of the United States.*

PHILADELPHIA, 15th July, 1794.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit, for your information, copies of the various documents which I have received, by express, from General Gibson, stating, among other things, the proceedings of a council held at fort Le Bœuf, on the 26th ultimo, between Captain Denny and Mr. Ellicot, and a deputation from the Six Nations, in the presence of General Chapin.

The requisition which has been made on this occasion, for the abandonment of a great portion of the territory of the State, is so extravagant, that we must suppose it to proceed from the instigation of a policy more hostile to the United States than can reasonably be ascribed to the natural arrogance or enmity of the Indians themselves. It is a circumstance, indeed, additionally mortifying, that no attempt was made even to conceal the source from which the insult came. Mr. Johnson, the British agent, attended the council.

It will be obvious to you, sir, that it is not in my power to authorize a compliance with the requisition, or to treat upon the subjects. My duty calls upon me to execute the laws; and, in doing so, it will be incumbent on me to maintain, not only the public claim of jurisdiction, but the private rights and property throughout the State,

against invasion and outrage. For that important purpose, I shall exert all the legal authority of my office; and I take this opportunity to request the co-operation of the General Government, as far as its Federal obligations extend. The suspension of the Presqu' Isle establishment has probably increased the difficulty; but, after the information which has been just received, I conceive the essential interests of the State, the safety of its citizens, and the preservation of its property, are involved in the immediate prosecution of our object, and I trust that you will now find reason to concur in that opinion.

I am, with respect, &c.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

*Copy of a letter from General Gibson to Governor Mifflin.*

PITTSBURG, July 7th, 1794.

SIR:

The enclosed papers, from Captain Demy, came to hand yesterday, which, with two other letters directed to your Excellency, and one to General Knox, I now send to you, by express, as they contain matter of the utmost importance to the State.

The British have, at length, succeeded in accomplishing their long wished for object, in getting the Six Nations to join the Western Indians against the United States, and I am afraid our frontiers will feel the effects. Your Excellency may rest assured, that nothing shall be wanting on my part to afford them and Captain Denny every assistance in my power. I was under the necessity of promising forty dollars to the express for his service, as none could be got to engage lower; you will please to order him to be paid.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN GIBSON.

A true copy.

JAMES TRIMBLE, *Deputy Secretary.*

*Copy of a letter from Israel Chapin to the Commanding Officer at Le Bœuf.*

PRESQU' ISLE, Tuesday, 24th June, 1794, at 3 o'clock P. M.

DEAR SIR:

I have just arrived at this place, with a deputation from the Six Nations of Indians, consisting of sixteen chiefs and warriors, with a message we were desired to deliver to some people, whom they supposed were here. I thought it would be consistent to inform you of my arrival, and that I shall be at Le Bœuf to-morrow, at 2 o'clock, with this deputation.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

ISRAEL CHAPIN, *Secretary of the Six Nations.*

A true copy.

JAMES TRIMBLE, *Deputy Secretary.*

*Copy of a letter from Captain Ebenezer Denny to Major General Gibson.*

FORT LE BŒUF, June 27th, 1794.

DEAR SIR:

Enclosed you will receive a copy of a message brought me by a deputation of chiefs and warriors sent for that purpose, from the Six Nations, and also our reply. You will perceive by the message, that the Indians are disposed to have us pushed back; and if we dont leave the country, they are to consider us as no friends. I don't apprehend much danger here, as long as we can keep our men together; but, at present, a number of the people who were on before me, are ill with the flux; and the working parties, which we are necessarily obliged to have at some distance, together with two escorts, one sent to Franklin with pack-horses, the other somewhere between, and Cassewago, with boats, reduces our force very considerably. Doctor Wilkins has made a requisition for ten or twelve men, to be sent to Pitt, to guard a drove of cattle on to this place. From the present appearances, it would be very improper to detach so many men from my command; I am, therefore, here under the necessity of begging a few militia for that purpose; they will be wanted about the first week in the next month. Indeed, at this particular juncture, I don't think a company would be too many to assist us in having the supplies brought forward. The people at Cassewago wished for a guard of my men; I could not spare them yet; the consequences, I am afraid, will be a total evacuation of that settlement. If you should think proper to send on a company, a part posted at Mead's will answer a double purpose; there the contractor has a deposite, and it serves our people as an intermediate post between Franklin and this place, which ought to be by all means supported. You promised you would not neglect us.

I am, with great regard, &c.

EBENEZER DENNY, *Captain Pennsylvania State troops.*

A true copy.

JAMES TRIMBLE, *Deputy Secretary.*

*Copy of a letter from Andrew Ellicot to Governor Mifflin, dated*

FORT LE BŒUF, June 29, 1794.

SIR:

In my last letter to you, from Pittsburg, I mentioned that you might expect to hear from me, both from fort Franklin and Le Bœuf; but, from a variety of circumstances, no opportunity occurred of writing from the first. On my arrival there, the place appeared to be in such a defenceless situation, that, with the concurrence of Captain Denny and the officer commanding at the fort, we remained there some time, and employed the troops in rendering it more tenable. It may now be considered as defensible, provided the number of men is increased. The garrison, at present, consists of twenty-five men, one-half of whom are unfit for duty; and, it is my opinion, that double that number would not be more than sufficient, considering the importance of the safety of the settlements on French creek. At fort Franklin, General Wilkins and myself wrote to the Cornplanter to attend there, that we might have an opportunity of explaining to him the nature of our business, and of obviating any difficulties that might arise in our proceedings. However, he did not come, as was expected, having gone some days before to a council of the Six Nations, at Buffalo.

With this letter, you will receive a copy of their message, presented by General Chapin and Mr. Johnson, to Captain Denny and myself, with our reply to the same. I leave to yourself to consider the propriety of a British agent attending a considerable number of Indians, with a superintendent of Indian affairs of the United States, to order the people of Pennsylvania to remove from those lands, which had been ceded to them by treaty, by the King of Great Britain, and since that time regularly purchased from the Six Nations, and punctually paid for. After repairing fort Franklin, we proceeded to this place, and are now beginning to strengthen the works here, so as to

render it a safe deposite for military and other stores; and in doing which, agreeably to instructions, economy shall be strictly attended to.

The line described by the Indians, on the map, will take from the State of Pennsylvania the Cassewago settlement, being part of the purchase of 1784, and the whole of the purchase of 1788. But, with respect to this claim, they can be serious only so far as encouraged by the British agents, and the countenance shewn them by the late interference of the United States.

The objection made by Mr. Brandt, to General Chapin, that the establishment at Presqu' Isle would cut off the communication between the Six Nations and the Western hostile Indians, and thereby diminish their joint strength, is the strongest argument that can be urged in favor of that establishment. General Chapin and myself are of opinion that all differences between the State of Pennsylvania and the Six Nations might be accommodated by treaty, which treaty ought not to be held in the neighborhood of any post occupied by the British, the United States, or this State, at present; and that Presqu' Isle is the most eligible place for such a treaty. General Chapin, I presume, has communicated his sentiments to General Knox on this subject.

Standing Stone, a chief residing at Conyat, has informed us, since we arrived at this place, that the late mischief on the Alleghany river and Venango path was done by a party of eight warriors, from Huron river, which falls into Lake Erie, about twenty-six miles above Cuyahoga. One of his brothers saw them on their way to commit those depredations. Those Indians are only to be chastised by the way of the lake; but it is neither the interest of the British, Brandt, nor the other agents, to have them punished; it is the interest of the United States; and yet the United States, by directing a suspension of the business at Presqu' Isle, have taken effectual measures for the security of this nest of murderers, whose cruelties have, for some years past, been severely felt by the citizens of this State.

You must recollect that I always had my doubts respecting the fulfilment of the contract for opening the navigation of French creek, and a road from Le Bœuf to Presqu' Isle, and, agreeably to my expectations, have *hitherto* not been able to discover any thing done in that business. For the further security of the frontiers of this State, it would be necessary to erect two block houses on the Venango path, between fort Pitt and Venango, and a third between Venango and this place. At present, Meade's settlement appears to me to be the most proper situation.

I am, with great respect, your real friend,

ANDREW ELLICOT.

A true copy: JAMES TRIMBLE, *Deputy Secretary.*

*Extract of a letter from Captain Ebenezer Denny to Governor Mifflin, dated June 29th, 1794.*

The route from Franklin to Le Bœuf, by way of Cassewago, is not less than sixty miles. The first part may be made good, but the other will be very difficult. A straight route from Franklin to Le Bœuf won't exceed 45 miles; but it's yet uncertain what kind of road the country will afford.

We would be much the better of a surgeon. Many of the men who were on here are lying bad with the flux. However, we are doing every thing possible to get them on foot. Constant salt provisions, and not the least attention paid to cleanliness, has caused it to spread. Our fresh meat, with the little knowledge we have of medicine, has already had a good effect.

The evening of our arrival here, I received the enclosed letter from Israel Chapin, superintendent for the Six Nations. The next day, by the time mentioned, he and the Indians arrived. They expected to meet us at Presqu' Isle. They came from the mouth of Buffalo there, in a row boat. Next morning we met and received their message, a copy of which, together with our reply, is also enclosed.

William Johnson, who is mentioned in the message, is a British agent; he acted slyly as prompter to the chiefs. They denied having sold their country; told us that the paper (deed) which they signed at Fort Harmar was thought by them *then* to be nothing but a treaty of peace, and that the goods which was delivered them, they considered as presents. Money, they say, they received none. The line which they had marked upon their map began at O'Beal's town, and in a direct line crossed French creek, just below Mead's, and on the Head of Cuyahoga; from thence to the Muskingum, and down the Ohio, and to its mouth, and up the Mississippi, leaving a small square for a trading house at the mouths of the rivers, and one where Clarkesville now is. The fellows were very inquisitive to know if any surveyors were out, and told us to stop every person going towards the lake. They will expect an answer from our great council.

I would just remark, that, in case of a war, it will be very difficult keeping either horses or cattle about the place, and impossible to get any supplies, being so near their towns, unless we have three times the number of men which we now have, and establish several intermediate posts. I have the honor to enclose a return of the troops, and am, with perfect respect, sir, your most obedient servant,

E. DENNY, *Captain.*

A true extract: JAMES TRIMBLE, *Deputy Secretary.*

*Copy of the proceedings of a council held with the Six Nations at fort Le Bœuf, 26th June, 1794.*

At a council holden at fort Le Bœuf, June 26th, 1794, by Mr. Ellicot and Captain Denny, with General Chapin and a deputation from the Six Nations. General Chapin opened the business by reading the proceedings of the council at Buffalo, which were as follows:

At a council holden at Buffalo creek, by the Six Nations of Indians, June 18, 1794, General Chapin was addressed as follows: Captain O'Beal, Speaker.

BROTHER: When we sent for you it was because we placed great dependence upon you. We expected that you would not fail in doing every thing in your power to assist us.

BROTHER: We now hope that you will exert yourself in removing those people off our lands. We know very well what they have come on for, and we want them pushed back.

BROTHER: We now wish that you and Mr. Johnson would go together and remove those people back over the line which we have marked out upon the map.

BROTHER: If these people remove off immediately, we shall consider them as our friends; if not, we shall consider them as no friends.

BROTHER: We wish that you and Mr. Johnson would go together upon this business, and we shall send ten warriors to attend you; and we shall expect that you will bring us word when you return.

This speech was delivered with six strings of black and white wampum.

After the above speech had been read, Mr. Ellicot and Captain Denny desired an interval of one hour to prepare an answer; at the expiration of which, Mr. Ellicot delivered the following reply to the message sent by General Chapin and William Johnson:

BROTHERS OF THE SIX NATIONS:

Your brethren of Pennsylvania have always been attentive to the interest of the Indians, especially to that of the Six Nations, and happy to meet with them in peace and unity.

BROTHERS: We have heard your message by General Chapin, and have considered the request.

**BROTHERS:** By the peace of 1763, the King of Great Britain ceded to your brethren of Pennsylvania all the lands which they claim, but, from a regard to justice, and considering you as the real owners of the soil, could not consider themselves as entitled to it, until fairly purchased from yourselves.

**BROTHERS:** The lands which you have requested us to move off have for several years been purchased by the State of Pennsylvania from the Six Nations, and the lines bounding the same were opened and marked with their consent and approbation. The purchase north of the north boundary of Pennsylvania, west of the Conewango river, lake Chataque, and the path leading from thence to lake Erie, and south of the said lake, was made of your chiefs at fort Harmar, (by General Butler and General Gibson) and the money and goods punctually paid to them.

**BROTHERS:** Your brethren of Pennsylvania have fairly and openly made the purchase of all the lands to which they lay claim, and have sold those lands to such people as choose to settle and work them; they think it now their duty to protect such settlers from the depredations of all such persons as may attempt to molest them.

**BROTHERS:** The present military preparations of your brethren of Pennsylvania were intended to protect their citizens against the Western hostile Indians only, not supposing any protection necessary against the Six Nations, whom they consider as their friends and allies.

**BROTHERS:** The line which you have marked upon the map will take back from your brethren of Pennsylvania a large tract of land, which they have purchased from you. We cannot, therefore, consistently with our duty, remove from those lands, unless directed by the great council of our people, to whom we shall immediately send your message.

**BROTHERS:** We are sorry that our continuing on the lands which you have sold to your brethren of Pennsylvania, should be the cause of any uneasiness, or why we should not be considered by you as friends.

**BROTHERS:** Your brethren of Pennsylvania are a generous people; they have never wished for more than they were willing to pay for, and have never attempted to take what did not belong to them. They will be glad to meet you at all times, and afford relief to the weak and hungry of your people, who may take the trouble to come and see them at this place. In the mean time, as we are ordered here by the great council of your brothers of Pennsylvania, we cannot, consistently with our duty, remove from hence, until orders come from them for that purpose. Your message, however, shall be immediately forwarded by express to them, for their consideration.

ANDREW ELLICOT.  
EBENEZER DENNY,  
*Captain of the State troops.*

THOMAS NESBIT, *Secretary.*

Copy.

A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary.*

*From Governor Mifflin to the President of the United States, dated*

PHILADELPHIA, 18th July, 1794.

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's answer to my letter of the 15th instant, communicated in a letter from the Secretary of War, dated yesterday; and it is with peculiar regret that I perceive the embarrassment of my situation, relatively to the Presqu' Isle establishment, increasing with every addition to the correspondence which the subject has produced. I certainly, sir, have hitherto proceeded upon the presumption, that, whatever form of words may have been employed, it was your request that the execution of the Presqu' Isle law, should be suspended; and as you possessed all the information upon which that request was founded, I have thought, likewise, that you would readily assume the responsibility attached to a prompt and confidential compliance with it. But, when the Secretary of War remarks, that you never contemplated carrying your opinions upon the subject farther, than to state them as strongly as they were conceived; he leaves it to be inferred, that, for all the consequences of the suspension, without possessing the information, or, perhaps, entertaining the sentiments that led to the measure, I am deemed to be exclusively responsible.

This idea, sir, claims and justifies, on my part, the utmost circumspection; and I am persuaded that, while the Executive of the General Government is solicitous to avoid reproach for inattention, or neglect to make full representations of any danger which is apprehended to the interests of the Union, a similar solicitude in the Executive of a particular Government to avoid reproach, either for transgressing the constitutional boundaries of his authority, or for sacrificing the interests of the State, will be equally approved and indulged. Hence, sir, I have been induced, in order satisfactorily to compare your opinions on this occasion with my constitutional and legal powers, to take the advice of the attorney general of Pennsylvania, and I have the honor to enclose a copy of the letter in which his sentiments are expressed. From this document you will perceive, that, although any delay, consistent with the performance of the duties enjoined upon me, may be permitted, a delay, which will prevent the execution of the law, within the time prescribed, will not be justifiable. It is of importance, therefore, to know how long the temporary obstacles, which induced you to advise the suspension of the establishment at Presque Isle, are expected to continue: for, if they should not be shortly removed, I must either direct the commissioners to proceed in laying out the town, or (resorting to the alternative suggested by the attorney general) convene the Legislature upon the occasion. The latter measure, however, I shall not think it expedient to adopt, unless you expressly request it.

Though the title of the State to the jurisdiction and soil of the territory, on which she proposes to form her settlements, can admit of no just controversy, I would cheerfully, as far as my power extends, co-operate in any amicable proceeding to conciliate the minds of the Six Nations; but I have no authority to appoint a commissioner to treat with them upon the subject; and, indeed, the Secretary of War has misunderstood the purport of my conversation in that respect, since he ascribes to me an opinion, that, under the present circumstances, all differences may be accommodated by treaty. The truth is, that, if a sense of justice influenced the conduct of those Indians, no opposition would have been made to our improving the lands, which we had fairly bought, and the sale of which they have repeatedly acknowledged; and if they act (as I believe they do) under the direction and control of British agents, their opposition must be expected to last as long as the policy by which it is excited. If, however, sir, you should be pleased, on the part of the United States, to authorize a treaty to be held, I shall think it my duty to furnish you with all the documents that relate to the title of Pennsylvania, and its repeated recognitions by Cornplanter, and the other Indians who now presume to deny it.

*From A. J. Dallas to Jared Ingersoll, Esq. Attorney General, dated 14th July, 1794.*

DEAR SIR:

The Governor directs me to submit to your consideration, the various measures which have been pursued to carry into effect the act for laying out a town at Presqu' Isle, and the correspondence that has passed between the President and him, relatively to a suspension of the proceedings of the commissioners. When you have perused these documents, and the laws to which they refer, the Governor requests you will favor him with your opinion on the following proposition:

Can the Executive of Pennsylvania, under all the circumstances of the case, justify, in point of law, a continuance of the suspension of the proceedings of the commissioners, beyond a period that will admit of his carrying into effect the act for the laying out of the town at Presqu' Isle, as directed by the Legislature? It may be proper to remark, that, in order to ascertain the period alluded to, the Governor must eventually take into consideration the limitation of the time for allowing bounties to persons who shall actually settle in the proposed town; the limitation of the



time for which the corps is enlisted that furnishes the detachment to protect the commissioners; and the length of time that will probably be consumed in making the necessary surveys.

The Governor is anxious, as far as is consistent with the power and duty of his office, to promote the views of the General Government; and even should it be your opinion, that his authority, as an Executive magistrate, does not extend to the present object, he will propose convening the Legislature, if the President shall declare, in his opinion, the interests of the Union require it.

From the nature of the inquiry, you may readily suppose, that the Governor is anxious to receive an early answer.

*From Jared Ingersoll, Esq. to Alexander J. Dallas, Esq. dated*

PHILADELPHIA, July 18th, 1794.

DEAR SIR:

I have considered the question you state, as arising upon the law for laying out a town at Presqu' Isle. The terms in which you have expressed yourself, as well as the nature of my office, excludes from my view, in giving an opinion, every consideration of policy or expediency.

In point of law, I conceive, even under the circumstances mentioned in the communications enclosed, the Executive of Pennsylvania cannot justify omitting to conform to the directions of the act of the Legislature to which you refer, though the Executive may justify any delay, consistent with the performance of the duties enjoined, within the time prescribed.

The United States are at war with the Indians; a State may, therefore, raise troops; the law is not contrary to the federal constitution; the act is imperative in its language, and obligatory.

The circumstances you recite, the limitation for allowing bounties, &c. determine the period, beyond which, delay could not be justified.

If it shall appear that measures of a general concern will be defeated by pursuing the line of conduct pointed out by the Legislature, as the Governor has no dispensing power, convening the Legislature is the only remedy for the inconvenience.

*From Governor Mifflin to the President of the United States.*

PHILADELPHIA, 22d July, 1794.

SIR:

I have received a letter from the Secretary of War, dated the 21st instant, in which he informs me of your intention to appoint a commissioner, for the purpose of holding a treaty with the Six Nations, at Canandaigua, on the 15th of September next; and I shall, with all possible despatch, transmit, for your information, the documents relating to the title of Pennsylvania, so far as it is founded on a purchase of the Indian claims, within the limits particularly designated in the late council at Le Bœuf. But, at the same time, I wish it to be clearly understood, that, on my part, no assent is given to any proposition, that shall bring into doubt or controversy the rights of the State.

With respect to the opinion expressed by the Secretary of War, that, before the lapse of the period, during which, it is thought, the Presqu' Isle settlement may lawfully be suspended, there is sufficient time for holding a treaty with the Six Nations, if begun about the middle of September, I confess, my judgment has not dictated the same conclusion, from a consideration of the circumstances, which the case presents to my view. It is true, as the Secretary of War observes, that the enlistments of the troops do not expire till the 1st of December, and that they may be continued until the meeting of the Legislature, that is, until the 2d December; but, independent of the various casualties, which usually protract, and sometimes defeat, the project of Indian treaties, it must be obvious, that a knowledge of the result of a treaty, held at Canandaigua, on the 15th September, cannot reasonably be expected in this city, till the middle of October; that, after knowing the result, a fortnight or three weeks must necessarily be employed in notifying the commissioners, and in the prosecution of their journey to Presqu' Isle; and that, by a progress of this kind, the surveys must be executed (if any men, indeed, can then be found, so hardy as to undertake the task) in the depth of winter, and at the very moment when the authority for affording protection to the commissioners expires by its own limitation.

Nor is the subject without embarrassment, when we consider it in relation to the bounties offered to the persons who shall actually inhabit and reside in the town, on or before the 1st May, 1795: for, no residence can take place till the surveys are returned; and the surveys cannot be returned, under the circumstances which have been remarked, till the winter and its effects, have, probably, rendered it impracticable to travel to the settlement within the limited period. Not only may the public policy be thus defeated, but the hopes of many adventurous individuals will be totally destroyed.

Under the impression of these sentiments, I might be tempted to express a wish, that an earlier day should be fixed for holding the proposed treaty, but that a sense of duty suggests an impropriety in the slightest interference upon the occasion. I will content myself, therefore, with informing you, that I shall instruct the commissioners to hold themselves in readiness to perform their trust, as soon as the treaty is over; if the issue is favorable to our object, they will be authorized immediately to proceed to Presqu' Isle; but, if the Indians should menace opposition, directions will be given to wait for a further communication from me. In the latter event, I shall rely upon receiving the military aid of the General Government, not only to prevent any inconvenience that may arise from the expiration of the Pennsylvania enlistments, but effectually to subdue that resistance to the execution of the law of Pennsylvania, which its suspension, by giving time and confidence to our ill disposed neighbors, must naturally increase.

I am, &c. &c.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

*The Secretary of War to Alexander Dallas, Esq.*

SIR:

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 10, 1794.

I had the honor to lay before the President of the United States your letter of yesterday.

I am instructed to say, that, under the actual circumstances of the United States, it becomes a subject of serious consideration, whether any measures ought now to be urged, which are likely to produce disgust to our friends, the Six Nations, and to extend Indian hostilities.

*The Secretary of War to Governor Mifflin.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 24, 1794.

SIR:

The President of the United States has directed me to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of this date, enclosing a copy of the orders which you have issued, for draughting one thousand militia from the western brigades, to support the detachment which the Legislature of Pennsylvania directed to be formed, for the purpose of protecting the commissioners who were authorized to lay out a town at Presqu' Isle.

It was intimated to the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, by me, on the 10th instant, that, under the actual circumstances of the United States, it became a subject of serious consideration, whether any measures ought now to be urged, which are likely to produce disgust to our friends, the Six Nations, and to extend Indian hostilities.

Since then, information has been received from Israel Chapin, of which a copy is herein enclosed,\* by which it will be perceived, that affairs are critically circumstanced between the United States and the said Six Nations.

The President of the United States, on mature reflection, is of opinion that it is advisable to suspend, for the present, the establishment at Presqu' Isle. That, independent of certain other considerations of delicacy and moment, which, at no distant day, will be better appreciated, the high probability of an immediate rupture with the Six Nations, if the measure be persisted in, countenanced by the late information, and increased by the recent murder of one of their people, appears to him a solid reason for a temporary suspension.

*The Secretary of War to Governor Mifflin.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 27, 1794.

SIR:

I have the honor, in confidence, to transmit your Excellency the extract of a letter received from General Chapin, agent to the Six Nations, dated at Canandaigua, the 6th instant.

And I am instructed, by the President of the United States, to acknowledge, that yesterday, he received your favor of the 25th instant, and its enclosures, stating the measures which you have taken to suspend, for the present, the establishment at Presqu' Isle, conformably to his opinion transmitted to you on the 24th instant. This opinion was communicated on the same day your letter was received, announcing your orders for draughting a thousand militia, to support the establishment, and it was the result of a general view of the subject, founded upon the recent information which had been received.

[ENCLOSED.]

*Extract of a letter from General Chapin to the Secretary of War.*

Since the departure of my son, I have received more direct information of the British having began to erect a fort at Sandusky, than I had when I had the honor of writing to you by him. I therefore, at that time, only verbally directed him to acquaint you therewith.

They feel very much alarmed at the garrisoning of Presqu' Isle, and endeavor to persuade the Indians that it is only to secure the property of that place, which, they contend, was fraudulently purchased of a few individuals, and not of the nation. If the garrison destined for that place is not pretty strong, it is doubtful whether it will not be attacked.

*The Secretary of War to Governor Mifflin.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 14th June, 1794.

SIR:

I am instructed by the President, to reply to your letter of the 13th instant, and to inform you, that the reasons which induced the opinion communicated to you on the 24th ultimo, continue to operate, and have not been weakened by any information since received.

It must be obvious to you, sir, and seems even to result from some of the information which you have transmitted, that the proposed movement is an extremely delicate one, as it regards our peace with the Six Nations. To bring on hostilities with those nations, would be, at any time, a serious evil; considered in reference to the operations we are carrying on against the more western tribes, its possible mischiefs assume a still more important aspect. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the inconveniences which might ensue to those operations, by throwing, unexpectedly, in the midst of a campaign, so considerable an additional weight into the adverse scale.

When we take into the calculation, the precarious situation of our affairs with the Creek Indians, hostilities with the Six Nations might co-operate to place us too near the verge of a general Indian war, not to admonish us to particular caution in any step which might lead to those hostilities. It will be happy, indeed, if the circumstances which have already occurred, should be found not to have matured the evil beyond the possibility of a remedy.

A comprehensive view of the subject, cannot but include some considerations relative to the foreign nations in the neighborhood of the United States, in aid of the primary ones which respect the Indian nations. In the present delicate, if not critical, posture of our affairs, viewed in connexion with those of Europe, amidst negotiations, which concern not only our peace, but other great interests of our country, where every moment may be expected to bring some new developments, very cogent and urgent reasons, indeed, ought to be found in support of any measure which may have even a remote tendency further to embarrass or embroil.

If, in the execution of the measures which are in train, there shall be found reason for varying the opinion now delivered, it shall be communicated to you without delay; and you may be assured, that nothing shall be omitted to obviate the temporary obstacles which exist.

*The Secretary of War to Governor Mifflin.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 19, 1794.

SIR:

Your Excellency's letter of this date, addressed to the President of the United States, has been opened by me. The appearances up the Allegheny dictate that fort Franklin be reinforced. I have, accordingly, ordered this done, and Captain Crawford is to assume the command, and to have with him an abundant supply of provisions and military stores.

Besides this measure, some recruits, on their march to Pittsburg, amounting to about one hundred, will be detained there for the present, under Major Butler, excepting such a portion of them as shall be necessary to reinforce the garrison of fort Franklin.

In addition to this, I have forwarded five hundred arms and accoutrements, one hundred barrels of powder, and twenty tons of lead, to form a magazine at Pittsburg, to serve in case of an exigency.

\* See letter from General Chapin, dated 29th April, 1794; and proceedings of a council holden at Buffalo creek, 21st April, 1794, transmitted 21st May, 1794.

*The Secretary of War to Governor Mifflin.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 21, 1794.

SIR:

Your Excellency's letter to the President of the United States, dated the 14th instant, (which has been opened pursuant to general directions) was only delivered to Mr. Dandridge, the Secretary, on the 17th instant, at three o'clock. The departure of the President for Mount Vernon, on the morning of that day, prevents my being able to reply to it at this time under his immediate direction.

But antecedent communications with the President, on the transaction to which your letter relates, and my immediate agency in the matter, afford me the means of offering some explanatory observations, which I shall do in a spirit that will accord with what I know to be a primary rule of conduct on his part—the steady cultivation of harmony and cordiality between the officers of the general and particular Governments.

With regard to that sentence, in my letter of the 14th instant, which has been particularly adverted to, and which is in these words: "It will be happy, indeed, if the circumstances which have already occurred shall not be found to have matured the evil beyond the possibility of a remedy," it will, I hope, be sufficient to say, that it was a mere general reflection on the probable or possible tendency of the circumstances which had occurred; without intention of passing an opinion on the motives or reasons for the measure which had been pursued by the government of Pennsylvania, either in a legislative or an executive capacity. Among the circumstances alluded to, was the unfortunate coincidence of the murder of one of the Indians of the Six Nations, an ingredient which was mentioned in my letter of the 24th of May.

In order to avoid the inference of having acquiesced in the suggestion, I beg leave to add, that there is no evidence in the possession of this office which establishes the fact of a previously hostile disposition of the Six Nations.

Your Excellency appears to lay stress on the lateness of the communication of the President's opinion as to the expediency of suspending the proposed establishment.

In proportion to the validity of the considerations which support the right of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to project and make the establishment, was the delicacy of the interference of the United States. Whatever may have been the anticipations entertained of the effect of the measure, the situation seemed to require that an opinion should be deferred till the progress of the experiment had produced some indications of probable consequences. When this happened, the opinion was given. Had it been given sooner, it might, perhaps, have been deemed premature.

The rights of Pennsylvania in this case, and the obligations which are urged to exist on the part of the United States in relation to them, would be improperly made a question. But the fundamental principles of society, and the practice of all political communities, frequently concur in postponing the enjoyment of a particular right or interest of a part of a nation, to considerations respecting the safety or welfare of the whole nation; the propriety, then, of a temporary suspension, in the present instance, must depend on the weight of the reasons which dictate it.

The discussion how far the requisition or advice of the Executive of the United States can justify such a suspension, under the circumstances of the laws of Pennsylvania, is rendered more absolutely useless by your Excellency's determination, that, whatever may be the result, the establishment at Presqu' Isle will be suspended, until the President shall have varied the opinion which has been delivered. No arguments, I am persuaded, can be necessary to satisfy you, that, when he saw, or thought he saw, in a measure of a particular State, consequences endangering important interests of the Union, he discharged a duty in declaring to the Executive of that State an opinion that it was advisable to suspend the execution of the measure, leaving that opinion to be appreciated as it deserved.

The President of the United States cannot fail to do justice to the disposition which has produced the determination you have announced, to comply with his opinion.

No time will be lost, after the arrival of the President, in submitting to him your letter, and this reply; and, in the mean time, the attempts for obviating the temporary obstacles, are put in a train of execution.

*The Secretary of War to Governor Mifflin.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 24, 1794.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit, for your information, the enclosed extract of a letter from General Israel Chapin, this moment received.

*Extract of a letter from General Israel Chapin to the Secretary of War, dated*

CANANDAIGUA, June 12, 1794.

The council, which was to have been held at Venango, is to meet at Buffalo creek. I have already received three messages from the Indians, requesting my immediate attendance. I was in hopes that I might have been able to put off going until the return of my son, but this last message presses me, in the most earnest manner, to repair thither immediately, and I shall, accordingly, start to-morrow.

I am afraid of the consequences of the attempt to settle Presqu' Isle at present. The Indians do not acknowledge the validity of the Cornplanter's sale to Pennsylvania.

I shall inform you, by express, of the result of the treaty at Buffalo creek, on my return to Canandaigua.

*The Secretary of War to Governor Mifflin.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 15, 1794.

SIR:

I have the honor to transmit, for your information, a letter from General Chapin, Agent to the Six Nations, dated at fort Le Bœuf, the 26th of June, last. You informed me that you had had transmitted to you the proceedings of the council at Buffalo creek, and the answer thereto, by Mr. Ellicot and Captain Denny, dated at Le Bœuf, the 26th of June.

*General Chapin to the Secretary of War, dated*

FORT LE BŒUF, June 26, 1794.

HON. SIR:

I left Canandaigua on the 13th of this month, in order to attend a council at Buffalo creek. I waited more than a week, after my first notification, for my son to return, that I might have an answer from you; but the chiefs, growing impatient, kept constantly sending runners. I was obliged to set out at last, to my great disappointment, without having received any information from you. On my arrival I found the minds of the Indians much agitated with regard to the movements made by the State of Pennsylvania. On the 18th I met the Indians in general council, the proceedings of which you find here enclosed. At this council I was requested to go to Presqu' Isle, (as you will see by their speech) to desire those people to move off who had made encroachments on their lands. I found that no excuse would answer, and was finally obliged to comply with their request. On the 19th I left Buffalo creek,

accompanied by a deputation from the Six Nations, consisting of sixteen chiefs and warriors. I arrived at Presqu' Isle on the 24th, but, finding no person there, I proceeded to Le Bœuf, where I found Mr. Ellicot, and Captain Denny. After informing those gentlemen the business I came upon, I gave them a copy of the speech which had been delivered to me at Buffalo creek. The answer which they made I send you, enclosed with the other speeches.

Although the minds of the Six Nations are much disturbed at the injuries which they say they have sustained, they are still opposed to war, and wish, if possible, to live in peace with the United States. They are much opposed to the establishing of garrisons in this quarter, as they think it will involve them in a war with the hostile Indians. They are likewise displeased with having those lands surveyed, which they say were not legally purchased. In this critical situation, would it not be best to have commissioners appointed to treat with the Six Nations, that all difficulties may be settled which subsist between them and the United States, especially those that regard the State of Pennsylvania? And it is the wish of the Six Nations, that this treaty should be holden at their council fire at Buffalo creek.

I shall return by the way of Buffalo creek, where I expect to hold another council; the proceedings of which I shall forward to you as speedily as possible.

*Proceedings of a Council holden at Buffalo creek, by the Six Nations of Indians, on the 18th of June, 1794.*

Present: The principal sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the Six Nations. From the United States, General Chapin, with his attendants. From Upper Canada, Mr. Johnson, the Interpreter of the Indian Department; Captain O'Bail, Speaker; Mr. Horatio Jones, Interpreter.

BROTHER: (addressed to General Chapin.) We are thankful that you have attended to the call of the Six Nations, and that you have been preserved by the Great Spirit, &c.

BROTHER: (addressed to the President of the United States.) I have for a long time aimed at the good of both parties. I have paid you different compliments, as that of brother, father; and now I call you friend. We were pleased when we heard that you were appointed to have the chief command of the United States.

BROTHER: The Great Spirit has so ordered, that every nation shall have some one to be at their head. You are to look over your people, and settle all difficulties; and we, the Six Nations, expect that you will not be unmindful of us, but see that we have justice done, as well as your own people.

BROTHER: We, the Six Nations, now call upon you. We pay no attention to what has heretofore been done by Congress: their proceedings we consider as unjust. We wish for nothing but justice, and hope that it will take place.

BROTHER: You know our demands; we ask but for a small piece of land; and we trust, as you are a great man, you can easily grant our request.

BROTHER: You wish to be a free people in this country, who have come from the other side of the water and settled here; and why should not we, whose forefathers have lived and died here, and always had possession of the country?

BROTHER: We, the Six Nations, have determined on the boundary we want established, and it is the warriors who now speak.

BROTHER: You have the map on which the boundaries are marked out which we want established.

BROTHER: We want room for our children. It will be hard for them not to have a country to live in after that we are gone.

BROTHER: It is not because that we are afraid of dying that we have been so long trying to bring about a peace. We now call upon you for an answer, as Congress and their commissioners have oftentimes deceived us; and, if these difficulties are not removed, the consequences will be bad.

This speech was delivered with eight strings of black and white wampum.

BROTHER: We have opened this fire upon two different kinds of business; we wish you to listen to them with attention.

BROTHER: We are in distress. A number of our warriors are missing, and we know not what is become of them, but suppose that they have been killed by the Americans.

BROTHER: Last fall an Indian chief, by the name of Big Tree, left this country, and went to the American army in a friendly manner, and we have since been informed that he was killed by them.

BROTHER: The other day a very unfortunate circumstance happened. One of our nephews (of the Delaware nation) was killed at Venango, by a party of warriors, who were going on to Presqu' Isle, without giving us any notice whatever.

BROTHER: You are sensible this must be very hard, to have a man killed in time of peace, one who was sitting easy and peaceable on his seat. You certainly would complain if we were to treat you in the same manner.

BROTHER: It has been customary, when one person has killed another, that those who have done the injury go to the injured party and make satisfaction.

BROTHER: We told you that we had two pieces of business to attend to; we hope that you will pay attention to both.

BROTHER: The establishing a garrison at Presqu' Isle may occasion many accidents, as the Southern Indians may do injury, and we may be blamed without a cause.

This speech was delivered with ten strings of black wampum.

Captain O'Bail then addressed himself to General Chapin:

BROTHER: When we sent for you, it was because we placed great dependence upon you; we hoped that you would not fail of doing every thing in your power to assist us.

BROTHER: We now expect that you will exert yourself in removing those people off our lands. We know very well what they are come on for, and we want them pushed back.

BROTHER: We now wish that you and Mr. Johnson would go together and remove those people back over the line which we have marked out upon the map.

BROTHER: If those people remove off immediately, we shall consider them as our friends; if not, we shall consider them as no friends.

BROTHER: We expect that you and Mr. Johnson will go together on this business, and we shall send two warriors to attend you; and we expect that you will bring us word when you return.

This speech was delivered with six strings of black and white wampum.

General Chapin's answer to the speech delivered by Captain O'Bail.

BROTHERS: I have heard the speeches which you have delivered, with great attention, and have thought seriously on what you have communicated to me. You have requested me to go to Presqu' Isle. As I wish to do every thing in my power, both for the United States and the Indians, I shall comply with your request.

BROTHERS: I can do no more to those people than to give them my advice. It is not in my power to drive them off.

BROTHERS: You must be sensible that I am obliged to look to the interest both of the United States and the Indians, and consider myself as accountable to both for whatever I do, and you may depend that, when I return, I will give you a just account of whatever takes place.

BROTHERS: This business is of a serious nature, and is really a matter of importance to both parties. You may rest assured that the President is your friend, and that he will pay attention to the business which you laid before him.

BROTHERS: You observed that you would send ten warriors to attend me. I must also request that you would send two of your chiefs.

**BROTHERS:** The business which you desire me to do, is what I had little thought of. I am unprepared for the journey; however, as I informed you that I would go, I shall set out immediately.

**BROTHERS:** The speeches which you have delivered for the President, shall be sent on as soon as is convenient, and you may shortly expect to receive an answer.

*The Secretary of War to Governor Mifflin.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 17, 1794.

SIR:

The letter which your Excellency addressed to the President of the United States on the 15th instant, while it presents a new aspect of our affairs with the Six Nations, does not remove the suspicion originally entertained. The proceedings at Buffalo creek on the 26th June, 1794, speak in threatening language the dissatisfaction of those tribes with the new settlements proposed. A second interview was had between General Chapin and them, at the same place, on his return from Le Bœuf, on the 4th instant, and a copy of the minutes is now enclosed. The answer of Mr. Ellicot and Captain Denny could not move their purpose, as formerly expressed, and General Chapin, on the 29th of the same month, writes to me that, "if he had not proceeded to Le Bœuf, and the party of surveyors, &c. had proceeded, he believes that blood would have been shed." We cannot well doubt, therefore, that the immediate prosecution of the establishment at Presqu' Isle would call that confederacy to arms against the United States.

If, indeed, sir, no hope remained of quieting them, or, at least, of preventing them from joining the hostile nations, forbearance might perhaps be misplaced. But General Chapin, whose duty requires him to attend minutely to those people in particular, and who, by enjoying their confidence, possesses full opportunity to be well informed, has delivered this opinion in his letter of the 26th ultimo: "Although the minds of the Six Nations are much disturbed at the injuries which they say they have sustained, they are still opposed to war, and wish, if possible, to live in peace with the United States. They are much opposed to the establishing of garrisons in this quarter, as they think it will involve them in a war with the hostile Indians. They are likewise displeas'd at having their lands surveyed, which, they say, were not legally purchased." On the 9th instant he adds: "Their main anxiety is, at present, respecting the settlement at Presqu' Isle, as, they say, they have not fairly sold the land; the lines I described to you last winter are strongly adhered to by them, and, if the party at Le Bœuf proceed to erect garrisons at Presqu' Isle, it will immediately call the attention of the hostile Indians that way, and would, in a short time, involve the Six Nations in a war which they wish to avoid. They wish to continue in a state of neutrality, if possible."

In both these letters, sir, General Chapin urges the appointment of commissioners, who may treat on behalf of the United States and Pennsylvania, with the Six Nations; and he is of opinion, that such an appointment would answer valuable purposes. Mr. Ellicot, who has been employed by Pennsylvania, thinks that all differences may be accommodated by treaty. Such, also, I understood, were the sentiments of your Excellency, in a conversation which I had the honor of holding with you, on Tuesday last.

The President of the United States, therefore, instructs me to inform you, that he is ready to nominate a commissioner, for opening a treaty with the Six Nations, at the Genesee river, on the fifteenth day of September next; that he shall have it in charge to endeavor, in conjunction with a commissioner from Pennsylvania, to adjust all differences against the establishment at Presqu' Isle, and that the Department of War shall make all necessary arrangements, upon this head, with your Excellency. It is not his intention, by this proposition, to cast any doubts upon the validity of the Pennsylvania title; that must stand upon its own ground. But, under the present circumstances, it must occur to you, sir, that the peaceable accommodation of the heart-burning of the Six Nations, is an object of great importance.

There are other considerations, of real weight, which have been already communicated to you; these, too, have lost nothing of their force from late events.

It was never contemplated by the President of the United States to carry his opinions upon this subject farther than to state them as strongly as they were conceived by him. It is with your Excellency to compare them with your constitutional and legal powers. If our enemies should receive so powerful an accession as the Six Nations, the General Government cannot be reproached for inattention, or a neglect to make full representation of the danger to be apprehended.

*The following are the proceedings of a General Council of the Six Nations, holden at Buffalo Creek, on the fourth of July, 1794.*

**CLEAR SKY** (an Onondaga chief) first spoke: He thanked the Great Spirit for the preservation of those who had been sent with the message to Le Bœuf. He then observed, that they had appointed Captain O'Bail, a Seneca chief, to be their speaker.

The speech of Captain O'BAIL:

General Chapin, Mr. Johnson, and the whole deputation, attend; I thank the Great Spirit that you have all returned in safety.

Captain O'BAIL then addressed himself to General Washington, and said, now I call you friend. We, the Six Nations, ever since the beginning of the world, have had love for one another. We have now assembled concerning the business we sent to Presqu' Isle, as we have received an answer to the message which we sent to that place.

The answer we had brought from the men at Le Bœuf, relates every thing that has taken place since the peace; they mention every payment that has been made, and the greater part they have told us is not true.

General Washington, attend; what gives us room for the making of so many speeches, is, because you relate all the former deceptions which have been used.

There is but one word that was said at Le Bœuf that makes me glad, which was, that they had given me land; but, to complete my wishes, I desire that the whole Six Nations might have land given them also.

General Washington, I depend upon you to gratify our request, and that will make my mind easy: for sometimes I hear that I am going to flee from my seat for the injuries I have done. These reflections make me so unhappy, that I am almost tempted to die with the Six Nations.

**BROTHER:** We are as determined now, as we were before, that the line shall remain. We have fully considered on the boundary we have marked out; we know all that we have received, from time to time, and we think, if you establish this line, it will make us about even.

**BROTHER:** If you do not comply with our request, we shall determine on something else, as we are a free people. **BROTHER:** We are determined to be a free people. You know, General Washington, that we, the Six Nations, have always been able to defend ourselves, and we are still determined to maintain our freedom.

**BROTHER:** You must not suspect that any other nation corrupts our minds; the only thing that can corrupt our minds, is not to grant our request.

**BROTHER:** If this favor is not granted, I wish that my son may be sent back with the answer, and tell me which side he means to join; if he wishes to join that side, he is at liberty.

General Washington, I wish you would give an answer as soon as is possible to this speech; and I desire the messengers who bring it, should come to this place.

And you, General Chapin, stand between the Indians and the United States; we wish that you would give every assistance in your power to forward the business.—[This speech was delivered with eight strings of black and white wampum.]

## General CHAPIN's answer:

BROTHERS: I am happy the Great Spirit has preserved us again to meet in council. I have heard with attention the speeches which you have made, and have had committed to writing; they have since been explained to you, and you see there is no deception.

BROTHERS: I give it as my opinion, that General Washington is a firm friend to the Six Nations, and that he will not, by any means, see you wronged.

BROTHERS: I am happy to hear that you think yourselves a free independent people; that is the case with the United States; they are free and independent, and wish to take you by the hand as brothers. It seems now that there is some dispute, but the only way to have it settled is to come together, face to face, and talk the matter over candidly.

BROTHERS: I shall now return home, and I shall forward your speech to General Washington as soon as is possible. In the meantime, I hope you will sit easy on your seats, until you hear General Washington's voice.

BROTHERS: I always consider myself accountable to the Indians, as well as the United States. I aim at the good of both parties, and you may rest assured that nothing in my power shall be wanting to assist you. I shall prepare a copy of your determinations, to be sent on to Le Bœuf, provided you send runners for that purpose.

N. B. The mention made of lands by Captain O'Bail, has reference to Mr. Ellicot's conversation in the council at fort Le Bœuf. Mr. Ellicot, after relating the particulars concerning the treaty at fort Harmar, informed the Indians that the State of Pennsylvania had made three grants of land to Captain O'Bail.

*The Secretary of War to Governor Mifflin.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 21, 1794.

SIR:

Your Excellency's letter of the 18th instant, to the President of the United States, has been duly received. It certainly was not his intention that personal embarrassment should be produced to you, from the suspension of the establishment at Presqu' Isle. It has been uniformly avowed to your Excellency to be his wish, that it should be suspended until the efforts should be made for removing the temporary obstacles. The expression of this wish was a duty, inasmuch as an harmonious co-operation of the State Governments with the General Government must always be necessary, upon subjects in which the movements of the former might essentially counteract those of the latter. Still the President does not mean to press upon your Excellency the slightest infringement of your constitutional or legal powers: for, while he himself pursues the constitution and laws of the United States, he shall always observe respect to those of individual States. Whatever responsibility, therefore, is attached to this communication of this desire to your Excellency, he readily assumes, and he deems it a fortunate circumstance that you have thought yourself hitherto at liberty to comply with it.

How long the temporary obstacles to this settlement will continue, it is impossible to determine; they will certainly last until the campaign against the Western Indians is ended, unless the disposition of the Six Nations should be materially changed. Neither your Excellency, nor the attorney general, have defined the period to which the suspension may, under the circumstances stated by him, be legally continued; but, as the enlistments of the troops do not expire before the first of December, and may be continued longer, and as the period for allowing bounties for actual settlement does not close before the first of next May, it is evident there is sufficient time for holding a treaty with the Six Nations, if begun about the middle of September. A commissioner will attend for that purpose, in behalf of the United States, at Canandaigua, on the fifteenth day of September next, and those tribes will be invited thither. As the object will be not only to prevent them from engaging in hostilities against us, but also to procure an acquiescence in the settlement proposed, it may be naturally expected, that their objections to the purchase will stand very forward.

It might prove beneficial if a commissioner could be sent from Pennsylvania; but it appears from your Excellency's last letter that this cannot be done. Our commissioner will, therefore, take charge of the documents which you have promised, and will use his best endeavors to quiet the discontents. He will not be authorized to make any concessions injurious to the title, nor to give expectation of any further compensation from your State. If he cannot accommodate the dispute under the influence of the United States, by proper explanations, he will report the result, as the basis of ulterior measures.

*Copy of a letter from the Secretary of War to the Attorney General of the United States.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, March 31, 1794.

SIR:

The Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has transmitted to the President of the United States the enclosed copy of a law, for raising four companies of troops for the port of Philadelphia, and the defence of the frontiers. And, as it may be considered by some persons as a matter of doubt, whether this measure of Pennsylvania is not incompatible with the constitution of the United States, I am instructed to request your opinion thereon in writing.

*Answer of the Attorney General.*

April 3d, 1794.

SIR:

By your letter of the 31st ultimo, I understand that a question is made, how far the measures contemplated by an act of Pennsylvania, for securing the trade, peace, and safety, of the port of Philadelphia, and defending the western frontiers of the Commonwealth, are consistent with the constitution of the United States. I have, therefore, considered that question with attention, and have now the honor to state to you my opinion, agreeably to your request.

The act authorizes the Governor to raise by enlistment, from the militia of the Commonwealth, three companies of riflemen, and one of artillery, to serve under his orders and instructions for eight months, and from thence, until the next meeting of the Legislature, if, in his opinion, the war in Europe, or on the frontiers, shall require it. The artillery company is to be stationed at fort Mifflin, for the purpose of securing the trade, peace, and safety, of the port of Philadelphia—a measure which the preamble declares to be expedient. “during the continuance of the war which now rages in Europe;” the rest of the companies (with a detachment of the artillery, which the Governor is empowered to make) are to be stationed for the defence of the Western frontiers, and to protect the infant settlements at Presqu' Isle.

By the constitution of the United States, it is provided, “that no State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace,” &c. This restriction on the power of keeping troops, I am of opinion, is not absolute, but that the qualification intended by the terms “in time of peace,” extends to it as well as to that of keeping ships of war. There is, therefore, I apprehend, nothing in the constitution which prohibits the several States from keeping troops in time of war.

So far, then, as the act in question contemplates the defence of the Western frontiers against the hostilities of the Indians now at war with the United States, I consider it as within the strictest limits of the constitution. Such measures have heretofore been pursued by the State of Pennsylvania, without objection, and a *practical* construction of this clause has thus been given.

The rest of the act, however, is questionable, and it is not without some hesitation that I decide upon it. The *spirit* of a prohibition to keep troops in time of peace, seems to imply, that the troops raised and kept in time of war, ought to be raised, kept, and employed, with reference to the objects of that war. It is easy to perceive that the dangers which the people of the United States intended to guard against by this prohibition, will exist, if on every breaking out of Indian or other hostilities, the members of the confederacy may raise troops, and build ships of war for any object but that of repelling such hostilities. But, although these consequences are evident, I cannot find in the instrument itself, any thing which prohibits the States from stationing and employing the troops which they have a right to keep in time of war, in such manner as they please, so that it be within their respective limits, and do not interfere with the Federal arrangements. I consider all those clauses in the constitution, which restrict the powers of the several States, as subject to a *strict construction*; and, that these prohibitions are not to be extended by implication, nor the natural and obvious meaning of the words to be enlarged by a consideration of inconveniences which may possibly result from adhering to it.

But, I am also of opinion, that so much of the act as goes to authorize the Governor to keep up those companies, if the circumstances of the *war in Europe* should, in his opinion, require it, is not compatible with the constitution of the United States. If peace shall be made with the Indians, and the United States be engaged in no other war, these troops cannot be constitutionally kept up by Pennsylvania, although the war should continue to rage in Europe.

WM. BRADFORD.

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 53.

[2d Session.

### GENERAL VIEW.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DECEMBER 1, 1794.

Mr. PARKER, from the committee to whom was referred that part of the speech of the President of the United States which relates to the improvement of harmony with the Indian nation, within the limits of the United States, by fixing and conducting of trading houses, made the following report:

That, in their opinion, it would conduce to the honor and prosperity of the United States to cultivate peace with the Indian tribes.

It appears to your committee that the establishment of trading houses, under the direction of the President of the United States, would have a tendency to produce this laudable and benevolent effect. From the best information the committee can obtain, they are induced to believe a sum, not exceeding one hundred thousand dollars, would answer the purpose. The articles to be purchased by an agent or agents, and sold at such posts or places as may be the most convenient for the several nations of Indians within the limits of the United States. That the agent or agents to be appointed should receive stated salaries for their services, to take an oath or affirmation for the faithful discharge of his or their duties, and moreover give bond and sufficient security for the due performance thereof. It should be the duty of the agent or agents to make up their accounts half yearly, and transmit them to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. That, as this transaction is intended to conciliate the affection of the Indians, it should not be the object of Government to profit thereby; hence a stated price should be fixed on the articles to be sold, having regard to the profit or loss on the articles received in payment, in such manner that, although nothing is to be made by the Government, the capital should be kept entire.

The committee therefore submit the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That one hundred thousand dollars be appropriated, for the purpose of carrying on trade with the Indian nations.

*Resolved*, That a bill or bills be brought in, conformably with the above report, to be in force for and during the term of ———, and no longer.

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 54.

[2d Session.

### NORTHWESTERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, DECEMBER 17, 1794.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, December 17th, 1794.

SIR: The President of the United States has instructed me to communicate, in confidence, to Congress, the despatches from Major General Wayne, herewith transmitted, dated the 17th of October, and 12th of November, 1794, which were received last evening.

I have the honor to be, &c.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War*.

[Addressed to the Presiding Officers of both Houses of Congress.]

*Copy of a letter from Major General Wayne to the Secretary of War.*

HEAD QUARTERS, Miami Villages, 17th October, 1794.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose a duplicate of my letter of the 20th ultimo, together with the general return of the legion, and an invoice of stores and medicine wanted in the hospital department.

The great number of sick belonging to the mounted volunteers, added to the sick and wounded of the legion, has exhausted all the stores forwarded for the year 1794, so that I shall be under the necessity of ordering the Surgeon General to purchase a temporary supply at fort Washington, at an advanced but current price, at that place.



The Quartermaster General is directed to make out a return of the stores issued, on hand, and wanting, in his department. Major Burbeck has similar orders for the Ordnance Department, which will be transmitted by the first opportunity.

The unfortunate death of Mr. Robert Elliot, the acting contractor, who was killed by the Indians on the 6th instant, near fort Hamilton, added to the deranged state of that department, has made it my duty to order the Quartermaster General to supply every defect on the part of the contractors, and at their expense, in behalf of the United States, to be settled at the treasury at a future day.

The posts in contemplation at Chillicothe, or Picque town, on the Miami of the Ohio, at Lormie's stores, on the north branch, and at the old Tawa town, on the Au Glaize, are with a view to facilitate the transportation of supplies by water, and which, to a certainty, will reduce the land carriage of dead or heavy articles, at proper seasons, viz: late in the fall, and early in the spring, to thirty-five miles, and in times of freshets, to twenty in place of 175, by the most direct road to Grand Glaize, and 150 to the Miami villages, from fort Washington, on the present route, which will eventually be abandoned, as the one now mentioned will be found the most economical, and surest mode of transport, in time of war, and decidedly so in time of peace.

The mounted volunteers of Kentucky marched from this place on the morning of the 14th instant, for fort Washington, where they are to be mustered and discharged, agreeably to the instructions mentioned in the enclosed duplicates of letters to Major General Scott and Captain Edward Butler, upon the occasion.

The conduct of both officers and men of this corps, in general, has been better than any militia I have heretofore seen in the field for so great a length of time. But it would not do to retain them any longer, although our present situation, as well as the term for which they were enrolled, would have justified their being continued in service until the 14th of November, in order to escort the supplies from fort Washington to the head of the line, whilst the regular troops were employed in the completion of the fortifications, and keeping the enemy in check, so as to prevent them from insulting the convoys; but they were home-sick. All this I am now obliged to perform with the skeleton of the legion, as the body is daily wasting away from the expiration of the enlistments of the soldiery. Nor is it improbable that we shall yet have to fight for the protection of our convoys and posts. It is therefore to be regretted that the bill in contemplation, for the completion of the legion, as reported by the committee of the House of Representatives, was not passed into a law in the early part of last session of Congress.

The enclosed estimate will demonstrate the mistaken policy and bad economy of substituting mounted volunteers, in place of regular troops; and unless effectual measures are immediately adopted by both Houses, for raising troops to garrison the Western posts, we have fought, bled, and conquered, in vain; the fertile country that we are now in possession of, will again become a range to the hostile Indians of the West, who, meeting with no barrier, the frontier inhabitants will fall an easy prey to a fierce and savage enemy, whose tender mercies are cruelty; and who will improve the opportunity to desolate and lay waste all the settlements on the margin of the Ohio, and which they will be able to effect with impunity, unless some speedy and proper measures are adopted to re-engage the remnant of the legion. The present pay, and scanty ration, will not induce the soldiery to continue in service after the period for which they are now enlisted, and which will expire, almost in toto, between this and the beginning of May.

I had the honor to transmit you a copy of the deposition of a certain \_\_\_\_\_, a Canadian prisoner, taken in the action of the 20th of August; his brother arrived at this place on the 13th instant, with a flag and three American prisoners, which he redeemed from the Indians, with a view of liberating. Enclosed is his narrative, given upon oath, by which you will see, that Governor Simcoe, Colonel McKee, and the famous Captain Brandt, are at this moment tampering with the hostile chiefs, and will undoubtedly prevent them from concluding a treaty of peace with the United States, if possible. I shall, however, endeavor to counteract them through the means of \_\_\_\_\_, who has a considerable influence with the principal hostile chiefs, and whose interests it will eventually be, to promote a permanent peace. But, in order to facilitate and effect this desirable object, we ought to produce a conviction to them, as well as to the British agents, that we are well prepared for war; hence I have been induced to bestow much labor upon the two forts, of which the enclosed are draughts, and I am free to pronounce them the most respectable now in the occupancy of the United States, even in their present situation, which is not quite perfect as yet. The British, however, are not to learn, that they may possibly be left without garrisons; they well know the term for which the veterans of the legion are engaged, as well from our laws and proceedings of Congress, as from our deserters, and that no provision is yet made to supply their places; circumstances that Mr. Simcoe will not fail to impress most forcibly upon the minds of the Indians, with whom he is now in treaty; and to hold up to them a flattering prospect of soon possessing those posts, and their lost country, with ease and certainty.

I have thought it my duty to mention those facts to you at this crisis, to the end that Congress may be early and properly impressed with the critical situation of the Western country, so as to adopt measures for retaining the posts, and for the protection of the frontier inhabitants, previously to the expiration of the term of service for which the troops have been enlisted.

I have the honor to be, &c.

ANTHONY WAYNE.

Major General KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

*Estimate of the expense attending the raising and arming 2,000 non commissioned officers and privates, regular troops, for three years.*

Ten dollars bounty, and ten dollars per stand of arms, equal to twenty dollars each man	-	\$40,000
Clothing for 2,000 non-commissioned officers and privates, for one year, at 30 dollars per suit,	-	60,000
Subsistence for 2,000, four months, averaged 4 dollars per month, per man,	-	32,000
Pay for 192 non-commissioned officers, for four months; say 12 serjeant-majors, and quartermaster serjeants, at 7 dollars, each, per month,	-	336
84 serjeants, at 6 do.	-	2,016
96 corporals, at 5 do.	-	1,920

1,808 privates, at 3 dollars per man, per month, for four months,

Balance in favor of Federal troops,

\$157,968

107,028

\$264,996

By a fair and candid comparative view of this plain and simple statement of facts, every unprejudiced mind, and every real friend to the true interests of America, must be convinced of the false and idle policy of substituting a precarious auxiliary force, of two thousand volunteers, for four months only, in place of a permanent regular force, of equal numbers, raised, armed, and equipped, for three years, completely clothed for one year, and paid and subsisted for four months, the time for which the volunteers are to serve; besides leaving a balance in the treasury of 107,028 dollars, which will now be expended on the mounted volunteers, for four months service, leaving the frontiers totally unprotected, in the course of a few months more, as nearly one third part of the troops' term of service will expire by the last of December, and almost the whole, on or before the middle of May next. This is a true but melancholy statement of facts.

It may be asked, how this business could have been remedied? The answer is plain and decisive, viz: by giving an additional bounty of ten dollars to each recruit, and one dollar per month additional pay, with a reasonable increase of the rations. This, in the course of three years, would only have amounted to 92,000 dollars, which would have ensured two thousand regular troops for that term; besides leaving a balance then in the treasury of 15,028

dollars, in favor of two thousand regular troops for three years, in place of that number of volunteers for four months only.

Perhaps 200 acres of land, in the vicinity of the posts, might be substituted in place of the ten dollars additional bounty, to each recruit, with better effect.

*Estimate of expense attending the raising and paying of two thousand mounted volunteers, of Kentucky, for four months, exclusive of forage and subsistence.*

	MONTHS.	DOLLS. PER MONTH.	DOLLS.
1 Major General	4	181	724
2 Brigadier Generals	"	119	952
6 Majors	"	65	1,560
1 Adjutant General	"	75	300
1 Quartermaster General	"	75	300
1 Surgeon General	"	75	300
2 Surgeons	"	60	480
4 Mates	"	45	720
1 Paymaster General	"	75	300
4 Aides-de-camp	"	34	544
12 Battalion Adjutants and Qr. masters	"	10	480
24 Captains	"	55	5,280
24 Lieutenants	"	41	3,936
24 Ensigns	"	35	3,360
192 Non-commissioned officers	"	37½	28,800
1,808 Privates	"	30	216,960
			<i>Dollars,</i> 264,996

#### MIAMI VILLAGE, *sci.*

Personally appeared before me, a certain Indian trader, and native of Canada, as flag, to redeem his brother, in consequence of a letter from the said ———, from Grand Glaize, wrote by my permission, which he received by the hand of an Indian, about the 24th ultimo, who declares, and saith, that Governor Simcoe, Colonel McKee, and Captain Brandt, arrived at fort Miami, at the foot of the Rapids, on the 30th ultimo: that *Brandt* had with him one hundred Indians, Mohawks and Messasages.

That Governor Simcoe sent for the chiefs of the different hostile Indians, and invited them to meet him at the mouth of Detroit river, eighteen miles below Detroit, to hold a treaty; that Simcoe, Colonel McKee, and Captain Brandt, together with Blue Jacket, Backongelies, the Little Turtle, Captain Jonny, and other chiefs of the Delawares, Miamies, Shawanese, Tawas, and Pattawatamies, set out accordingly, for the place assigned for the treaty, about the first instant: that the Indians are well and regularly supplied with provisions from the British magazines, at a place called Swan creek, near Lake Erie.

That, previously to the arrival of Governor Simcoe, Blue Jacket, the Shawanese chief, two of the principal chiefs of the Tawas, and the principal chiefs of the Pattawatamies, had agreed to accompany him, the said ———, with a flag to this place.

That Blue Jacket informed him, after the arrival of Simcoe, he would not now go with him, until after the intended treaty; but that his wishes, at present, were for peace; that he did not know what propositions Governor Simcoe had to make them, but that he and all the chiefs would go and hear; and, in the interim, desired him, the said ———, to inquire of General Wayne in what manner the chiefs should come to him, and whether they would be safe, in case they should determine on the measure, after the treaty with Simcoe, and after the said ——— should return to Detroit: that, had it not been for the arrival of Governor Simcoe, Colonel McKee, and Captain Brandt, with his Indians, he is confident the chiefs, already mentioned, would have accompanied him to this place, at this time, as before related.

#### *Copy of a letter from Major General Anthony Wayne to the Secretary of War.*

HEAD QUARTERS, GREENVILLE, 12th November, 1794.

SIR:

I have the honor to transmit you a duplicate of my letter of the 17th ultimo, from the Miami villages, and to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from Colonel Alexander Hamilton, of the 25th of September, enclosing an extract of a letter from Mr. Jay, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, at the court of London, dated the 12th July, 1794; also a letter from Major Stagg, of the 4th ultimo.

The enclosed copy of a correspondence between the contractor's agents, the Quartermaster General, and myself, will inform you of additional measures taken to obtain supplies for the support of the respective posts, and the skeleton of the legion. I have the honor to enclose copies of certain overtures and speeches, from the *Wyandots*, settled at, and in the vicinity of, *Sandusky*, together with my answer; what the result may be is yet very problematical; they have, however, left two hostages with me (one of them a young chief) until the return of the flag that went from this place on the 25th instant, and promised to be here again in the course of twenty days, with an answer to my propositions.

From the enclosed narrative of ———, a half-breed, and brother to ———, (whose interest I have made it to be true and faithful to the United States) it would appear that the savages are playing an artful game; they have most certainly met Governor Simcoe, Colonel McKee, and Captain Brandt, at the mouth of Detroit river, at the proposed treaty of hostile Indians; and, at the same time, sent a deputation to me, with the overtures already mentioned, as coming from only part of one nation; it is, however, understood, by all, that there shall be a temporary suspension of hostilities for *one moon*, say until the 22d instant: in fact, it has been a continued suspension, upon their part, ever since the action of the 20th of August, except a few light trifling predatory parties; it's true, we always moved superior to insult, which may account for this apparent inactivity.

Permit me now to inform you that the skeleton of the legion arrived at this place, on the 2d instant, in high health and spirits, after an arduous and very fatiguing, but a glorious tour of ninety-seven days; during which period, we marched and countermarched upwards of three hundred miles, through the heart of an enemy's country, cutting a wagon road the whole way, besides making and establishing those two very respectable fortifications, the draughts of which were enclosed in my letter of the 17th ultimo.

As soon as circumstances will admit, the posts contemplated at Picque town, Lormie's stores, and at the old Tawa towns, at the head of navigation, on Au Glaize river, will be established for the reception, and as the depositories, for stores and supplies, by water carriage, which is now determined to be perfectly practicable, in proper seasons; I am, therefore, decidedly of opinion, that *this* route ought to be totally abandoned, and *that* adopted, as the most economical, sure, and certain mode of supplying those important posts, at Grand Glaize and the Miami villages, and to facilitate an effective operation towards the *Detroit* and *Sandusky*, should that measure eventually be found necessary; add to this, that it would afford a much better chain for the general protection of the frontiers, which,

with a block house at the landing place, on the *Wabash*, eight miles southwest of the post at the Miami villages, would give us possession of all the portages between the heads of the navigable waters of the Gulfs of Mexico and St. Lawrence, and serve as a barrier between the different tribes of Indians, settled along the margins of the rivers emptying into the creek, as mentioned in the enclosed copy of instructions, of the 22d ultimo, to Col. Hamtramck.

But, sir, all this labor, and expense of blood and treasure, will be rendered abortive, and of none effect, unless speedy and efficient measures are adopted by the National Legislature, to raise troops to garrison those posts.

As I have already been full and explicit upon this subject, in my letter of the 17th ultimo, I shall not intrude further upon your time and patience, than to assure you of the high esteem and regard with which I have the honor to be, &c.

*Copy of a letter from — to Major General Wayne, dated*

SANDUSKY, 17th September, 1794.

BROTHERS:

I send you the extract of a speech which the chiefs and warriors was to have sent you, if the evil advice had not been heard to; after all the plan I had proposed to them was finished, they, then, took it into consideration that it would be proper to let their confederates know, at the Miami river. They received an answer from them to this purport: "Elder Brothers, we have received your speech; you say that you are just upon the point of sending speeches to the Americans. We are happy to think that you thought proper to let us know. I now request of you to drop that; you must not believe the Americans, for they only wish to decoy us into a snare, with their fine speeches they have frequently sent us. We should listen to what our father says to us, as he is now arrived, and, also, that the Five Nations are coming to this Miami river."

This is all they said. I have now, from this infamous work against my good will, sent you three of my confidential friends, which you may not in the least doubt of their fidelity for the undertaking. You will send two of them back with your answer to my calls for your assistance, without delay, which you may depend on will be the utmost benefit to the United States, and, I hope, will be the means of drawing all the Indians back; however, you will be better convinced, when you see this bold attempt of mine put into execution. As for the third man, he is my brother, and will remain with you. You must report that these three came from Pittsburg, belonging to the Six Nations, for I hear daily that your men are deserting from you, who might be the cause of a discovery; you know best who to trust with an affair of such importance. Farewell; I have nothing more to add.

AN EXTRACT.

BROTHERS of the thirteen United States of America:

Listen to us chiefs and warriors of Sandusky: It is now arrived to this period since we had intercourse with each other. When in council, at Muskingum, we settled all matters, and linked our chains of friendship strong; this is what you and I did when I returned home; the evil things were set in operation against our good works we had just finished, and, in a short time, all things were in such a confusion, that nothing but a rupture must take place between the thirteen United States of America, and us Indians, which affair still remains undecided.

BROTHERS: You told us, when the path was made from the council fire to our towns at Sandusky, that this should be the way for you and I to communicate our affairs of importance to each other; and, moreover, you said that nothing should happen to any of us, if this path was followed; that we were to let each other know, if in case any thing bad threatened either of us.

BROTHERS: I say this is the promise we made to each other; but we have never heard a word from you, nor you from us. I must acknowledge that we have sometimes heard from you, by divers channels, and then, in such a manner, we could not tell the right end of it. We now speak, and send forward this speech to you, by one of our best and wisest men, whom we esteem to be the dearest of our blood, and, from him, you will receive this; or any thing else he may have to say will stand valid; our reasons for sending him was, that you might believe in us.

BROTHERS: We request of you to bring forth, from the bottom of your hearts, your sentiments respecting to making a definitive treaty of peace, and upon what terms. We shall deliver our prayer daily to the Great Spirit above, our Maker, that you will open your hearts and sentiments to our beloved warrior.

For the chiefs and warriors of Sandusky.

TARKE, *Sachem Chief.*

SANDUSKY, 26th September, 1794.

*Speech of — — —, a Wyandot chief, delivered viva voce to General Wayne, at Greenville, the 3d November, 1794.*

BROTHER:

I thank the Great Spirit that I have now an opportunity to see you. I have come a great way to speak of peace; I live at Sandusky; we Wyandots now wish for peace, and are determined to bury the hatchet and scalping knife deep in the ground. We pray you to have pity on us, and leave us a small piece of land to build a town upon.

BROTHER: The Great Spirit has given land enough for us all in this world to live and hunt upon. We have looked all around us for a place to move to, but cannot find any. We want to know your mind. Our people will be all assembled at Sandusky by the time we get home.

We have moved about half a mile from the river, where we intend to build a stockade and blockhouse, to defend ourselves until we hear from you. We don't know whether we are right or wrong in doing it, but have pity on us.

I have nothing further to say than what is contained in the papers sent you, but to request an answer in writing, to let our people know your real mind.

— — — then read and spoke as follows:

BROTHER:

I have come to you in behalf of my Father, and his little town. We are for peace, and intend to move about ten miles from where we now live, to the head waters of Scioto, in order to be out of the way of the horse thieves, who, after doing mischief, always come home by our town, which may be the means of our suffering for their bad deeds.

We are determined for peace, if you will grant it, and to tell you where we live, so that we may not be hurt on account of the bad Indians, should they continue to be hostile.

*From — — — to A. Wayne, Major General, Commander-in-Chief of the army of the United States of America.*

SANDUSKY, 27th September, 1794.

BROTHERS: *To all the United States of America:*

I request you to allow me the honor of communicating you a few words upon the subject of the greatest importance to the thirteen United States, and us brown skin people. It is now better than five years since the commence-

ment of this war. I think it is most time that we should take our rest, and enjoy, the remainder of our lives, the blessings of peace.

It has been always my heart's desire to live in this state of bliss. The regret I feel for my countrymen is inexpressible. They are now in the utmost distress; and the appearance of a total extirpation from our native soil is a most alarming circumstance for a human being to condole upon. Who have we to blame for our present misfortunes? The world knows. I have exerted myself to shew my abilities to the chiefs and warriors at this place, to inculcate in them the same ideas as I possessed. If they go wrong, the charge of their ignorance cannot be upon me. I am determined to let my brothers know, the United States of America, the abuse and imposition we have received from a people who call themselves Christians. I demand redress from the United States, by sending an army to this place without delay, for I wish to save my people of Sandusky. I have always acted the part of a faithful and true subject to them. I hope to see the day wherein I shall have the pleasure of convincing my countrymen how far they are wrong.

I am now determined, as I said before, to disclose my heart and sentiments. I will do every thing that lays in my power to save my people. I am an offspring of theirs, and therefore I have a right to support their cause, and conduct them the right way.

Can there be any honor in any civilized nation to advise us to a thing that would ruin us? O! fie upon them that are guilty! they had much better show us the right than wrong.

You see, brothers, how we are imposed upon. You may rely on what I say to be truth, for I speak from the true principles of man's loyalty to his country. We want nothing but justice, and I know the United States will grant it.

The cause of my doing this now is, I have been twice disappointed in attempting to have peace; the first was last March, 1794, and the latter, lately. Now, my blood has got warm, and I will have satisfaction. I hope the United States will cast their eyes upon me, and see the distress I am in for my relations.

*The Speech of Major General Wayne to the Wyandots, of the 4th November, 1794.*

*To Tarke, and all the other chiefs and warriors of the Wyandot nation living near Sandusky, and in its vicinity, and to all and every other tribe and nation of Indians, whom it may concern:*

BROTHERS:

I have listened with attention to the message sent; and am rejoiced that the Great Spirit has, at last, opened your hearts and ears to the voice of peace; but am sorry that the evil spirit has been busy in attempting to prevent you from accomplishing that desirable object. Yet, I hope and trust that your eyes are now opened, and you will no longer suffer yourselves to be imposed on by the bad advice of those interested men, who have so often deceived you, and betrayed you into error, by fair and plausible, but false promises, of assisting you to fight against the Fifteen Fires of the United States.

I have already told you that those people had neither the power or inclination to protect you; the truth of which you have dearly experienced.

BROTHERS: You request me to bring forth, from the bottom of my heart, my sentiments respecting a definitive treaty of peace, and upon what terms.

The enclosed copies of my speeches, addressed to you and all the other hostile tribes of Indians, will best demonstrate the sincerity and wishes of my heart, and show the pains I have taken to bring about a happy peace, and prevent the further effusion of human blood.

BROTHERS: I now call upon you to open your hearts and ears, and exert every power of attention to what I shall say.

It is close upon six years since the sachems and warriors of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, Chippewa, Pottawatomay, and Sac nations, concluded a treaty at the mouth of Muskingum, with Governor St. Clair, for removing all causes of controversy, and for settling boundaries between the aforesaid tribes of Indians and the United States of America.

That treaty appeared to be founded on principles of justice and equity, and to have been clearly and fairly understood, and satisfactory to all parties at that period, being the same which you have recognised and recapitulated in your speech to me, at this time.

I, therefore, propose it as a preliminary or foundation, upon which a permanent and lasting peace shall be established between the United States of America and your nation and nations of Indians.

Should you have any well grounded objections to this proposition, come forward and speak your minds freely, in the manner mentioned in my speech of the 12th September last, and rest assured of a sincere welcome, and the most perfect security to yourselves and friends, both in coming to this place and in returning home, when most agreeable to you.

ANTHONY WAYNE,

*Major General, Commander-in-Chief of the legion of the United States of America.*

HEAD QUARTERS, GREENVILLE, Nov. 4, 1794.

*Copy of a reply from General Wayne to ————*

HEAD-QUARTERS, GREENVILLE, November 5, 1794.

SIR:

Your several letters of 27th of September, and an extract of a speech which the chiefs and warriors were to have sent from Sandusky, "if the evil advice had not been heard to," was delivered at the Miami villages by ———, some days since; he now remains at this place, to take care of ———, who has been very unwell, but now on the recovery; every attention shall be paid to him, until he is perfectly restored to health.

The part you have taken to bring about a peace, between the United States and the hostile tribes of Indians, is highly pleasing to me. Continue to exert your influence to accomplish that good work, and you shall be liberally rewarded for your fidelity and trouble.

You will observe, by my speech of the 4th instant, that I have proposed the treaty, made at Muskingum, on the 9th of January, 1789, as a preliminary, or foundation of a permanent and lasting peace. A duplicate of this treaty was delivered to the Wyandots, and is probably now in your possession; from part of it being recognised, and quoted in the extract of the speech of the 26th of September, 1794, and as you attended that treaty, you must be well acquainted with the principles upon which it was founded.

I have cause to believe, that my speech to the hostile tribes of Indians, of the 12th of September last, was in great part suppressed by some of the bad white people at the foot of the Rapids. I, therefore, send a copy of it, as well as my speech of the 13th of August, by this opportunity, which you will please fully and clearly to explain to your people; perhaps you may find it convenient to come to this place, immediately after the receipt of this, when matters can be better and more fully understood; and I hereby pledge my sacred honor for the safe return of yourself, and all such chiefs and warriors as may accompany you.

Wishing that the great spirit may incline all your hearts and minds to peace, and that we may soon have a happy interview,

I am, your friend and brother,

A. WAYNE.

To ———.

*Confidential intelligence given at Greenville, the 10th day of November, 1794, to Major Gen. Wayne, by——,*

Who came as a flag from the Wyandotts, settled at the foot of the rapids of Sandusky, as mentioned in certain communications signed ——, and saith, that his tribe are determined for peace; that the chiefs were prevented by the British agents, Governor Simcoe, Colonel McKee, and Captain Brandt, from coming forward at this time, as they found it expedient to send one or two chiefs to the proposed treaty of the British, at the mouth of Detroit, where his brother also went.

That Captain Brandt insisted they should try one more desperate effort, and that they, the Six Nations, were now determined to join them; that he had now come forward with a chosen body of his own warriors, and would wipe the tears from their eyes; to keep a good heart, and forget their late disaster, and to look forward to better fortune and success; that their father, the king, would assist them with his warriors; that the army was now advancing to join them; to come to the treaty at the Big Rock, and hear what their father, Governor Simcoe, had to say to them. This message was sent by David Patterson, a Mohawk, and principal chief under Brandt; that three of the principal war chiefs of the Wyandots, belonging to his town, and who were always for war, were killed in the action of the 20th August, and that the principal chiefs, now living, are very anxious for peace.

That the first intelligence the Indians received of the advance of the army towards Grand Glaize, was from a certain *Newman*, who deserted from the St. Mary's, as the troops were on their march, in order to give every intelligence in his power; that it was known by several of the Indians, that he (*Newman*) had a brother, an officer, now at Detroit.

That *Newman*, most certainly, was not captured by the Indians, but came in voluntarily, to give them notice of the advance of the army; so far from being taken prisoner, he never saw the sight of an Indian, until he arrived at the settlements, in the vicinity of Grand Glaize; that immediately upon his arrival, runners were sent in every direction, to collect the Indians, and he was sent to Detroit, from the foot of the Rapids, by Major Campbell. That the Indians would have been completely surprised at Grand Glaize, but for the arrival and information given them by this man.

That the Shawanese appeared determined to remove to the west side of the Mississippi; that there are now out, upwards of a hundred Shawanese warriors, hunting on the head waters of the Miami of the Ohio and Scioto, who, when the hunting season is over, say about Christmas, intend to disperse, and steal horses to carry them and their families to the Mississippi, where several of their nation, and many of the Delawares, are already settled; he, therefore, is of opinion, that those nations will severally remove, rather than make peace.

That the Indians, by this time, have heard the proposals of the British and Six Nations, with regard to assistance and support, and will determine, for peace or war, according to the *certainty* or uncertainty of effectual support from the British, after receiving the proposals now sent them.

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 55.

[2d SESSION.]

## THE SOUTHWESTERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON THE 19TH, AND TO THE SENATE ON THE 22D DECEMBER, 1794.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, December 19, 1794.

SIR:

I am instructed by the President of the United States to submit to Congress, communications from Governor Blount, of the territory of the United States, southwest of the Ohio, which accompany this letter.

I have the honor to be, &c.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

[Addressed to the presiding officers of both Houses of Congress.]

*Copy of a letter from Governor Blount to the Secretary of War, dated*

KNOXVILLE, October 24, 1794.

SIR:

In my letter of the 2d instant, I enclosed you a copy of Major Ore's report respecting the destruction of the Running Water and Nickajack, two of the most hostile of the Lower Cherokee towns, together with a copy of my letter to the General of the 1st instant. I now enclose you a copy of the General's answer to that letter, and a copy of his order to Major Ore.

Whether the General's reasons are such as will justify his order, I judge most prudent to leave to your determination; consequently shall expect your order on that head. My last accounts from Mero district are as late as the 20th instant, when only one man was killed in that district since the 16th ultimo. The person killed was Thomas Bledsoe, one of the soldiers belonging to the post at the ford of Cumberland, on the 2d instant. I also enclose you a copy of a letter from General Robertson to John Watts, of Will's town, the greatest chief of the nation, (Will's town is within thirty miles of the Running Water) to which he immediately sent a string of white beads in answer to John McKee, the agent resident at Tellico block house, to be by him forwarded to me.

The enclosed copy of Major Doyle's letter from fort Massac, will inform you of the state of the garrison at that place, and the relief afforded it.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

General Knox, *Secretary of War.*

*Copy of a letter from General Robertson to Governor Blount, dated*

NASHVILLE, October 8th, 1794.

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 2d instant. Enclosed you have a copy of my order to Major Ore, of the 6th of September; my reasons for giving it were, that I had received two expresses from the Chickasaws; one by Thomas Brown, a man of as much veracity as any in the nation, the other by a common runner, giving information that a large body of Creeks, with the Cherokees of the Lower towns, were embodying, with a determination to invade the district of Mero; and not doubting my information, I conceived, if Major Ore did not meet this invading army of Creeks and Cherokees, as I expected, that it could not be considered

otherwise than defensive to strike the first blow on the Lower towns, and thereby check them in their advance; nor could I suppose that the pursuing of parties of Indians, who had recently committed murders and thefts, to the towns from whence they came, and there striking them, could be considered as an offensive measure, unauthorized by the usage of nations in such cases. It cannot be necessary to add, as a justification, the long, repeated, and I might say, almost daily sufferings of the people of the district of Mero, by the hands of the Creeks, and Cherokees of the Lower towns. The destruction of the towns by Major Ore, was on the 13th of September. On the 12th, in Tennessee county, Miss Roberts was killed on Red river, forty miles below Nashville, and on the 14th, Thomas Reasons and wife were killed, and their house plundered near the same place by Indians. On the 16th, in Davidson county, twelve miles above Nashville, another party killed — Chambers, wounded John Bosley and Joseph Davis, burned John Donaldson's station, and carried off sundry horses; and in Sumner county, on the same day, a third party of Indians killed a woman on Red river, near Major Sharp's, about forty miles northeast of Nashville, and carried off several horses; this proves that three separate and distinct parties of Indians were out for war against the district of Mero, before the march of Major Ore from Nashville.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from Doctor R. J. Waters, a citizen of the United States, resident at New Madrid, to John Easten, his factor, in Tennessee county, strongly supporting the information the Chickasaws had given of the intended invasion of the Creeks; and is not the Old Maw's information to yourself, in the latter part of August, to the same purport? And to him, and his friendly party, are the people of this country indebted for their not invading us, as they intended. If I have erred I shall ever regret it; to be a good citizen, obedient to the laws, is my greatest pride; and to execute the duties of the commission, with which the President has been pleased to honor to me, in such a manner as to meet his approbation, and that of my superiors in rank, has ever been my most fervent wish. Previous to the march of Major Ore from Nashville, Colonel Whitley, with about one hundred men, arrived there from Kentucky, saying they had followed a party of Indians who had committed depredations on the southern frontier of that country; that in the pursuit they had a man killed by the Indians, and several horses taken, and that they were determined to pursue to the Lower towns. They were attached to Major Ore's command, which augmented the number to upwards of five hundred and fifty men. I should be happy if my apprehensions of a Creek invasion were removed: but they are not, for Billy Colbert, and other Chickasaws, inform me, that they yet threaten Mero district, not in so large numbers, but in small detached parties, which are equally dangerous, as there is no possibility of guarding against a number of small parties invading the frontiers, at different places, at the same time. Enclosed is a copy of a letter from John Watts; and, from my experience of Indian affairs, I have my hopes that, from the scourging Major Ore has given the Lower Cherokees, we shall receive less injury from them than heretofore. I also enclose you Major Doyle's letter from fort Massac to me, in consequence of which, I ordered to his relief an ensign, sergeant, corporal, and eighteen privates, mounted infantry. I have engaged Mr. Shute fifty dollars for going to you, express.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JAMES ROBERTSON.

His Excellency Governor BLOUNT.

*Copy of General Robertson's order to Major Ore, dated*

NASHVILLE, 6th September, 1794.

The object of your command is to defend the district of Mero against the large party of Creeks and Cherokees of the Lower towns, which, I have received information, is about to invade it, as, also, to punish, in an exemplary manner, such Indians as have committed recent depredations in the said district.

For these objects, you will march, with the remainder of your command, from Brown's block house, on the 8th instant, and proceed along Taylor's trace towards the Tennessee, on which, from the information I have received, you are momentarily to expect to meet a large party of Creeks and Cherokees, advancing to invade this district; and if you do not meet this party before you arrive at the Tennessee, you will pass it, and destroy the Lower Cherokee towns, which must serve as a check to the expected invaders, taking care to spare women and children, and to treat all prisoners, who may fall into your hands, with humanity, and thereby teach those savages to spare the citizens of the United States, under similar circumstances.

Should you, in your march, discover the trails of Indians, returning from the commission of recent depredations on the frontiers, which can generally be distinguished by the horses stolen being shod, you are to give pursuit to such parties, even to the towns from whence they come, and punish them for their aggressions, in an exemplary manner, to the terror of others from the commission of similar offences; provided this can be consistent with the main object of your command, as above expressed—the defence of the district of Mero against the expected party of Creeks and Cherokees.

I have the utmost confidence in your patriotism and bravery, and with my warmest wishes for your success,  
I am, &c.

MAJOR ORE.

*Copy of a letter from John Easten to General Robertson, dated*

CLARKSVILLE, October 1, 1794.

DEAR SIR:

I think it highly incumbent on me to transmit to you a copy of a letter from Doctor R. J. Waters, dated New Madrid, September 13, 1794, relative to an army of Creeks coming against this territory; I will copy it exactly, so that you may judge from his fears on the occasion. The Doctor supposed I would go to Kentucky, and had sent, by Mr. Handy, a few days before the date of this, one thousand dollars for this place; but he was robbed of all the money, by the Cherokees, at the mouth of the Ohio.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*Copy of a letter from Doctor R. J. Waters to John Easten, dated*

NEW MADRID, September 13th, 1794.

SIR:

Since my last, per Mr. Handy, some reports here have given me some uneasiness; and my regard for you, my own interest, and the welfare of the people of Cumberland, makes it necessary I should transmit the cause by this opportunity; a very formidable invasion, by the Creeks, is announced among the Indians as certain, and that they will consist of at least nine hundred men; their object appears important; they mean to strike at the thick, strong, settlements, and endeavor at extirpating all together; how far this report is to be relied on, must be judged of by concurrent circumstances and appearances; it comes to me by a Shawanese, who is in good repute here, and who says he is very lately from among them; he adds, that, let their success in their first attempt be as it may, they mean, afterwards, to beset Cumberland river, and the Ohio, a little below the mouth of Cumberland. 'Tis very certain the Indians do, in many instances, tell a great many lies; but I think there is some probability in this. I would wish you to judge with caution, and with good evidence. I do not wish to run risks much longer; we have run too

many; and yet, if we give ear to every alarm, we may never be quiet. I must beg you to use your utmost caution and circumspection; make the necessary inquiries, and act, from the result, according to your own judgment and feelings on the occasion. If you find much danger like to await you, and your apprehensions up, without a sufficient force, or protection, I recommend you not to run too much risk, but rather abandon a prospect so obstructed with danger; but, if you find your own inclinations inclined towards the enterprise, do not suffer me to damp your hopes and expectations. I shall not blame you on my own account. I am principally concerned about you, and am really apprehensive you will venture once too often, so most earnestly beg you to be very cautious.

*Copy of a letter from General Robertson to John Watts, dated*

NASHVILLE, 20th September, 1794.

OLD FRIEND:

I am glad to hear you talk as you did in old times, "that peace is good;" this I hear from your people, (prisoners.) They say that Nickajack and Running Water were just listening to good talks; but, that we did not know: for our people were killed every day; the trails came and went towards them towns; and, one thing we do know, we found property that was taken from our people when killed, and letters that people had who were killed on the Kentucky roads; so them towns cannot plead innocence; and we have long known them to be our enemies; but, if they are about to be good, we are sorry we did not know it in time; but what is past cannot be recalled; so, if friendship is to be between us, we must take care, on both sides, for the future. We will not listen to half-way peace, that we are tired of; our ears are shut to such talks; but our eyes are open, and, if we see no white people killed, we shall not kill or distress the Cherokees. Our people were strong enough to have gone to Look-out Mountain, or Will's town; but they heard Dick Justice was head of Look-out Mountain, and is known to be a good man, and that the Middle Striker did live at Will's town, and you were now giving good talks; so they returned, to see if enemies come again from that way, and, if they do, our people will soon return the visit. This I do not tell you as a threat, but you may depend on the truth of it; so let your people not blame us for the future, if the innocent should suffer with the guilty: for, when our people go to the towns, they cannot distinguish the innocent from the guilty; so, it will lay on your head-men to send a flag, which can, at all times, come safe, and let us know who are enemies; so that the innocent can be spared. We have borne with your injuries a long time; but you will find our people as dreadful, when forced to take arms, as they are peaceable when you do not injure them. There are so many of them who have seen their near relations lying cut to pieces, by your people, that, when they find their enemies, they will have no mercy on them. Your nation sent men to make a treaty with the President, and, in the mean time, while they were talking, you killed his people. These are the talks we are done listening to. I do not hear that one of you talk of punishing those that murdered the people in the boats, taken this summer, neither have I heard of your sending in the negroes; but it is as well to say no more; we want peace, and love it, and, if you do the same, take steps to bring it about. Do not let the Creeks pass through your country to war against us. There is a new town settling below; if that is to flourish, let them be peaceable, or their towns will be spoiled. We have got seventeen of your people prisoners, who will be well treated till we hear from you. Our people will not go to war against your towns any more, if you come in and make peace. We shall wait long enough for you to come with a flag; but, if you do not come, our people will be sure to come again to war; and we have men enough to fight, and destroy you all, and burn your towns. Four of your prisoners are taken to Kentucky, by some of their men who went with us to war, and they will keep them till you send in four negroes you have taken from General Logan, who lives in that country, and will come after his negroes if peace is not soon made. The prisoners we have will be returned, if you will come in with a flag, and good assurances of a peace, and bring in a girl you took prisoner, and killed her father and mother, on the Tennessee, on their way from the Chickasaw nation, whose name was Collins; when I say you, I mean your nation.

I am your old friend,

JAMES ROBERTSON.

JOHN WATTS, *Chief of the Cherokee Nation.*

*Copy of letter from Major Thomas Doyle to General James Robertson, dated*

FORT MASSAC, September 19, 1794.

SIR:

Enclosed I send you information very interesting to the people of your country. From the present state of my garrison, having many sick, I shall not be able to render that service I could wish, as to giving information, watching the movements of the Indians in this quarter, which fifteen or twenty woodsmen would enable me to do. I am confident, had I those, I could render great services to my country: therefore I have to request you will send that number for a few weeks; as it is for the public good, I am confident you will comply with this my request. Mr. Henley, who also writes by this conveyance, will no doubt give you an account of his defeat near the mouth of the Ohio. Nothing else worthy of notice has transpired since mine by Mr. McFarland.

I have the honor to be your most obedient servant,

THOMAS DOYLE, *Major, Commanding fort Massac.*

General JAMES ROBERTSON.

*Copy of a letter from Governor Blount to the Secretary of War.*

KNOXVILLE, November 3d, 1794.

SIR:

The enclosed copy of my letter, of the 29th of October, to Double-head, in answer to his of the 20th, will inform you of the pleasing prospects of peace at that time with the Lower Cherokee towns; but, since that time, I have received information of an intended invasion of those towns, by a volunteer army, headed by General Logan, from Kentucky; for the particulars of which, so far as yet come to my knowledge, and the measures I have taken to prevent, I refer you to the enclosed copies of my letters to General Logan, Colonel Whitley, General Robertson, the chief of the Lower Cherokee towns, John McKee, and my orders to Sergeant McClellan. Whether these measures will have the desired effect, time only can determine, but I am induced to hope, that, when General Logan is informed that the Indians have notice of his intentions, he will be induced to desist, and return home; because he can but discover that the Indians will warmly oppose him, or flee to the mountains; and, in either case, he must fail of his objects; and, as he is not made acquainted with the contents of my letter to the chiefs, the most probable construction he can draw, from their having any knowledge of his approach, must be, that they will oppose him at the crossing of the river, and every difficult pass upon his march.

A daily and friendly intercourse is kept up at Tellico blockhouse (on the north bank of the Tennessee) between Mr. McKee, the temporary agent, resident at that place, on the part of the United States, where James Carey, the interpreter, also resides; and the Upper Cherokees, and the people generally on the frontiers, who have for upwards of two years been miserably huddled together in stations, for their common defence, have such confidence in the sincerity of this part of the nation, not only that they will not injure themselves, but will guard them against such other Indians as may be hostilely disposed, that they are generally about to move out to their respective farms.



Should General Logan desist from his attack upon the Lower towns, I am of opinion the appointment of Mr. Dinsmoor to reside in the nation will have happy effects; but I would advise that his general residence should be in Will's town, in preference of the Turkey's. My reasons are, the Turkey's is, and has long been, one of the most peaceable towns in the nation, nor do, if any of the war parties of Creeks pass through it, to, or from, Cumberland; so his presence or address, at that place, does not appear necessary to restrain either Cherokees or Creeks from war. Will's town is one of the most powerful of the Lower towns, the residence of John Watts, a very leading chief, the most contiguous of them to the towns of the Creeks, and through which the hostile parties of Creeks frequently pass to and from Cumberland. Here his presence, address, and information, could but be of great service to the United States. Before I found it essential to the interest of the United States to order Mr. McKee to reside permanently at Tellico block house, I contemplated that town as his place of residence, where it could be done with safety to his person. But, admitting the Lower Cherokees, as well as the Upper, should, from the measures taken with them, preserve an inviolate peace, it will not give peace to the frontiers, unless the Upper Creeks can be induced or compelled to follow their example. They can be induced, if at all, only by some person acquainted with Indian customs and manners, in whom they have confidence, residing among them, in the character of agent. Such a person, I have been taught to believe, for I have no personal acquaintance with him, now lives at Will's town, a Scotchman, of the name of John McDonald, heretofore in a subordinate character, under the British superintendent, Colonel Brown, who, I have reason to believe, would accept such an appointment, provided the salary was a good one—say equal to that allowed Mr. Dinsmoor. But salary alone would not be sufficient; he ought to be allowed to keep a table better than his salary would support; and, on proper occasions, to reward, with presents, such Indians as should render services, or give uncommon proofs of friendship towards the United States. This would have a greater degree of influence and confidence, and the better enable him to effect the object of his appointment. The particular towns he should reside in, I cannot, at this moment, recommend; but it ought to be one of the most hostile of those lying contiguous to the Lower Cherokee towns, and most directly on the way from the other hostile towns of the Creeks, to and from Cumberland. Another advantage, in appointing this gentleman, would be, that he has as much, or more, influence with the Lower Cherokees, than any other man who resides among them; and, being in the pay of the United States, that influence would, consequently, be exerted over them in aid of Mr. Dinsmoor; and a third reason is, there are several Scotch traders, heretofore adherents to the British Government, in the Lower towns, inferior in consequence to McDonald, who would be pleased with his being noticed by the United States, and support him and his measures to peaceful objects.

My reason for believing Mr. McDonald would accept the appointment in the Creeks, is, that he has informed me, by letter, not long since to my hands, though written in May, 1793, that he would accept such an appointment from the United States to the Lower Cherokees.

The want of wagons, in the first instance, at Manchester, and, after procured, the death of several of the horses, the poverty of others, and the want of health of the wagon drivers, have delayed the last load of the Chickasaw goods until to-day; but, a boat and hands being in readiness, to-morrow Opoia Mingo and party take their leave for the mouth of Bear creek, where they expect to meet their nation, prepared with pack horses, to take home the goods given them at Philadelphia.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

WM. BLOUNT.

COOSAWATEE, October 20, 1794.

FRIEND AND BROTHER:

I send you this talk from this town, on my way home, just returned from our father the President, and our beloved brother General Knox. Now, my brother Governor Blount, you know very well, and the rest of the white people, when I and some of our people went to Congress, we were sent by our head-men of our land to go to that place. Now we have returned back, the head-men and warriors, and young men also, are satisfied with what we have done, and are determined to hold the United States fast by the hand, and keep peace. Now, this is the talk of them all, and I am glad to inform you so, my friend, and it is pleasing to me that I did not spend my breath for nothing. But, it appears now we shall have a lasting peace between us, which the old head-men strove a long time for. We shall now live in peace like brothers. My people are now wanting to go out a hunting, which you know is high time to be out; for you all know very well where our hunting ground is, on the other side of the Big river, and on the mountain, and on the waters of Cumberland, though you know very well where we hunt, and we hope you will keep the white people from coming to hurt the hunters, as we all want to live in peace now with you all. Now, if some of our mad young men should go and steal a horse from some of your people, you must not get in a passion for that with us, but wait till the horse or horses shall be returned to you again. This is what the great beloved men told us, to return all such horses, and keep our young men from doing any bad thing to the white people. When I was at Oconee mountain, we sent all the head-men at it to the Big river (the Tennessee) to come down there and hear all the talk we had brought with us. But, however, they did not all come, on the account of some people having come in and killed some of them; that it was not our people's doings that made the white people come in and kill our people, but it was the Creeks doings that caused all this. And when we gave them the talk, they all received it, and have taken hold of it fast; and we all mean to hold the talks that are given us by the President and General Knox, and we hope the white people will not let our hands go, but hold us by the hand as we mean to do. What mischief has been done, was done by the Creek Indians' doings; and if the white people hold us by the hand, we may still stand our ground with them: for, it is they who have made us angry with one another. We hope you have now found them out, and our foolish young men who used to be set on by them. We send the Quadroon and his friend to carry this talk to you, and we hope you will receive them kindly, and treat them well, that they may have a good talk to tell their friends when they come home, and we hope you will send us the truth about our people's going a hunting: for they will all be wanting to hear the news from you, whether they may hunt in peace or not.

I am your friend and brother,

DOUBLE HEAD, his + mark.

Governor BLOUNT.

KNOXVILLE, October 29, 1794.

MY FRIEND AND BROTHER:

Your letter of the 20th instant, was delivered to Mr. John McKee, the agent resident at Tellico block house, and by him forwarded to me express by Andrew Millar. The Quadroon, the Turkey's Son, and the other two messengers, wait there for my answer, which I hasten to give you. Mr. McKee, I am sure, will treat them well. That you and other deputies of the Cherokees have been to visit the President of the United States, and your beloved brother General Knox, there made a peace, and that you and your people, now you are returned, are well pleased, and determined to keep the peace you have made, is truly pleasing to me. It is hardly necessary for me to repeat to you and to your nation, that ever since I have acted in the character of superintendent of it, I have always wished and exerted myself to keep peace between your nation and the citizens of the United States, and now, with your exertions for peace on the part of your nation, and the continuance of mine on the part of the United States, I hope we shall have no more war. In your letter, you say, "now, if some of our mad young men should go and steal a horse, or horses, from some of your people, you must not be in a passion or mad with us, but wait, and the horse or horses so stolen, shall be returned to you again." To this proposal I agree, and whenever a horse is stolen, I will give your nation notice, and allow thirty days to return the horse or horses stolen, to John McKee, at Tellico block house; but, if the horse or horses stolen are injured, damage must be paid, as well as the horses be returned.

You next ask, "if your hunters may go out to their hunting grounds in safety?" My answer to that question is, that though the white people have lost a great deal of blood, and many horses, they wish peace, and will not hurt your people, if all red people cease to injure them. I say the white people will not hurt your people, if all red people

cease to injure them, and by all red people, I mean Creeks as well as Cherokees: for, if Creeks hurt them, they will not be able to distinguish them from Cherokees, and may hurt your hunters in retaliation.

It is true, I have long found out that the Creeks kill the citizens of the United States, and I fear they will continue so to do, and if they do, your people will surely be blamed for it; and if you earnestly wish peace, you and your people must stop them, and turn them back from annoying our frontiers. Or if you see or hear of their returning with hair or horses, you must apprehend them, and bring them to Tellico block house, as the Maw's people served one last summer: for it is better you have war with the Creeks, who, you say, have already brought great mischief upon your people, than with your friends, the citizens of the United States, who sincerely wish peace with your nation, and the world at large. And if you, for the sake of peace with the United States, are forced into a war with the Creeks, you may be sure of friends enough: for, besides the white people, who must be your friends, the Upper Cherokees, the Chickasaws, and Choctaws, neither, love the Creeks.

It now appears, that you, and myself, and our people, wish peace; and, for fear it should be disturbed or broken, while some or both sides can't quite forget their relations and friends, I would advise your hunters for this winter, not to cross the ridge that divides the waters of Duck river and Cumberland, nor to come near the Cumberland nor Kentucky traces, nor near the frontiers of this country; there is ground enough besides to hunt on this winter; and this winter passing off in entire peace, people will be more good humored next summer, and will more firmly believe that there is really a peace taken place between us. My friend Colonel Watts, who has received a letter from General Robertson, respecting the destruction of the Running Water and Nickajack, will inform you the reasons the general gave for its being done. The Quadroon, the Turkey's son, and your other runners, will report to you the good understanding and peace that subsists between the United States and the good old Maw, and all the Upper towns. John McKee resides at Tellico block house, in the character of a temporary agent, to cherish and keep up this friendship, and all times, when you wish to write me, or send me a runner, let it be done by way of that place. Peace is my wish, but, by peace I mean that not one more white person is to be killed.

I am your friend and brother,

WM. BLOUNT.

DOUBLE-HEAD, a Chief of the Cherokees.

*Copy of a letter from Governor Blount to Brigadier General Robertson, dated*

KNOXVILLE, November 1st, 1794.

SIR:

Enclosed are copies of my letters to Colonel Whitley, and General Logan, and the newspaper containing a copy of Double-head's letter to me, and my answer; the latter serving to show the prospects of returning peace, and the former my sense and disapprobation of General Logan's intended invasion of the Lower towns. It is a duty you owe to the office and rank you hold in government, to your common country, and to your exposed fellow frontier citizens, in particular, to use your authority and address, to compel or induce General Logan to desist from his unauthorized invasion of those towns. My letter of information to the Indians, of the approach of General Logan, of this date, will appear in the next number of the Knoxville Gazette. Captain Evans is to remain on the frontiers of Mero district, and range, under his present order, until such time in December as shall be sufficient to afford him only time to appear at this place, and muster out of service on the last day of that month.

[ENCLOSURES.]

*From Governor Blount to Colonel Whitley, dated*

KNOXVILLE, November 1st, 1794.

SIR:

I have been informed, first, by Housen Kenar, which has been in a greater degree confirmed since, by the examination of Major Ore, the bearer, that you passed this place yesterday, with an intention to join General Logan, who is said to have marched from Kentucky, in force, to invade the Lower Cherokee towns. The newspaper you will receive herewith, contains copies of a letter of the 26th ultimo, to me, from Double Head, a principal chief of those towns, and my answer to him of the 29th, by which you will understand these towns, as well as every other part of the Cherokee nation, are considered in the peace of the United States. By what authority General Logan has raised an armed force to invade a nation, declared by public authority in peace with the United States, I am uninformed. Hence, I am compelled to suppose he has no legal authority for so doing, and to command him, you, and all others concerned, to desist from such illegal and unauthorized enterprise. Having so recently received from, and given to the Cherokees, assurances of peace, as the above mentioned letters will prove to you, it becomes an official duty in me, to give information to the Cherokees of the intended invasion of General Logan, and the feelings of humanity equally compel me so to inform you, and, if possible, the general himself. It is my wish to act, so as that neither party can charge me with improper conduct, and to save the effusion of human blood. From the character of General Logan and yourself, I readily believe that you both wish peace and security to the frontier inhabitants; but should you persevere in your intended attack upon the Lower towns, it is my opinion, that the effect will be the drawing the Lower Cherokees and the Upper Creeks, highly incensed, upon those exposed people.

*From Governor Blount to General Benjamin Logan, dated*

KNOXVILLE, November 1st, 1794.

SIR:

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Colonel Whitley, of this date, forwarded to him express, and one of the newspapers containing the copies of the letters of Double-head, a principal chief of the Cherokees, of the 20th ultimo, to me, and my answer of the 29th, as alluded to in my letter to the colonel. The first (the letter to the colonel) serving to show you the information I have received respecting your intended invasion of the Lower Cherokee towns; and the latter, the pleasing prospects of a continued peace between the United States and the Lower Cherokees. Upon your receiving this information, I cannot suffer myself to doubt, but your love of peace and order will induce you immediately to desist from your intended enterprise. But, in this instance, it is my duty to command as well as inform: Therefore, I command you, as well as the men with you, or under your command, forthwith, to desist from the attempt of invading the Lower Cherokee towns, who are in the peace of the United States. And, I further command you, and the men with you, respectively, not to enter, in a hostile manner, the country or lands guaranteed to the Cherokee nation, by the treaty between the United States and the said Cherokees, commonly called the treaty of Holston, warning you and them, that, in case of a violation of this order, which is issued by virtue of the authority in me vested, you and they will answer the same at your peril. Having received my appointment from the Federal Government, I am answerable for my acts only to it; yet, it may not be improper to give you my reasons for my conduct on this occasion; they are contained in part of my letter to Colonel Whitley, to which I refer you; and an additional one is, my great desire to promote the peace and happiness of our frontier fellow citizens, and our common country at large. This letter will be delivered to you by Sergeant McClellan, who I have sent with ten men, for that purpose, under instructions to follow you, if he does not sooner meet with you, to the banks of the Tennessee.

*Copy of a letter from Governor Blount to Double-head, and other Chiefs and Warriors.*

KNOXVILLE, November 1st, 1794.

*William Blount, Governor in and over the territory of the United States of America, south of the river Ohio, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for the Southern district, to Double-head, and the other Chiefs and Warriors of the Lower Cherokees:*

It is only two days since I wrote you, in answer to your letter of the 20th October, and informed you the citizens of the United States all wished peace with you, since you were determined to be at peace with them, and so I then believed. But now I have to tell you, that I am just informed that General Logan, of Kentucky, has raised, or is about to raise, a large army of volunteers, unauthorized by Government, to invade and destroy the Lower Cherokee towns. The reason given for raising this army to destroy the Lower towns is, that the people of the Lower towns have unprovokedly shed a great deal of blood of the frontier citizens, and stolen and robbed them of much property, which they yet hold in their hands, consisting of negroes and horses. I give you this information, that you may not charge the United States nor myself, of having deceived you, by telling you all wished peace, when a large party were just about to invade your country. I have sent to General Logan, informing him of the good talks that have passed between you and myself, with orders to desist from his intended invasion of your country, which I hope he will attend to, and return home; but it may be that he will not return, but pursue his first intention, and invade your country. Here I feel myself at a loss, in case General Logan does invade your country, how to advise you to act for the best. But knowing the Government of the United States wish peace with your nation, and all the world, and believing you have now seen the folly of war, and also wish peace, I advise you, in case General Logan does enter your country, that you all quit your towns, and remove your stock, and other property, to the woods, leaving your houses and such of your corn as you cannot remove, to the mercy of General Logan, and his party, and forbear to do him or his party, the least injury in person or property, relying that Government will compensate your loss of horses and corn, in preference to having the blood of their citizens shed in defence of them. Too much blood has been shed already, and if more is shed, it will increase the difficulty of securing the blessings of returning peace. Peace ought to be the wish of both parties, for, in peace consists the true interests and happiness of both parties. War will cost the United States much money, and some lives, but it will destroy the existence of your people, as a nation, forever.

I would advise you to deliver up at the Tellico block house, to John M'Kee, without delay, all the deserters, prisoners, negroes, and horses; then the people of Kentucky can have no more cause to invade your country.

The Cherokee chiefs are requested, after this letter has been explained to them at Will's town and the Look-out Mountain, to forward it to Mr. Dinsmoor, at the Turkey's town.

*Copy of a letter from Governor Blount to John McKee.*

KNOXVILLE, November 1st, 1794.

SIR:

Explain the enclosed letter to the Hanging Maw, and the Upper Cherokees, and immediately forward it by a runner, to the Lower towns; unsealed you have also a copy, which you are at liberty to show to whom you please, but not to give a copy to any body.

It has not been even hinted to me, that Logan, in case he succeeds in the destruction of the Lower towns, will pass up by the Upper towns, and do them much injury; yet, it is possible; and, to guard as much as possible against such conduct, I would advise that the Upper towns keep spies below, and in case of his advance, to evacuate their towns, taking with them their most valuable effects, and leaving their houses and corn to his mercy.

I cannot permit you to come up here, until the event of this lawless expedition of Logan's is known.

This letter will be delivered to you by Captain Ricard.

Mr. JOHN MCKEE, temporary agent to the Cherokees, resident at Tellico block house.

*Copy of an order from Governor Blount to Serjeant M'Clellan.*

KNOXVILLE, November 2d &amp; 3d, 1794.

The object of your being ordered on duty, is to go express with a letter to General Logan, who, from the information I have received, I have reason to believe, is on his march from Kentucky, with an army of volunteers, having an intention to invade the Lower Cherokee towns, unauthorized by Government.

My information respecting the time when the General would march from Kentucky, is so vague, as not to enable me even to form any tolerable conjecture, where or when you will most probably fall in with him; but it is certain, if he does not desist from his enterprise, that he will march by way of Mero district, and from thence, by way of Ore's trace, to the Tennessee, where Ore crossed it. You will take such course as will intercept him to the greatest certainty, before he arrives at the Tennessee, which will be to turn off the common trace to Nashville, at or near the Crab Orchard, and to proceed by such course as shall strike Ore's trace, from Nashville to the Tennessee, about midway between the two places; and upon striking of it, you will readily discover whether he has passed on towards the Tennessee or not; if he has, you will pursue to the Tennessee, if not, you will turn towards Mero district, and upon finding the General, you will deliver him the letter addressed to him. It may be, that you may fall in with a part of the army of General Logan, and not with himself, and to provide against such an event, I herewith deliver to you a copy of my letter to the General, and a copy of my letter to Colonel Whitley, also a newspaper, containing copies of Double-head's letter to me, of the 20th October, and my answer of the 29th, all of which you will read publicly to such party, and make known to them, that it is my order and command to them, to desist from their attempt to invade the Lower Cherokee towns. And should General Logan, upon your delivering the letter to him, refuse to open it, or after he does open it, should neglect to make the contents known, you will, in either case, inform him that you have it in command from me, to order him, and the men with him, to desist from his and their intended invasion of the Cherokee country; and in either case, you will read aloud to him and the men with him, or under his command, the letters above mentioned. And to the end that no party may enter the Cherokee towns or country, unadvised of their danger, you are commanded to declare to all and every party, who appear to have the entering of either their object, that I have apprised the Indians of their approach, and you may add that I have considered it my official duty so to do, and that a copy of my letter to the Indians, on that head, will appear in the next number of the Knoxville Gazette, to the end that the impartial public may judge of the propriety of my conduct in so doing.

You have also, herewith, a letter addressed "General Robertson or Colonel Winchester, Mero district," with which you will despatch two of your command, from the Crab orchard, along the old trace, directly to Colonel Winchester's, and from thence to General Robertson.

Having completed this order, so far as respects General Logan, you may return directly to this place, or go into the Cumberland settlements, and refresh from five to ten days, and return to this place, to be mustered out of service.

Sergeant M'CLELLAN.

MONDAY MORNING, *November 3d, 1794.*

Having received more certain information of the intended movements of General Logan, namely, that he, with his party, are to rendezvous at the foot of the Cumberland mountain, on the north side, on the 9th instant, I find it proper to order that you, instead of turning off to the left, at the Crab orchard, push directly, with all possible haste, to Mero district, where you probably will arrive before the General leaves that district, and deliver the letter to him; but, should he have marched from Mero district before your arrival, you will instantly follow him, and pursue to the banks of the Tennessee, if you do not sooner overtake him. You are to consider the order of the 2d instant in force, except where this order otherwise directs.

Sergeant McCLELLAN.

*Copy of a letter from Governor Blount to the Secretary of War, dated*KNOXVILLE, *November 10th, 1794.*

Sir:

Enclosed are copies of sundry papers, a list of which is subjoined, serving to inform you of the pleasing prospects of peace with the Lower Cherokee towns. It is now my opinion these towns wish peace with the United States with great sincerity, and that that sincerity has its source in the victory obtained by General Wayne over the Northern Indians, in the successful attack made by Major Ore upon Running Water and Nickajack; and in the decided part taken by the Upper Cherokees against the Creeks, whereby they may eventually be brought into a war with that nation. The frontier people, too, generally, appear as sincerely to wish peace with the Indians; and that they have, without exception, in the districts of Hamilton and Washington, quit the stations or forts, and moved out to their farms, affords a proof of their entire confidence in the assurances of the Cherokees.

Permit me, sir, to congratulate you on these pleasing prospects of peace, and to assure you, that you could not have received the many accounts of murders and thefts, by the Cherokees committed, which I have been compelled to give, with more pain than I penned them.

It remains yet to realize these prospects, that are to secure a continuance of peace between the United States and the whole of the Cherokee nation, which I have the most sanguine hopes is practicable, provided the Government of Great Britain or Spain, nor the subjects of either, do not stimulate them to murder or rob the citizens of the United States, and provided the Creeks can also be induced or taught to desist from killing the citizens of the United States.

One great source of hostility with the Cherokees has been horse stealing, which, it is to be feared, will be continued, if measures are not taken to prevent it; and one of the most effectual is, to stop the sale from the Indians to the white people; which can only be done by proper persons, under the appointment and in the pay of the United States, being posted at the places where the horses stolen are carried to the settlements for sale. The markets within the United States, for the three last years, for stolen horses, have been Swannano in North Carolina, the settlements at the foot of the Oconee mountain in South Carolina, and at Tugelo in Georgia. From one to twenty at a time have been carried and sold at one or other of these places, without being in the least degree (that I have heard of) prevented by the law, now in force against that iniquitous and injurious traffic. The most probable remedy that presents itself to me, for the prevention of this traffic, would be, to divide a company of the Federal troops into three parts, and station one at some well chosen spot upon the Indian boundary, near each of those places, the officer at each post to have authority as to the execution of the law respecting trade with Indians, with additional pay for that duty. If it should be asked why I have not suppressed this traffic at these places, the answer is, that neither is within the country I have the honor to govern, and that the whole of them are very distant from me; the nearest, Swannano, upwards of one hundred miles. These posts would also serve as trading posts, and the only ones necessary, upon the frontiers of the States in which they respectively shall be, as well as posts for the preservation of peace and order between the whites and the Indians.

In this country, early after my arrival, I issued a proclamation forbidding the citizens to purchase horses from Indians, which has been strictly obeyed; while the Indians have continued to steal horses from them, and to carry them to the three before mentioned markets. It will be readily seen, that the officers, commanding at these posts, ought to be appointed with an eye to the duties they are to perform.

I have heretofore informed you, that I had made five detachments from the Federal company at this place, and posted them at different places on the frontiers, in advance of the settlements of Knox county, Hamilton district; and, to save you the trouble of having recourse to my letters, I mention three of them, which, in my opinion, ought to be permanently kept up, namely, the post at Southwest point, which is situate upon the south bank of the Clinch, within half a mile of its junction with the Tennessee, forty miles from this place, and twenty-five in advance of the settlements (the road from this place to Nashville passes the Clinch at this post); fort Granger, upon the north bank of the Holston, at its junction with the Tennessee, twenty-two miles from this place, and seven in advance of the settlements; and Tellico block house, on the north bank of the Tennessee, immediately opposite the remains of fort Loudoun, thirty-two miles from this place, and seven in advance of the settlements: the two first for the preservation of peace and order between the citizens of the United States and the Indians only; the latter also to serve for that purpose, and for a trading post through which all intercourse with the upper part of the nation, by myself or others of this territory, should take place.

With respect to the district of Mero, the most difficult settlement in America to protect, I am more at a loss what to recommend as a probable mean of preserving peace between the citizens of it and the Cherokees. This district is ninety miles from east to west, and its extreme width, from north to south, does not exceed thirty miles, surrounded by a heavy timber, &c. no five miles of which, together, but what has been stained with the blood of the inhabitants, since my arrival in this country. Hence, if it is contemplated to give effectual protection to this district, supposing the Indians should recommence hostilities, its situation being so well described to you, you can as well judge as any man as to the number of men necessary to give such protection. But the presumption with me, is, that the Cherokees, as a nation, wish peace with the United States, and that but few, if any, individuals of it will kill in future; then, as the most eligible plan that I can think of to induce the Indians to continue their friendship with that district, or, in other words, to awe them from depredations, is to establish a post, with a company of Federal troops, if the Cherokees will permit it, at the lower end of the valley formed by the Tennessee and the Cumberland mountain, on the north bank of the Tennessee, nearly opposite the mouth of Look-out mountain creek, where there is a good ford across the river. The advantages of this post would be, that, while it awed the evil disposed, it would serve as a trading post, in the midst of the Indian hunting grounds, which would tend, by the daily intercourse, to humanize the savage mind, and more firmly strengthen the friendship between the respective parties; another advantage of this post, and, in my opinion, a very essential one, would be, that, if, after all attempts to preserve peace with the Lower towns, they should recommence hostilities, it would afford a proper place for a repository of provisions for militia or other troops, who might be employed to teach these towns the value of peace. You will readily see, to this post, there is a water conveyance down the Tennessee and its different branches, from every quarter of this country. From Southwest Point, (the mouth of Clinch) the distance to it is about one hundred miles, all the way down a valley so open and level, that twenty-five pioneers can clear a road as fast as a wagon could be driven, along which, troops destined against the Lower towns, could, at all times, pass to that post. Its distance from Will's town, the most distant of the Lower towns from it, would not exceed forty miles, and not above twenty to the Look-out mountain, Running Water, or Nickajack, the two latter of which will probably be rebuilt. In other words, while it will awe the evil disposed to keep the peace, and to strengthen and cherish the friendship of the friendly, it will serve to render extremely easy and certain the chastisement and destruction of the Lower towns, in case they recommence hostilities, by a body of militia, that can, at any time, be raised at a weeks' notice, and, in one month, destroy the towns, and be returned to their respective homes. The Captain who

commands at this post, to be a person proper for conducting Indian affairs, with an additional salary. General Robertson, and others, of the best informed of the Cumberland people, are of opinion that this post would more probably give quiet to them, than the establishment of any other post or posts, except such numbers were established as would actually cover their whole frontier, which is at least two hundred miles, and would, at least, require a brigade. It will be recollected, I recommend this post in case the Cherokees will agree to it, respecting which, I have made no inquiry; but if the Indians of the Lower towns are as fully impressed with their own folly, or with fear that the frontier people will no longer bear their many murders and thefts, as I believe they are, it is my opinion I can obtain their permission for its establishment, for a small annuity, if not on the score of being particularly beneficial to them, which I verily believe it would be. At this time, too, I possess, with the principal chiefs and other leading characters, not only of the Lower towns, but of the whole nation, a very great share of their confidence and attachment, owing, as they declare, to their being now truly sensible that, if it had not been for my efforts, the frontier people would long since have overrun their nation, and taken their country; and my conduct towards them, in Logan's affair, can but confirm that opinion. These posts being established, would, in my opinion, supersede the necessity of an agent in the nation. It is also my opinion, that no person whatever, ought to be permitted to carry trade to the Indians, but at one or the other of these posts, under the eye of the deputy or agent, residing at them, respectively. It is essential to the execution of this plan, that the officers, acting as deputies, at the different posts, should be men of good understanding, prudence, and address, and particularly, that John McKee, the present temporary agent, resident at Tellico block house, should continue there: for, besides his having a great share of the confidence of the nation, he is, from his abilities and knowledge of Indians, their habits and dispositions, the most proper man within my acquaintance or knowledge, for a deputy; and, if it should be necessary to his continuance, that he should be an officer, I can assure you that he is not only qualified, by his bodily and mental abilities, to perform the duties of a captain, but of a field or general officer.

I do not offer this as a plan of complete defence, but as a plan which, if executed, may probably prevent the necessity of it. But, lest I should be mistaken, and more effectual protection should become indispensably necessary, it may be proper I should repeat to you, that the districts of Washington and Hamilton have a very exposed frontier, of upwards of two hundred miles; upon almost every part of which the Indians have killed and robbed, since I have been in this country. Nor would I be understood as being so certain of the continuance of peace, pleasing as prospects are, as to render it unnecessary for Congress to provide against a change in the conduct of the Cherokees.

In your letter of 21st July, you say, "the goods which are at Knoxville, and promised to be delivered to the Cherokees, I pray may be done, without the least deduction whatever, as per invoice marked No. 2." A part of these goods had been delivered to Opoia Mingo and his party, on their way to Philadelphia, and, if I recollect, reported to you by Captain Chisolm. It was essential that Opoia Mingo and his party, should receive sundry articles to fit them for their journey to Philadelphia, and I judged it more to the interest of the United States, to furnish from the public store, than to purchase from individuals, at the advanced prices at which goods sell at this place; the remainder of them have mostly been delivered to the Cherokees, at Tellico block house, and proper vouchers of delivery taken, and the whole will be delivered at that place, at the time proposed for an exchange of prisoners, if not before, so that the account of delivery will be completed within the year, and the account exhibited for settlement.

I have long expected Mr. Dinsmoor at this place, but I have not yet heard of his arrival in the nation, and report says, he has returned to Philadelphia.

The Hanging Maw and the friendly part of the nation had, by some means, been informed that these goods were to be delivered to Double-head and his party, upon which he promptly demanded of Mr. McKee, whether they were to be delivered to Double-head, and his party of murderers, or to that part of the nation who had given proof of their friendship to the United States, by taking one Creek and killing two others in the settlements, as well as by other acts; if the latter, he said, the friendly part of the nation would know how to ensure the reward of the United States for their services. So far as they have been delivered, every part of the nation have received a part, but those who have given the greatest proofs of their friendship, have received the greatest share.

It is to be observed, that few, none that I know, of the latter description, attended at the Oconee mountain to receive any part of those brought from Philadelphia by Double Head; hence, upon that score, they had a claim to a good share.

May I ask, would it not be advisable to send on the annual payment for the year 1795, as early as possible; for, in the nature of Indian business, it is next to impossible to preserve their friendship, without occasionally bestowing some presents, and sometimes goods are wanting to reward particular ones, for meritorious services; I mean for the Cherokees and Chickasaws, and Choctaws too, if any are allowed for them, for goods are very dear, both here and at Nashville, and the necessity of occasionally purchasing small articles is submitted to with great reluctance.

That the Creeks will desist from their depredations upon Mero district, until compelled, I have not the least hope; nor do I entertain the least doubt but I can, if so instructed, in any short time, induce the Cherokees, (I believe the whole nation) the whole of the Chickasaws, a part of the Choctaws, and, eventually, the whole of them, to aid the arms of the United States, in the total destruction of that nation. The destruction of the Creeks, by the aid of these three nations, could be effected, not only much cheaper than by an army of citizens, but it would, to a certainty, prevent a combination of the Southern tribes at a future day, against the United States.

If the citizens of the United States do not destroy the Creeks, the Creeks will kill the citizens of the United States; the alternative is, to kill or be killed.

Under the impression that the prospects of peace with the Cherokees is such as may be relied upon, from a certain knowledge that the people in general are more unanimous, and better disposed to support peace and order, than for two years past, and with the hope that no change will take place in my absence, I solicit permission to visit Philadelphia, in the latter part of January, or early in February.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

WM. BLOUNT.

*At a conference held on the 7th and 8th November, 1794, at Tellico block house, upon the north bank of the Tennessee, between William Blount, Governor in and over the territory of the United States of America south of the river Ohio, and Colonel John Watts, of Wil's town, (one of the Lower Cherokee towns) Scolacutta, or the Hanging Maw, and other chiefs of the Cherokee Nation; at which were present four hundred warriors and several citizens of the United States, namely, Colonel Abisha Thomas, Major Sevier, Major David Craig, Ensign Samuel R. Davidson, of the Federal troops, commanding at this post, and others.—James Carey, interpreter.*

Governor BLOUNT: (addressing himself to Colonel Watts.) Upon being informed by Mr. McKee that you were here, and wished to see me about the affairs of your nation, I hastened to meet you. I am happy in this interview, because your presence here is an evidence of the wish of the Lower towns for peace, whose principal chief I have ever considered you, and in Scolacutta I behold the true head of your whole nation. Having opened the conference, I shall sit down, and first expect the talk of Colonel Watts.

Colonel WATTS.—This meeting appears to me ordered by the Great Spirit, and affords me great pleasure. There is Scolacutta; he is old enough to be my father, and from my infancy he was a great man, and is now the great chief of the nation. In the spring of the year he sent a talk to the Lower towns, telling them he and the Upper towns had taken the United States by the hand, with a determination to hold them fast during life, and inviting the Lower towns to do the same. With tears in my eyes have I thought of this talk, and beheld the folly of the Lower towns, who at first refused to hear it. But, just before the destruction of the Running Water and Nickajack, by Major Ore, I went to them as well as the Look-out Mountain town, and exerted myself for the restoration of

peace, and I verily believe those towns had heard my talks, and were determined to be at peace with the United States. I do not say Running Water and Nickajack did not deserve the chastisement they received; nevertheless; it so exasperated those who escaped from the ruins, that, for a time, I was compelled to be silent myself; but the Glass went to the Running Water people, and they told the Glass that, notwithstanding the injury they had sustained, they had not forgot my good talks, but still held them fast, and desired me to take measures for the recovery of their prisoners. When this answer was reported to me by the Glass, I had my doubts, and could not act upon it; for they had told me so many lies, I was afraid to trust them. I then sent the Bloody Fellow to the Running Water, and he returned with the same report, which induced me to come forward to you, knowing you were the man the United States had authorized to transact such business. I deliver you this (presenting a string of white beads) as a true talk, and a public talk from the Lower towns to you. Scolacutta, the head of the nation, is sitting by me; the Lower towns instructed me to request him not to throw them away, but to come with me to you, and present this talk in their behalf.

By a prisoner taken by Major Ore, and sent back by General Robertson, I received a letter from him, requiring me to deliver up a white prisoner, and a certain number of negroes, and that the prisoners taken by Major Ore should all be restored to their nation. In this letter the General invited me to come in to him with a flag; but as the woman was pursued by some bad white people, and obliged to quit her horse, and save herself in the cane, although I know General Robertson to be a good man, I thought it imprudent to go to him; besides, I know that an exchange of prisoners could only be negotiated with you. As to the prisoners in my town, Will's town, there are none; and when the people of my town once took a man of great worth (Captain Handy) they restored him without price.

SCOLACUTTA, or the *Hanging Maw*. I too have a talk from the Lower towns; they were once my people, but not now; yet I cannot but think much about the talk I have now received by Watts. Before any thing happened to these towns, I had sent them many peace talks, which they would not hear; but now, since the attack made upon them by Major Ore, they send to me to make peace for them, in conjunction with Watts. I am the head-man of my nation, as Governor Blount is of the white people; it was not the fault of either that those towns were destroyed, but their own conduct brought destruction upon them; the trail of murderers and thieves was followed to those towns. Nevertheless, I cannot neglect the request they have made to me, to make peace for them; as I hope they have seen their folly, and will desist from murdering and robbing the people of the United States, and live in peace. I shall then hope to live much longer: for their bad conduct drew the white people on me, who injured me nearly unto death. This talk I deliver on the part of the Lower towns; and if they do not now desist from war, and live at peace, I will give them up to the United States, to deal with as they shall judge proper.

All last winter I was compelled to live in the woods, by the bad conduct of my own people drawing war upon me. In the spring of the year, a communication was opened with you; you invited me to meet your deputy, John McKee, in nine days, which I did. John McKee assured me of the peaceful disposition of the United States, and told me and my party to return to our houses and fields; this I also did. I could hear from several parts of the nation threats against my life, to be effected by killing the white people in my neighborhood, and thereby draw them on me and my friendly party. I then solicited that this block house or fort should be erected, as serving to protect me and my friendly party, as well as the frontier inhabitants, and open a communication between the white and red people. I still heard murmurings from several parts of my nation, with threats that they would have no intercourse with it, or with John McKee; but I see, now standing round me, many of those very people who are glad to come to it, and to be in friendship with John McKee, and at peace with the United States. They need not find fault with John McKee; I have found him to be an honest man, and never heard any thing from him but the truth.

November 8th.

Governor BLOUNT.—It is with pleasure I receive from you the information that the Lower Cherokees wish peace with the United States. When you, (addressing himself to Watts) the Bloody Fellow, and the Glass, the three greatest chiefs of the Lower towns, come forward with such assurances, I can no longer doubt the sincerity with which they are made. Peace with the whole Cherokee nation has ever been the wish of the United States, and it is yet their wish; so that the Lower towns have only to keep peace on their part, and it will be peace.

By saying the Lower towns requested you to take measures for the recovery of the prisoners, I understand that they wish an exchange of prisoners; to this I agree, and propose that a general exchange shall take place at this post, on the 18th of December. All negroes in your hands, whether captured, or absconded from their masters, are to be considered as prisoners in your hands, and are to be delivered up.

My letter to the chiefs of the Lower towns, of the 1st instant, has informed you of the threatened invasion of those towns by General Logan, with a large party of men from Kentucky, unauthorized by Government. I have now to add, as my advice to you and your people, that in case Logan should carry his intended invasion of your country into execution, and should he kill many or few of your people, or destroy little or much of your property, that it shall not prevent the meeting at this place on the 18th of December, and the proposed exchange of prisoners, when we will endeavor to heal all matters of difference that can at that time exist between the Lower towns and the United States; and in the mean time let the injuries received by your nation, from General Logan, be what they may, you will consult the happiness of your nation, and ensure the blessings of returning peace, by restraining the warriors from turning out and taking satisfaction. Peace must take place at some time, and the less blood is shed, the sooner and more easily will it be effected. I assure you, in case you do not oppose General Logan, nor take satisfaction for such injuries as he may do you, that the United States will pay you for the loss of such houses and corn as he may destroy; your other property you can move out of his way. The United States are very tender of their citizens, and love peace, and would prefer paying you for your houses and corn to having them killed in satisfaction for your injuries, or to being forced into a war with your nation.

It is essential to the happiness of your nation that I should speak plainly to you about the Creeks, by whose hands you are sensible the frontier inhabitants of this country have bled at every pore; they are without the pretext for such conduct—that these people have taken their lands: for is it not a fact, that, in the division of lands among the red people, that the ridge that divides the waters of Mobile and Tennessee bounds them on the north? Then they pass quite through the Cherokee or Chickasaw lands to arrive at our frontiers, and there kill our men at their ploughs, or our women and children in their houses.

If you would secure a continuance of peace with the United States, it will be a duty you owe to yourselves, as well as the United States, not to permit the Creeks to pass through your country; or, if any should slip through, and your people should discover them, on their return, with hair or horses, to seize them, and bring them to this place, as the Upper towns served one last summer.

I have now to tell you what I believe to be the general will of the United States, with respect to the Creeks; which is, if they do not immediately desist from murdering the frontier citizens, and also cease to rob them of their property, that, next spring or summer, they will see a strong and powerful army in their country; and it is well known that the Chickasaws, and part of the Choctaws, are great friends of the United States, and enemies of the Creeks, and it is recently proved that the upper part of your nation are determined no longer to submit to their insolence and injuries. You are at liberty to tell to the Creeks what I say, not so much as a threat, but as an information to them, to enable them to judge how best to seek their own happiness.

Colonel WATTS.—I wish the time proposed for the exchange of prisoners had been sooner; but, as I suppose you put it off to so distant a day to afford time to collect them, I agree to it. I fear the damage General Logan will do my people will be very great, but, as you advise, I shall instruct all my people, and whatever he may do, shall not prevent the proposed meeting and exchange of prisoners. What you say about the boundary of the Creeks' lands is right; but, they are a great and powerful nation, and the Cherokees are but few, and cannot prevent their passing through their lands, when they please, to war; and on their passage they kill our hogs and cattle, and steal our horses, which we dare not resent. The Upper Cherokees were right in seizing one last summer, and delivering him up to you, and in killing two others. They live far from the Creek country, and have the white people to support them; but the



Lower towns are but few, live near the Creeks, and too distant from the white people to be supported by them. I know the Chickasaws, and five of the Choctaw towns, are friends of the United States, and will fight against their enemies.

*SCOLACUTTA, or Hanging Maw.*—I ordered the Creek seized, I ordered the two Creeks killed, I will kill my own people, if they kill white people. Here is some tobacco, sent by the Long Warrior, just delivered to me by a runner; you must smoke some of it. [Here a pipe was handed, and Scolacutta, Watts, the Governor, and others, smoked.] He speaks peace for his part of the nation; he has been long a head-man, and loves peace.

Governor BLOUNT.—I have omitted to give you the particulars of General Wayne's victory over the Northern Indians, (addressing himself to Watts) but if you wish to hear them, I will now give them.

Colonel WATTS.—I do not; some of my people were in the action, who have already informed me.

Governor BLOUNT.—Then I have nothing to add, except to repeat to you, and your nation, that peace is the wish of the United States.

*Copy of a letter from John McKee to Governor Blount, dated*

TELlico BLOCK-HOUSE, October 28th, 1794.

SIR:

On the 24th instant, James Davidson, a distinguished chief from the valleys, with about four hundred and fifty of his people, arrived at this place.

On the twenty-fifth he met me, with the chiefs and warriors of his quarter, and, in council, delivered me a talk, which you will receive herewith enclosed, and a string of beads, mixed black and white; the white beads, he said, were emblematic of his friendship towards the United States, and the black of his enmity to the Creeks.

I told him that it was undoubtedly his duty, both as a friend to his own nation, and the United States, to apprehend and bring to this post, or put to death, any Creeks that he might see or hear of, passing through his nation, to injure the citizens of the United States; and if, on account of this conduct, he should be involved in a war with the Creeks, he would, undoubtedly, gain the confidence and friendship of the United States, who could not suffer their friends to be injured on their account. Considering the interest of Davidson and his party of consequence to the United States, I made considerable presents, out of the public goods in my possession, agreeably to your order, and supplied them with provisions. They staid here until this morning, when they took their leave, apparently much pleased with their treatment at this place, and declaring their promptness to lend all the assistance in their power to support the arms of the United States.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN McKEE.

*Copy of a letter from John McKee to his Excellency Governor Blount, dated*

TELlico BLOCK HOUSE, November 4, 1794.

SIR:

On the 29th ultimo, Tickagiskee, one of the chiefs who accompanied Double-head to Philadelphia, arrived at this place, with about three hundred Indians, from Hiwasee, Chestue, Tellico, and some from the valleys. They requested provisions, which I conceived it my duty to give. Tickagiskee confirmed a report which I had before heard from the Turkey's son, who was here a runner from Double-head, with the letter I sent you from Miller, that the Deer's-head, the mate of Double-head, and Dick Justice's brother, of the Look-out Mountain town, immediately after the breaking up of the conference at Seneca, had stolen eight horses from Connoross, a branch of Tugelo, and that a man had been shot there, supposed to have been done by the same party.

This day Colonel Watts arrived here from Will's town; his object, he says, is to negotiate for an exchange of prisoners. He expresses a great desire to see your Excellency, and I think your presence here will promote the interests of the United States much.

Watts says it is a fact, that, one or two days before the destruction of Nickajack, and the Running Water, two scalps were brought into the former, one by a Cherokee, a nephew of the Fool Warrior, and the other by a Creek fellow.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN McKEE.

*A Talk delivered at Tellico block house, on the 25th day of October, 1794, by James Davidson, a distinguished chief of the Valley and Overhill Towns, of the Cherokees, to John McKee, agent to the said Cherokees, resident at that post.*

I have been raised in the valleys; and because I not only avoided killing white people, and stealing their property myself, but have endeavored to restrain my young fellows from doing so, I was compared by the Lower towns to an old woman, and not much noticed by the white people. I have long sought a place where I might hold good talks, and now I am glad I have it in my power to take you, my oldest brother, by the hand, and hear your talk. I wish every body to hear my talk; I am a man, and will do what I say. The Creeks, and perhaps some of my own people, intend to strike the United States. I am the man who will throw down Creeks, and take their hair, and, with my part of the nation, will support the arms of the United States, though it should draw on me the vengeance even of my own people of the Lower towns. I know it is common with too many of the head-men of this nation, particularly of the Lower towns, to make great promises of friendship, which they have no notion of performing; but you shall soon have greater proofs than words of my sincerity.

NOTE.—James Davidson arrived at Tellico block-house on the 24th of October, with four hundred and fifty warriors from the Valley towns, and in their presence, and in the presence of Scolacutta, or the Hanging Maw, and many warriors of the Upper and Lower Cherokees, delivered the above talk.

*Copy of a letter from Governor Blount to the Secretary of War, dated*

KNOXVILLE, November 16, 1794.

SIR:

I cannot better inform you of the state of this district, than by forwarding copies of several letters I last night received, a list of which is subjoined, and an original letter from the Baron of Carondelet, Governor of Louisiana, to the chiefs of the Cherokee nation, taken by a soldier under the command of Major Ore, at the destruction of Nickajack.

I hope the recent murders committed in that district will prove, as General Robertson supposes, to have been perpetrated by Creeks.

I consider war with the Creeks unavoidable, and my hope of peace with the Cherokees is not abated, but increased, since it is certain that General Logan has been disappointed in his intended invasion of their country.



- No. 1. Copy of a letter from General Robertson to Governor Blount, 7th and 8th November. 1794.
2. Colonel Winchester do. to do. 9th and 10th.
3. Major Doyle to General Robertson, October.
4. William McCleish, Chickasaw interpreter, to Governor Blount, 7th November.
5. Baron of Carondelet, Governor of Louisiana, to the Cherokee nation, July 4th, 1794.

*General Robertson to Governor Blount.*

NASHVILLE, MERO DISTRICT, *November 7th, 1794.*

SIR:

I have the misfortune to inform your Excellency that the people of this district have been much alarmed in my absence, as well as before I left home. Signs of Indians were discovered on all quarters, making to the frontiers; a sergeant's command of mounted infantry were ordered out of every regiment in the district, to range in front of their respective settlements, and, to this end, Captain Evans and his command performed good service; to their exertions are attributed the saving of many lives, as companies of Indians, with every warlike appearance, were discovered approaching our settlements, but they contented themselves with stealing some horses, and made off with precipitation.

At this time we have no reason to believe that any enemy Indians are in or about our settlements; they have carried off a number of horses; among them, two valuable mares belonging to my son, Jonathan Robertson, which were taken from my cornfield on the 24th ultimo. Watkins was killed and scalped at the corner of Colonel Winchester's fence, near his mill. On the 26th, Cornet Evans' detachment was fired on by Indians (three guns) after dark, between Colonel Winchester's and Bledsoe's Lick, as he was returning from a scout; he received no injury. Much credit is due to that officer, for his exertions in protecting that frontier, which has been more alarmed of late, than since the country was first settled. The widow Bledsoe, is actually about to remove, as are many other families.

We are informed by the Chickasaws, that the Indians lately on our borders have been altogether Creeks; they, the Chickasaws, saw several families of Cherokees moving to L'ance la Grace, as well as six canoes of men and corn going down the Tennessee, to settle there; all agreed that they were tired of war, and were going there to live peaceably, and that their nation, generally, wished peace; but doubted whether the Creeks would not delude some of their silly young men, and gave that as their reason for moving. A few days before the said canoes arrived at Occochappo, where a large party of the Chickasaws were waiting the arrival of the Mountain Leader, with the goods from Philadelphia, the Creeks reported that the Cherokees had killed him and his party, which so exasperated them, that William and George Colbert formed a party of Chickasaws on each side of the Tennessee, to cut off the Cherokees who were expected in the canoes, but Levi Colbert, and some others, prevailed on them to desist, until certain intelligence could be obtained. Shortly after the passing of these canoes, another was going down with corn, one man, two women, and two children. William Colbert hailed, and ordered them to come on shore, but they bore away, which, he alleged, proved their guilt, and gave chase. The Cherokees took to land, the man hid, the others kept on, were taken, and brought back; the man was found, whom Colbert tomahawed and scalped. The death of this fellow is related to me as a secret; no person here, besides McCleish and myself, are informed of it. William Colbert declares, if the Cherokees retaliate, that he will *cry havoc! and let loose the dogs of war* through their whole nation, alleging them to be the first aggressors.

Levi Colbert, and one other Chickasaw, left my house yesterday; their business was to inquire after the Mountain Leader and his party.

I have enclosed, to your Excellency, Major Doyle's letter, and have permitted him to keep Ensign Bird, and his detachment, till further orders, or, as long as he may judge their service essential to the United States.

*November 8.*

Last night, about 12 o'clock, an express arrived, informing me that Colonel Isaac Fitzworth, and his brother, John Fitzworth's families were murdered on the waters of Red river; seven persons were killed and scalped on the spot, and their property taken; these families were moving, and encamped in the woods, but not more than four miles from the settlement. The Indians were followed, and three prisoners retaken, all scalped; one has since died, the others are so wounded, their heads being altogether skinned, that their lives are despaired of; the property was likewise retaken, together with a considerable quantity of Indian property. It is supposed there were at least fifty Indians, who, by keeping a good look out in their rear, discovered their pursuers, and thought proper not to risk an engagement; one negro likewise escaped, badly wounded.

On the 24th ultimo, John Leiper, and another man, were fired on by Indians, near Leiper's house; this proves the information given us by the Chickasaws, that the Creeks had declared publicly their intentions of distressing this district, or, if able, to extirpate it altogether, to be just. Is it possible that this Congress will not take measures to check the Creeks? Nothing less will do than putting to death some of the aggressors, or making a campaign against the towns. Levi Colbert tells me that his two brothers bid him inform, that, if the United States will send an army against the Creeks, they, the Chickasaws, will keep them from running away on the other side, and that they had been notified that the Tuckaubatchees had sent to the Chickasaws, that, if they should lose a man, they may know what has become of him, as that town had missed the Mad Dog's brother. So, it appears, they expect war, for they declare they will take no insult from the Creeks or Cherokees.

I will write your Excellency, more particularly, an account of Colonel Fitzworth's defeat, by Captain Evans.

*Colonel Winchester to Governor Blount.*

CRAG FORT, *November 9, 1794.*

SIR:

The Indians continue their depredations as usual; on Friday the 24th ultimo, Evan Watkins was killed and scalped, within one hundred yards of my mill; he was shot with nine balls, and a tomahawk left sticking in his skull. Though I was with his body in a few minutes after the guns were fired, the murderers had fled, and were out of sight; I found it impossible to track them with the best woodsmen, and I can assure your Excellency, that no pains or vigilance were spared on this occasion.

The day following, Cornet Evans discovered recent signs of about 12 fellows, who had crossed the road between Bledsoe's lick and Shaver's cabins; the dryness of the season, the falling of the leaves, together with the quantity of stock ranging here, rendered it out of our power to trace them any distance. The next day, Sunday evening, Cornet Evans was fired on by three or four fellows, between Mrs. Bledsoe's and this place. On the following Wednesday the spies discovered twelve Indians crossing Cumberland river, at the mouth of Buffalo Run, about five miles from this place. These several parties of Indians, appearing in and about the settlement at and near the same time, have alarmed the inhabitants unusually; every body in this neighborhood has for some time remained shut up in stations, like besieged garrisons, no intercourse or communication kept up amongst them, except by strong parties of armed men. I have visited the most exposed places on the frontier of this county, and I hear nothing but clamoring for more effectual protection. They say, if Congress knew their deplorable situation, and have the feelings of men, they would not suffer a banditti of merciless savages to murder the citizens of the United States continually, with impunity. They will not believe that a faithful account of their situation ever reached the ears of the President of the United States.

I am credibly informed that General Logan has not met with the success he expected, in raising men for his intended expedition, and that it is therefore necessarily laid aside, until a more favorable opportunity.

I enclose, for your Excellency's perusal, an original letter, from the Baron of Carondelet, to the Cherokee nation, taken at Nickajack.

MONDAY, November 10, 1794.

SIR:

Since writing the foregoing, I received your packet by Sergeant McClellan, directed to General Robertson or myself; your Excellency will no doubt be informed, before this reaches you, that not above thirty men met General Logan at his general rendezvous, and that of course and necessity he has not marched on his intended expedition. Ten men, I am informed, arrived a few days ago at Nashville, on their way to meet Colonel Whitley, to let him know that the expedition had failed, &c. I have a pleasure, sir, in saying, that I verily believe but few men in *Mero district* will be found marching on an unauthorized expedition, though against a sanguine and bitter enemy, whose savage cruelty most of us have witnessed.

Peace always sounds sweet in our ears, but we have so often been deceived by them, that we must actually experience peace before we can rejoice, which is the first and greatest wish of your obedient servant.

*Eight o'clock at night.*

I am just now informed, that two families, by the name of Titsworth, on their way from Tennessee county to Logan county, at a place called the Double Licks, were, on Wednesday night last, surprised by a party of about thirty Indians; seven were left dead on the spot, and five were taken prisoners; they were pursued the next day, and three of the prisoners retaken, though scalped and tomahawked; one is since dead, and the others are expected to die.

*Major Doyle to General Robertson.*

FORT MASSAC, October, 1794.

SIR:

Ensign Bird, with his detachment, arrived here the 19th instant, and handed me your letter of the 8th. I am happy to find my requisition answered by you in a manner which I think so advantageous to the interest of the United States; my views in making it have been altogether directed to that point; as I conceive that the protection of a valuable settlement, and of the trade along this stream, will be greatly promoted thereby. I have informed the Commander-in-chief and the Secretary of War, of my said requisition, of the views which prompted me to it, and of your ready compliance with the same.

I keep five men to watch the mouth of the Cumberland, and as many that of the Tennessee, with a canoe to each party, so that in case of their making any discovery, I may receive the earliest information, which I shall transmit to you by a runner, if need be; this party will be relieved every third or fourth day, and I have my hopes, from the character of Mr. Bird, that the service will be performed to the advantage of the Union.

The mere defence of my garrison, from the number of my men, is all that Government will expect from me, particularly when my sick are taken into consideration; my desire to be useful to my country, and fellow citizens at large, dictated this measure, which I saw pregnant with public utility, and it is my happiness to find, that my principles are not mistaken on this particular head.

I send two men, agreeably to your request. I have no doubt, as Governor Blount will see the advantages to be derived to your settlement from such stations, that he will fully approve of your compliance with my request; they, indeed, appear to be not only proper, but such as ought to be kept up by your Government: for you well know my force to be only adequate to protect what falls immediately under my view; and the danger arising to the navigation, from the Cumberland and Tennessee, to be too far out of my reach to afford assistance in case of need.

Ensign Bird shall be in readiness to cover any boats up the Cumberland that you may desire. You will be pleased to mention the day.

*Mr. McCleish to Governor Blount.*

CUMBERLAND, November 7th, 1794.

SIR:

I embrace the opportunity of acquainting you, that, on my arrival here, at General Robertson's, I met with Levi Colbert, from the mouth of Bear creek, who informed me, that the Indians had got intelligence that the Mountain Leader and his company were taken by the Cherokees, on which, the said Levi Colbert and another Chickasaw were sent in to get information of the same. The Chickasaws, hearing of six canoes of the Cherokees coming down the river, the Chickasaws waited on both sides of the river, under the determination to kill and destroy the whole of them; but the above mentioned Levi Colbert, and a few more, pleaded very hard to the contrary, and at length prevailed to let them pass, till they could be better informed. But Bill Colbert, not being fully satisfied, fell on a canoe that had one Cherokee man, and two women, and two children in it; he killed the fellow and scalped him, and has got the women and children prisoners. I understand that he will send them in here, as some of the Indians are not agreed to take them to the nation, for it is kept as secret as possible, till the boats get down. There is nobody that has heard of the same, but General Robertson and myself, but I thought it my duty to inform your Excellency of it. I have complied with the Leader's request to me, that was, to despatch word to his people at the river, to wait with patience, and if any of them should be gone home, to have them sent for. I have done according to his directions, which is carried by Levi Colbert, who was very glad to hear from him, as his staying so long, over the time appointed to meet at the Muscle Shoals, they were very doubtful some accident had happened him, and the chief part of the Indians had gone home.

Yesterday, arrived here, one Choctaw, from the army Northwest of the Ohio, but has no news worth relating; so, I am happy to have the happiness of being you Excellency's humble servant.

*The Baron of Carondelet to the Cherokees, dated*

NEW ORLEANS, July 4th, 1794.

*Answer to the talk of Ouletays and Tetinkee, chiefs of the Cherokee nation.*

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:

The Governor of Pensacola has sent me your talk, which I have received with all the consideration and satisfaction it deserves. Be assured, that it is engraved in my heart; I love all the red people in general, and only wish for their preservation and happiness. The Great King my master, who protects all those who implore his assistance, is desirous that the Cherokee nation should live in peace, and multiply the lands of its ancestors, like the star of the firmament. I have directed to him, the complaints of the whole nation; open your ears and be attentive to what he has ordered me to say to all the Cherokees.

The war against the inhabitants of the United States is of long standing, and, consequently, it is difficult to know whether the Cherokees are in the fault or not. But since the Cherokee nation, entering into a treaty of

alliance and friendship with Spain, desires that the great king should be a mediator between it and the United States, for a final and permanent marking of limits, which should leave no motive of dispute or enmity on either side, the great king, conformably to the 3d, 7th, and 8th articles of the treaty concluded at the Zazon, by which it puts itself under his protection, is at present occupied in the arrangement of all his differences, and requests the Cherokee and Creek nations to suspend all hostilities, and remain on their own lands, content with defending themselves in case of being attacked there: for a nation cannot, from time to time, prevent evil disposed white men, without orders, from committing mischief on some red men. But, on a complaint to the chiefs of the white men, justice will be rendered them, and it is only in case of a refusal, that they are entitled to take it themselves.

The great king desires that the nation shall live in peace with the inhabitants of the United States; the powder, balls, guns, clothes, vermilion, bracelets, &c., which he gives to the nation, are only the voluntary effect of his goodness, and, that it may not be jealous of others, the arms are for hunting, and the clothes to preserve them from the cold. He makes an annual present to the nations in amity with him, as a mark of his remembrance, but not to put them in a situation of maintaining themselves without hunting or labor. Should an attempt be made to deprive his friends of their lands, or drive them from their villages, then, the great king will give them arms and ammunition in abundance, to defend themselves and make war; he will make it with them, to force their enemies to restore what they have usurped, and to leave his allies in peace.

I will propose to the great king, to send Mr. Francis Bellestre to the nation; but I do not know him of whom you speak, when you say you will not have the American I have given you.

The great king is in friendship with so many nations of red men, that it is impossible to tell their number. As he is the father of all, it becomes him to distribute something to each nation; he cannot, therefore, give to one alone, all that you demand. Next spring, the nation will receive another present, like all the rest, but not before: for there is mention made in the treaty, but of one annual present.

I wish you a good journey, a good hunt, and the observation of the treaty which I have asked for you of Congress, since the first of April, and until the great king arranges all the differences of the nation, which will be in a very short time. I cordially shake hands with you, and bear in my heart the remembrance of you and yours.

*Copy of a letter from Governor Blount to the Secretary of War, dated*

KNOXVILLE, 18th November, 1794.

SIR:

Upon reviewing my letter to you, of the 10th instant, I discover that I have omitted what appears to me, may eventually be essential to the preservation of the peace with the Cherokees, which is, in case of a murder being committed by a Cherokee, or Cherokees, that satisfaction shall instantly be demanded of the town, or towns, in which the murderer, or murderers, live, and, if not given, taken. Such conduct on the part of the United States will probably prevent a repetition of murders, without bringing on a national war. But, admit it should bring on a national war, it could be terminated in the course of a few months, at less expense of blood and treasure than defensive protection would cost, upon so extended and exposed a frontier. All my experience in Indian affairs teaches to believe, that decided and positive measures with them are best.

*From Governor Blount to the Secretary of War, dated*

KNOXVILLE, November 22d, 1794.

SIR:

Enclosed is a copy of my order to General Robertson, of this date, which I have judged necessary to forward to your office, that you may be informed of the degree of protection I have ordered to be afforded to the district of Mero.

*From Governor Blount to Brigadier General James Robertson, dated*

KNOXVILLE, November 22d, 1794.

SIR:

In pursuance of the instructions of the Secretary of War, of the 14th April, 1794, I, on the 29th May, issued orders to the respective colonels of the counties composing the district of Mero, for the protection thereof, until the first day of December. I issued them directly to the Colonels, and not through you, because you were absent from the district.

Enclosed herewith you have a copy of that order of the Secretary of War, in which you can but observe, that the Secretary has fixed the first of December as a probable point at which the degree of protection authorized, would become unnecessary; hence I limited my orders, of the 29th May, to the respective Colonels, to that period.

You will observe, that the Secretary, in the latter part of the first paragraph, has the words, "or longer if the danger shall render the said defence indispensable." Now, sir, you are to consider the said order of the 14th April, in force, as to the degree of protection you are to afford the district of Mero, against hostile parties of Indians, until the first day of April, and give orders accordingly. Troops will not be sent to the defence of Mero district, from Washington and Hamilton districts, except in case of an invasion by a numerous party of Indians. Captain Evans is at present on duty under that order of the Secretary, who, as has already been ordered, is to remain until the last of December; that is, to be mustered out of service on that day, at this place, so that the party which succeeds him, is not to take place before the first day of January. Would it not be well to order the mounted infantry, who succeed him, from every part of the district of Mero, say ten from Sumner, fifteen from Davidson, and five from Tennessee counties; this would afford an opportunity to pick the most active men, and best horses, and let the whole three months be so served by one party. The greatest, or principal service, so small a party can do, is to act as spies; hence it will be necessary that it should be divided, and range in advance of the frontiers.

All militia in service in the district of Mero, for the protection thereof, to be mustered out, and discharged on the last day of December, in which number is to be included Lieutenant Bird and his company, sent, by your order, to fort Massac. The post at the ford of Cumberland appears to me an essential one, and, if possible, under the order of the Secretary. I wish it kept up by the militia of Mero district, until the first day of April.

You cannot be too particular in reporting to me the murders and thefts committed by Indians in the district of Mero, and it is my wish that you should, as minutely as possible, report to me every party of Indians that is discovered on the frontiers, even if such party does no mischief.

*From Governor Blount to the Secretary of War, dated*

KNOXVILLE, November 28th, 1794.

SIR:

I am still under the painful necessity to report to you, that the Creeks continue to murder the citizens of the United States, resident in this territory, in their houses and fields, for the particulars of which, I refer you to the copies of the several letters yesterday received express from General Robertson, a list of which is subjoined.

Permit me to repeat, that I have not the least doubt but the Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Cherokees, will readily aid the arms of the United States, in chastising and humbling this blood thirsty nation, who, for upwards of ten years, without the least provocation, have killed the citizens of this territory, and robbed them of their property, with an almost unremitting hand. The killing and scalping the Cherokee, by the Chickasaws, at the mouth of Bear Creek, is a thing not to be wished, since the Cherokees appear so sincerely to desire peace with the United States; but I have no doubt but this breach can be healed, if it should be judged necessary to unite them against the Creeks. It will be observed, that I have written in positive terms, that the Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Cherokees, will aid the arms of the United States against the Creeks, but it is to be understood with a proviso; which is, that I must have the earliest instructions, as to the wish of the United States, on that head, to the end that I may be enabled to speak to them in decided terms, which, as yet, I have forborne to do.

The districts of Washington and Hamilton enjoy an entire peace. The friendly Cherokees serve as a guard against the hostile Creeks.

[ENCLOSURES.]

No. 1.

*Copy of a letter from Brigadier General Robertson to Governor Blount.*

NASHVILLE, November 15, 1794.

SIR:

Your Excellency will have a view of the sufferings and apprehensions of the people of this district, when you cast your eye over the enclosed letters of Mr. John Easten, and Mr. Anthony Crutcher, last night delivered to me by Mr. James, express.

I have ordered Captain Evans, with that part of his command which was near this place, to Clarksville, augmented with a sergeant's command, to scout on the frontiers of Tennessee county, for fifteen days, and to return to this place; from thence, on the south of Cumberland; which will, I trust, prevent the settlement about Clarksville from breaking, and afford a temporary relief. The detachment of militia that pursued the Indians, who killed the families of Colonel Fittsworth, and his brother, have not yet returned. I believe that a large party of Creeks are encamped, low down on the Tennessee river, for the purpose of annoying the frontiers of this district; and I have no doubt, but it is the Creeks who killed Colonel Fittsworth's and Colonel Sevier's families. The information of the Chickasaws, warrants this belief and opinion. Should not Congress, this session, take measures for chastising the Creeks, it is impossible to say to what extremities the people of this district will be driven. Five Chickasaws and four Choctaws have been at my house for several days; they brought me the Cherokee scalp, taken by the former, on the Tennessee, at the mouth of Bear creek, and offered, if encouraged by the United States, to scout in the Cherokee hunting grounds, and kill all they could. I thought it best to keep the United States clear of blame, on that head, and left them to their own opinions. They were particular in their inquiries, how much longer the murders and thefts of the Creeks would be borne, and when an army would march against them, expressing their desire to lend a hand. I understood a party of the Choctaw chiefs intend, next spring, to visit the President. A small part of the Kentucky volunteers of General Logan arrived in this district, but readily obeyed your orders to desist from invading the Cherokees, and received, with pleasure, the news of the overtures of peace from the Lower towns.

Besides its being essential that you should be acquainted with the alarms that prevail in this district, resulting from the late murders, it has appeared to me of importance that you should receive the earliest information, to the end that it may be immediately transmitted to Congress, in the early part of the session. Therefore, I have forwarded this letter to you, express, by Samson Williams, who leaves this place to-morrow morning.

Heretofore, the Creeks generally afforded us a respite for murder and thefts, during the session of Congress, as if they had been guided by some directing hand; but at present, they have been more bold, or less cautious, and I hope their punishment will be more certain.

P. S. Since writing the above, I am informed that, on the 12th instant, the Indians killed John Covington, on his way from the Red Bank to Muddy river, in Kentucky.

No. 2.

*From Anthony Crutcher to William Crutcher, dated*

CLARKSVILLE, November 12, 1794.

DEAR BROTHER:

Yesterday I was a spectator to the most tragical scene that ever I saw in my life. The Indians made an attack on Colonel Sevier's station, killed Snyder, his wife, and child, one of Colonel Sevier's children, and another wounded and scalped, which must die. On hearing the guns, four or five of us ran over; we found the poor old Colonel defending his house with his wife. It is impossible to describe this scene to you. Mr. James, who goes to you, and was an eye witness, can give you the particulars. The crying of women and children in town, the bustle and consternation of the people, being all women and children, but the few that went out to Sevier's, was a scene which cannot be described. This is a stroke we have long expected, and from every intelligence, we hourly expect this place to be assailed by the enemy. Colonel Sevier is now moving, and the town will not stay longer than Mr. James' return. My wife now lies on her bed, so ill that it would be death to move her; thus are we situated. This place will, without doubt, be evacuated in a day or two, unless succor is given by the people from the interior part. Pray ask the influence of Major Tatum, Douglass, and all our friends, with General Robertson, to guard us, or at least help us away.

No. 3.

*From John Easten to Brigadier General Robertson, dated*

CLARKSVILLE, November 12, 1794.

DEAR SIR:

I flatter myself that the contents of this letter will be as seriously considered as the premises demand. Yesterday, about eleven o'clock in the morning, a heavy firing commenced at Colonel Sevier's, by a party of about twelve or fifteen Indians. The Colonel bravely defended his own house, and kept the savage band from entering; but they cruelly slaughtered all around him; three of his own children fell dead; Charles Snyder, and two small children, also fell. Unfortunately for us, in this place, we were not prepared to go to their assistance, for the want of men; however, I was on the ground the first man, and was the first spectator to behold the horrid sight—some scalped and barbarously cut to pieces; some tomahawked very inhumanly, and the poor helpless infants committed to the torturing flames. However, without entering farther into the horrors of this barbarous massacre, suffice it to say, that we consider ourselves in imminent danger. Indian signs almost in every quarter, which lead us to think, we stand in great need of protection. This is the object of this letter, favored by Mr. Daniel James, who comes mostly on this particular business, and I hope his journey, or the cause of his journey, will be attended to; if not, I am confident Clarksville will be evacuated; but, I flatter myself, a protection will be willingly and speedily granted.

NOTE.—Clarksville is distant from Knoxville, west, two hundred and twenty miles. The courts of Tennessee county are held at Clarksville.

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 56.

[2d SESSION.

## THE CHEROKEES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 30, 1794.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

I lay before you, for your consideration, certain additional articles of the treaty with the Cherokees, stipulated the 28th of June last, together with the conferences\* which occasioned the formation of the said articles.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, December 30, 1794.

*Articles of a Treaty between the United States of America, and the Cherokee Indians.*

Whereas the treaty made and conducted on Holston river, on the second day of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety one, between the United States of America and the Cherokee nation of Indians, has not been fully carried into execution, by reason of some misunderstandings which have arisen:

ART. 1. And whereas the undersigned, Henry Knox, Secretary for the Department of War, being authorized thereto by the President of the United States, in behalf of the said United States; and the undersigned chiefs and warriors, in their own names, and in behalf of the whole Cherokee nation; are desirous of re-establishing peace and friendship between the said parties, in a permanent manner, do hereby declare, that the said treaty of Holston is, to all intents and purposes, in full force, and binding upon the said parties, as well in respect to the boundaries therein mentioned, as in all other respects whatever.

ART. 2. It is hereby stipulated that the boundaries mentioned in the fourth article of the said treaty, shall be actually ascertained and marked, in the manner prescribed by the said article, whenever the Cherokee nation shall have ninety days' notice of the time and place at which the commissioners of the United States intend to commence their operation.

ART. 3. The United States, to evince their justice, by amply compensating the said Cherokee nation of Indians for all relinquishments of land made, either by the treaty of Hopewell, upon the Keowee river, concluded on the twenty-eighth of November, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, or the aforesaid treaty made upon Holston river, on the second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, do hereby stipulate, in lieu of all former sums to be paid annually, to furnish the Cherokee Indians with goods suitable for their use, to the amount of five thousand dollars yearly.

ART. 4. And the said Cherokee nation, in order to evince the sincerity of their intentions in future, to prevent the practice of stealing horses, attended with the most pernicious consequences to the lives and peace of both parties, do hereby agree, that, for every horse which shall be stolen from the white inhabitants by any Cherokee Indians, and not returned within three months, that the sum of fifty dollars shall be deducted from the said annuity of five thousand dollars.

ART. 5. The articles now stipulated will be considered as permanent additions to the treaty of Holston, as soon as they shall have been ratified by the President of the United States and the Senate of the United States.

In witness of all and every thing herein determined between the United States of America and the whole Cherokee nation, the parties have hereunto set their hands and seals, in the city of Philadelphia, within the United States, this twenty-sixth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

[Signed by thirteen chiefs of the Cherokee Indians.]

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 57.

[2d SESSION.

## GENERAL VIEW.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, DECEMBER 30, 1794.

*Gentlemen of the Senate**and of the House of Representatives:*

I lay before you a report made to me by the Secretary of War, respecting the frontiers of the United States. The disorders and the great expenses which incessantly arise upon the frontiers, are of a nature and magnitude to excite the most serious considerations.

I feel a confidence that Congress will devise such constitutional and efficient measures as shall be adequate to the great objects of preserving our treaties with the Indian tribes, and of affording an adequate protection to our frontiers.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, December 30th, 1794.

The Secretary of War respectfully submits to the President of the United States the following observations respecting the preservation of the peace with the Indian tribes with whom the United States have formed treaties:

To retrace the conduct of the Government of the United States towards the Indian tribes, since the adoption of the present constitution, cannot fail to afford satisfaction to every philosophic and humane mind.

A constant solicitude appears to have existed in the Executive and Congress, not only to form treaties of peace with the Indians, upon principles of justice, but to impart to them all the blessings of civilized life of which their condition is susceptible.

That a perseverance in such principles and conduct will reflect permanent honor upon the national character, cannot be doubted. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the execution of the good intentions of the public, is frequently embarrassed with perplexing considerations.

\* Not on file.

The desires of too many frontier white people, to seize, by force or fraud, upon the neighboring Indian lands, has been, and still continues to be, an unceasing cause of jealousy and hatred on the part of the Indians; and it would appear, upon a calm investigation, that, until the Indians can be quieted upon this point, and rely, with confidence upon the protection of their lands by the United States, no well grounded hope of tranquillity can be entertained.

The encroachment of white people is incessantly watched, and in unguarded moments, they are murdered by the Indians. Revenge is sought, and the innocent frontier people are too frequently involved as victims in the cruel contest. This appears to be a principal cause of Indian wars. That there are exceptions will not be denied. The passion of a young savage for war and fame, is too mighty to be restrained by the feeble advice of the old men. An adequate police seems to be wanting, either to prevent or punish the depredations of the unruly. It would afford a conscious pleasure, could the assertion be made on our parts, that we have considered the murder of Indians the same as the murders of whites, and have punished them accordingly. This, however, is not the case. The irritated passions, on account of savage cruelty, are generally too keen, in the places where trials are had, to convict and punish for the killing of an Indian. It is considered as unnecessary to cite instances, although multitudes might be adduced in almost every part of the country, from its first settlement to the present time.

If this view of the inability of both parties to keep the peace, be correct, it would seem to follow, as a just consequence, that an adequate remedy ought to be provided for an evil of such magnitude.

It is certainly an evil to be involved in hostilities with tribes of savages, amounting to two or three thousand, as is the case northwest of the Ohio. But, this evil would be greatly increased, were a general Indian war to prevail south of the Ohio—the Indian warriors of the four nations in that quarter not being much short of fourteen thousand, not to advert to the combinations which a general Indian war might produce with the European Powers, with whom the tribes, both north and south of the Ohio, are connected.

It seems that our own experience would demonstrate the propriety of endeavoring to preserve a pacific conduct, in preference to a hostile one, with the Indian tribes. The United States can get nothing by an Indian war; but they risk men, money, and reputation. As we are more powerful, and more enlightened than they are, there is a responsibility of national character, that we should treat them with kindness, and even liberality. It is a melancholy reflection, that our modes of population have been more destructive to the Indian natives than the conduct of the conquerors of Mexico and Peru. The evidence of this is the utter extirpation of nearly all the Indians in most populous parts of the Union. A future historian may mark the causes of this destruction of the human race in sable colors. Although the present Government of the United States cannot with propriety be involved in the opprobrium, yet, it seems necessary, however, in order to render their attention upon this subject strongly characteristic of their justice, that some powerful attempts should be made to tranquillize the frontiers, particularly those south of the Ohio. The situation of the settlements on Cumberland, loudly demand the interference and protection of Government. It is true, some unauthorized offensive operations have proceeded from thence, against the Lower Cherokee towns, and victims were sacrificed. Whether these victims were all warriors, or whether women and children were not involved in the destruction, seems to merit inquiry.

Upon the most mature reflection the subscriber has been able to bestow upon this subject, arising from the experience of several years' observation thereof, he humbly conceives all attempts to preserve the peace with the Indian tribes, will be found inadequate, short of an arrangement somewhat like the following, to wit:

1stly. That a line of military posts, at such distances as shall be directed, be established upon the frontiers, within the Indian boundary, and out of the ordinary jurisdiction of any State, provided consent can be obtained for the purpose from the Indian tribes; that these posts be garrisoned with regular troops, under the direction of the President of the United States.

2dly. That, if any murder or theft be committed upon any of the white inhabitants, by an Indian known to belong to any Indian nation or tribe such nation or tribe, shall be bound to deliver him or them up, to the nearest military post, in order to be tried and punished by a court martial, or, in failure thereof, the United States will take satisfaction upon the nearest Indian town belonging to such nation or tribe.

3dly. "That all persons who shall be assembled or embodied in arms, on any lands belonging to Indians, out of the ordinary jurisdiction of any State, or of the territory south of the Ohio, for the purpose of warring against the Indians, or of committing depredations upon any Indian town, or persons, or property, shall thereby become liable and subject to the rules and articles of war, which are, or shall be established for the government of the troops of the United States." This was a section of a bill which the Senate passed the last session, entitled "An act for the more effectual protection of the Southwestern frontiers;" but it was disagreed to by the House.

If to this arrangement the expense should be objected, it is to be remembered, that the President of the United States, in pursuance of law, has authorized both the Governor of Georgia, and the Governor of the Southwestern territory, to establish a defensive protection, which amounts to a large sum annually.

Posts, therefore, requiring garrisons, amounting to one thousand five hundred non-commissioned and privates for the whole Southwestern frontiers, from the St. Mary's to the Ohio, would probably be adequate to this object.

If the posts belonging to the United States, and now occupied by the British, north of the Ohio, be soon delivered up, they, with a post at the Miami villages, and posts of communication down the Wabash, on the south, and the Miami river, to lake Erie, on the north, together with a post at Presqu' isle, would be a pretty adequate protection to the frontiers north of the Ohio, and a curb to any Indian tribes discontented, without *just* cause; which, it is presumed, will never be afforded by the Government of the United States.

If to these vigorous measures should be combined the arrangement of trade, recommended to Congress, and the establishment of agents to reside in the principal Indian towns, with adequate compensations, it would seem that the Government would then have made the fairest experiments of a system of justice and humanity, which, it is presumed, could not possibly fail of being blessed with its proper effects—an honorable tranquillity of the frontiers.

All which is respectfully submitted to the President of the United States.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, *December 29th, 1794.*

## THE SIX NATIONS, AND ONEIDA, TUSCARORA, AND STOCKBRIDGE TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 2, 1795.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

A spirit of discontent, from several causes, arose, in the early part of the present year, among the Six Nations of Indians, and, particularly, on the ground of a projected settlement by Pennsylvania, at Presqu' Isle, upon lake Erie. The papers upon this point have already been laid before Congress. It was deemed proper, on my part, to endeavor to tranquillize the Indians by pacific measures; accordingly, a time and place was appointed, at which a free conference should be had upon all the causes of discontent, and an agent was appointed, with the instructions, of which No. 1, herewith transmitted, is a copy.

A numerous assembly of Indians was held at Canandaigua, in the State of New York, the proceedings whereof accompany this message, marked No. 2.

The two treaties, the one with the Six Nations, and the other with the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Indians, dwelling in the country of the Oneidas, which have resulted from the mission of the agent, are herewith laid before the Senate, for their consideration and advice.

The original engagement of the United States to the Oneidas, is also sent herewith.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, 2d January, 1795.

*A Treaty between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called the Six Nations.*

The President of the United States having determined to hold a conference with the Six Nations of Indians, for the purpose of removing from their minds all causes of complaint, and establishing a firm and permanent friendship with them; and Timothy Pickering being appointed sole agent for that purpose; and the agent having met and conferred with the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the Six Nations, in a general council: Now, in order to accomplish the good design of this conference, the parties have agreed on the following articles, which, when ratified by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, shall be binding on them and the Six Nations:

ARTICLE 1. Peace and friendship are hereby firmly established, and shall be perpetual, between the United States and the Six Nations.

ART. 2. The United States acknowledge the lands reserved to the Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga nations, in their respective treaties with the State of New York, and called their reservations, to be their property; and the United States will never claim the same, nor disturb them, or either of the Six Nations, nor their Indian friends, residing thereon, and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof; but the said reservations shall remain theirs, until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States, who have the right to purchase.

ART. 3. The land of the Seneca nation is bounded as follows: beginning on Lake Ontario, at the northwest corner of the land they sold to Oliver Phelps; the line runs westerly along the lake, as far as Oyongwongyeh creek, at Johnston's Landing Place, about four miles eastward, from the fort of Niagara; then, southerly, up that creek to its main fork; then, straight to the main fork of Stedman's creek, which empties into the river Niagara, above fort Schlosser; and then onward, from that fork, continuing the same straight course, to that river; (this line, from the mouth of Oyongwongyeh creek, to the river Niagara, above fort Schlosser, being the eastern boundary of a strip of land, extending from the same line to Niagara river, which the Seneca nation ceded to the King of Great Britain, at a treaty held about thirty years ago, with Sir William Johnston;) then the line runs along the Niagara river to Lake Erie; then along Lake Erie, to the northeast corner of a triangular piece of land, which the United States conveyed to the State of Pennsylvania, as by the President's patent, dated the third day of March, 1792; then due south to the northern boundary of that State; then due east to the southwest corner of the land sold by the Seneca nation to Oliver Phelps; and then north and northerly, along Phelps's line, to the place of beginning, on Lake Ontario. Now, the United States acknowledge all the land within the aforementioned boundaries, to be the property of the Seneca nation; and the United States will never claim the same, nor disturb the Seneca nation, nor any of the Six Nations, or of their Indian friends residing thereon, and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof; but it shall remain theirs, until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States, who have the right to purchase.

ART. 4. The United States having thus described and acknowledged what lands belong to the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, and engaged never to claim the same, nor to disturb them, or any of the Six Nations, or their Indian friends residing thereon, and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof: now, the Six Nations, and each of them, hereby engage that they will never claim any other lands within the boundaries of the United States, nor ever disturb the people of the United States in the free use and enjoyment thereof.

ART. 5. The Seneca nation, all others of the Six Nations concurring, cede to the United States the right of making a wagon road from fort Schlosser to Lake Erie, as far south as Buffalo creek; and the people of the United States shall have the free and undisturbed use of this road, for the purposes of travelling and transportation. And the Six Nations, and each of them, will forever allow to the people of the United States, a free passage through their lands, and the free use of the harbors and rivers adjoining, and within their respective tracts of land, for the passing and securing of vessels and boats, and liberty to land their cargoes, where necessary, for their safety.

ART. 6. In consideration of the peace and friendship hereby established, and of the engagements entered into by the Six Nations; and because the United States desire, with humanity and kindness, to contribute to their comfortable support; and to render the peace and friendship hereby established strong and perpetual, the United States now deliver to the Six Nations, and the Indians of the other nations residing among, and united with them, a quantity of goods, of the value of ten thousand dollars. And for the same considerations, and with a view to promote the future welfare of the Six Nations, and of their Indian friends aforesaid, the United States will add the sum of three thousand dollars to the one thousand five hundred dollars heretofore allowed them by an article ratified by the President, on the twenty third day of April, 1792, making in the whole four thousand five hundred dollars; which shall be expended yearly, forever, in purchasing clothing, domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils, suited to their circumstances, and in compensating useful artificers, who shall reside with or near them, and be employed for their benefit. The immediate application of the whole annual allowance now stipulated, to be made by the superintendent, appointed by the President, for the affairs of the Six Nations, and their Indian friends aforesaid.

ART. 7. Lest the firm peace and friendship now established should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, the United States and Six Nations agree, that, for injuries done by individuals, on either side, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place; but, instead thereof, complaint shall be made by the party injured, to the other: by the Six Nations, or any of them, to the President of the United States, or the superintendent by him appointed; and by the superintendent, or other person appointed by the President, to the principal chiefs of the Six Nations, or of the nation to which the offender belongs; and such prudent measures shall then be pursued, as shall be necessary to preserve our peace and friendship unbroken, until the Legislature (or great council) of the United States shall make other equitable provision for the purpose.

NOTE. It is clearly understood by the parties to this treaty, that the annuity, stipulated in the sixth article, is to be applied to the benefit of such of the Six Nations, and of their Indian friends united with them, as aforesaid, as do or shall reside within the boundaries of the United States: for the United States do not interfere with nations, tribes, or families of Indians, elsewhere resident.

In witness whereof, the said Timothy Pickering, and the sachems and war chiefs of the said Six Nations, have hereunto set their hands and seals.

Done at Canandaigua, in the State of New York, the eleventh day of November, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

[Signed by fifty-nine sachems and war chiefs of the Six Nations.]



*A Treaty between the United States of America and the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Indians, dwelling in the country of the Oneidas.*

Whereas, in the late war between Great Britain and the United States of America, a body of the Oneida and Tuscarora and Stockbridge Indians, adhered faithfully to the United States, and assisted them with their warriors; and, in consequence of this adherence and assistance, the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, at an unfortunate period of the war, were driven from their homes, and their houses were burnt, and their property destroyed; and, as the United States, in the time of their distress, acknowledged their obligations to these faithful friends, and promised to reward them; and the United States being now in a condition to fulfil the promises then made, the following articles are stipulated by the respective parties, for that purpose; to be in force, when ratified by the President and Senate:

ARTICLE. 1. The United States will pay the sum of five thousand dollars, to be distributed among individuals of the Oneida and Tuscarora nations, as a compensation for their individual losses and services, during the late war between Great Britain and the United States. The only man of the Kaughnawaugas, now remaining in the Oneida country, as well as some few very meritorious persons of the Stockbridge Indians, will be considered in the distribution.

ART. 2. For the general accommodation of these Indian nations, residing in the country of the Oneidas, the United States will cause to be erected a complete grist mill and saw mill, in a situation to serve the present principal settlements of these nations; or, if such one convenient situation cannot be found, then the United States will cause to be erected two such grist mills and saw mills, in places where it is now known the proposed accommodation may be effected. Of this the United States will judge.

ART. 3. The United States will provide, during three years after the mills shall be completed, for the expense of employing one or two suitable persons to manage the mills, to keep them in repair, to instruct some young men of the three nations in the arts of the miller and sawyer, and to provide teams and utensils for carrying on the work of the mills.

ART. 4. The United States will pay one thousand dollars, to be applied in building a convenient church at Oneida, in the place of the one which was there burnt by the enemy, in the late war.

ART. 5. In consideration of the above stipulations, to be performed on the part of the United States, the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Indians, aforementioned, now acknowledge themselves satisfied, and relinquish all other claims of compensation and rewards for their losses and services in the late war; excepting, only, the unsatisfied claims of such men of the said nations as bore commissions under the United States, for any arrears which may be due to them as officers.

In witness whereof, the chiefs of those nations, residing in the country of the Oneidas, and Timothy Pickering, agent for the United States, have hereto set their hands and seals, at Oneida, the second day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

[Signed by fifteen sachems and war-chiefs, of the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Indians.]

[NOTE.—Other papers, referred to in the message, are not on file.]

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 59.

[2d SESSION.

THE CREEKS.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, JANUARY 12, 1795.

*Gentlemen of the Senate  
and of the House of Representatives:*

I lay before Congress for their consideration, the copy of a letter from the Secretary of War, accompanied by an extract from a memorandum of James Seagrove, Agent of Indian affairs.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, January 12th, 1795.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, December 31st, 1794.

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose you the opinion of James Seagrove, agent for the Creek nation, upon the subject of the negroes which ought to have been returned in pursuance of the treaty of New York.

I beg leave to add, that, if the United States deem it inexpedient to press for a return of the negroes, that it would appear proper that the owners should be compensated, conformably to some equitable principles to be devised.

If this idea should be just, it would be proper for the President to present it to Congress, in the just shape of which it is susceptible.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, your obedient servant,

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

The PRESIDENT of the United States:

*Memorandum from James Seagrove, Agent of Indian Affairs, for the Secretary of War United States.*

[EXTRACT.]

It is the agent's opinion, that it is a thing impossible for the Indians to comply with the treaty of New York, so far as respects giving up the negroes, and other property taken from the citizens of Georgia, from the conclusion of the late British war, until the time of forming said treaty; and that, therefore, to prevent a useless and disagreeable altercation, the General Government had better make good the losses sustained, which will not be very great. The number of negroes taken, under these circumstances, by the Creeks, cannot, he thinks, exceed sixty or seventy. The former owners of negroes would be pleased with this mode of settlement.

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 60.

[2d SESSION.

## PROTECTION OF THE FRONTIERS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 27, 1795.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, January 26th, 1795.

SIR:

In pursuance of a resolution of the House of Representatives, of the 21st instant, requesting the President of the United States to "direct the proper officer to lay before the House a statement of the number of troops that will be necessary to maintain such a line of military posts as it will be expedient to establish, effectually to protect the frontiers of the United States," I submit the following report; and am,

With great respect, sir, your most obedient servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING, *Secretary of War.*

The SPEAKER of the House of Representatives  
of the United States.

*Report of the Secretary of War on the above-mentioned Resolution.*

The attempt to form the statement required in the resolution, has been found extremely embarrassing: our situation, at this time, presenting no definite object to which military operations shall be pointed.

Although, lately, on our Northwestern frontier, victory attended our arms, and the principal villages of our savage enemies were destroyed; yet it does not appear that these events have produced amongst them a general disposition to make peace. If they continue hostile, a force merely defensive will be insufficient to secure the advantages we have gained. Our most advanced posts are from a hundred and fifty to nearly a hundred and eighty miles from the Ohio. At present we can support them with troops, stores, and provisions, only from that river. For this purpose, a chain of posts must be maintained, besides a very respectable force, to ensure the safety of the convoys. The hostile nations may yet embody in numbers nearly equal to those which opposed our arms in the last campaign. Consequently, the convoys should be of strength, not only to resist, but to overcome them; otherwise, the necessary support of the posts may fail, and then they must be abandoned, or left to fall victims to famine or the enemy. But to abandon those posts, would be, in a great measure, to surrender the fruits of the last campaign. It would be a confession of our weakness; and, by encouraging the enemy to persevere, prolong the war.

On the frontiers of the Southwestern territory, and of Georgia, there is not yet, indeed, an open war; nevertheless, the continued depredations of the Creeks and Cherokees have rendered it necessary to keep up in the former a small permanent force, and occasionally to call out bodies of the militia. But the representations from that quarter, now before the House, show how inadequate have been the forces for the effectual protection of that frontier.

In Georgia, the dangerous situation of its back settlers, as exhibited by the Governor of that State, induced the President to authorize him to erect, with his militia, so many stations as, joined with those garrisoned by the Federal troops, formed a chain of posts along its whole extensive frontier, and corps of militia-horse patrolled between them. But, numerous as were the stations and troops, the Governor (an experienced soldier) deemed them unequal to the object of a full defence.

Besides our Indian frontier, the sea-coast is to be guarded. The fortifications, now erecting, will require, to aid in completing, and to man them, the greater part of the corps of artillerists and engineers; which seems to have been organized principally for that purpose.

In this view of the situation of the United States, while negotiations with the foreign nations who possess adjoining territories are depending; while a restoration of peace with the Western Indians is uncertain; and while an extension of open war with other and more powerful tribes is impending; it would seem highly inexpedient and unsafe to depend on a permanent force, short of our present military establishment, especially when it is considered that sickness and other contingencies will forever make large deductions from its efficient numbers.

All which is respectfully submitted.

TIMOTHY PICKERING, *Secretary of War.*

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 61.

[2d SESSION.

## THE NORTHWESTERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, ON THE 30TH OF JANUARY, 1795.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, January 30, 1795.

SIR:

The President of the United States has instructed me to communicate, *in confidence*, to the Senate, the despatches from Major General Wayne, herewith transmitted, dated the 23d of December last, and which were received on the 28th instant.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING, *Secretary of War.*

The VICE PRESIDENT of the United States.

*Extract of a letter from Major General Wayne to the Secretary of War, dated*

HEAD QUARTERS, GREENVILLE, 23d December, 1794.

S:

I have the honor to inform you, that the flag from the Wyandots of Sandusky, after an absence of forty-two days, returned to this place on the evening of the 14th instant.

The enclosed copies of letters and speeches, will best demonstrate the insidious part recently taken by the British agents, Messrs. Simcoe, M<sup>r</sup> Kee, and Brandt, to stimulate the savages to continue the war, who being but

too well acquainted with the near approach of that period, in which the legion will be *dissolved*, have artfully suggested a suspension of hostilities until spring, in order to lull us into a state of security, to prevent the raising of troops, and to afford the Indians an opportunity to make their fall and winter hunt unmolested.

In the interim, the British are vigilantly employed in strengthening and making additions to their fortification at the foot of the rapids of the Miamies of the lake, evidently with a view of convincing the Indians of their determination to assist and protect them; hence, there is strong ground to conclude, that Governor Simcoe has not received any orders to the contrary, otherwise he would not presume to persevere in those nefarious acts of hostility.

The Wyandots and other Indians, at and in the vicinity of the rapids of Sandusky, are completely within our power, and their hunting grounds all within striking distance; hence their present solicitude for a suspension of hostilities.

It is, however, probable that ——— may now be seriously inclined for peace, being the only surviving principal chief out of four, belonging to the Wyandots of Sandusky; the other three were killed in the action of the 20th August, and he himself shot through the right elbow, which has deprived him of the use of that arm; add to this his present candid information and opinion, which is corroborated by ———, now with me, who has a little village of his own, consisting of a few Indian families, settled at ———, and well known to be friendly to the United States.

All those people either are, or affect to be, in dread of the hostile Indians in the vicinity of Detroit, (who are under the immediate influence of the British agents) on account of the part they have recently taken.

——— says, that the present flag is sent without the privity or consent of those tribes, and expresses some doubts of its safe return, should any of the hostile Indians meet it on its way home, and discover the object of its mission.

I shall endeavor to benefit by this real or affected dread, and propose to take them under the immediate protection of the United States, and to build a fortification at the foot of the rapids of Sandusky, as soon as the season and circumstances will permit; this will serve as a criterion by which their sincerity may be tried, and perfectly consistent with the treaty of the 9th January, 1789.

But unless Congress have already, or will immediately adopt effectual measures to raise troops, to garrison this as well as the other posts already established, it would only be a work of supererogation, as the whole must be abandoned by the middle of May.

I have, however, succeeded in dividing and distracting the counsels of the hostile Indians, and hope, through that means, eventually to bring about a general peace, or to compel the refractory to pass the Mississippi, and to the northwest side of the lakes.

The British agents have greatly the advantage in this business at present, by having it in their power to furnish the Indians with every necessary supply of arms, ammunition, and clothing, in exchange for their skins and furs, which will always make the savages dependent upon them, until the United States establish trading houses in their country, from which they can be supplied with equal facility, and at as reasonable rates.

The country we acquired in the course of the late campaign, and the posts we now occupy, are happily situate for this purpose, and which, with the addition of a post at Sandusky, and one at the mouth of the Miamies of the lake, would render the Indians as dependent upon the United States then, as they are now upon the British.

If my recollection serves me, the President has, more than once, recommended this measure to the serious attention of Congress; and without it is adopted, we can never expect a permanent peace with, or fidelity from the Indians.

Could I, with truth and propriety, pledge myself to the hostile tribes, that this measure would be adopted, and that they would, with certainty, be supplied in this way, in the course of the ensuing spring, as well as in future, I am confident we should draw them over to our interest, notwithstanding every effort of the British to prevent it; because the inclemency of the winter season, the sterility of soil, and the scarcity of game, within the British territory, are all opposed to their removing to the north side of the lakes; and certain I am, that, had not Governor Simcoe held up to the Indians, at the late council, the fond, but, I trust, idle hope, of compelling the Americans to abandon and relinquish to them, all the posts and lands on the west side of the Ohio, the principal part of the hostile tribes would either have accepted of the invitation to treat, or have passed to the Spanish side of the Mississippi, in the course of the fall and winter. Possibly they may yet do the one or the other, as I am informed that their present dependent situation is far from pleasant; nor have we much cause to envy the British the pleasure and expense of supporting and clothing this numerous horde of savages, thrown upon them by their own insidious conduct, and the fortuitous events of war.

#### *A short sketch of the proceedings of the Council at the Big Rock.*

A sketch of a speech from the Wyandot chiefs, in the behalf of all their confederates, some time ago; about the 10th October, 1794.

FATHER:

We request of you to give your sentiments candidly; we have been for this many years in wars and troubles; you have, from time to time, promised us your assistance. When is your promise to be fulfilled?

Their father's answer.

CHILDREN:

Your question is very difficult to be answered. I will relate an ancient history, perhaps before any of you here were born. When I first came into this country, I found it in the possession of your fathers the French; we soon became enemies with each other; in time, the Great Spirit above gave the conquest in my favor. In those days the United States were my subjects; we lived in this state for many years after; at last the Americans began to act impudently, which caused a rupture between us; however, the contest lasted for a while; at last we made peace; from that period, they have been encroaching upon your lands. I looked on as a spectator; never would say a word; they have even named the rivers that empty themselves into the Ohio.

CHILDREN: I am still of opinion, that the Ohio is your right and title. I have given orders to the commandant of fort Miami to fire on the Americans, whenever they make their appearance again. I will go down to Quebec, and lay your grievances before the great man; from thence, it will be forwarded to the King, your father. Next spring you will know the result of every thing, what you and I will do.

———, of the Wyandots of Sandusky, sent the following verbal information, by ———, a confidential warrior, and which he did not think prudent to commit to writing, for fear of accident; and desires it may be considered as supplementary and explanatory, to the sketch of the proceedings of the council at the *Big Rock*, on or about the 10th of October, 1794, viz:

Governor Simcoe insisted, that the Indians should not listen to any terms of peace from the Americans, but to propose a truce, or suspension of hostilities, until the spring, when a grand council and assemblage of all the warriors and tribes of Indians should take place, for the purpose of compelling the Americans to cross to the east side of the Ohio; and in the interim, advised every nation to sign a deed or conveyance of all their lands, on the west side of the Ohio, to the King, in trust for the Indians, so as to give the British a pretext or color for assisting them, in case the Americans refused to abandon all their posts and possessions on the west side of that river; and which the Indians should warn them to do, immediately after they, the Indians, were assembled in force in the spring, and to call upon the British to guaranty the lands thus ceded in trust, and to make a general attack upon the frontiers at the same time: That the British would be prepared to attack the Americans, also, in every quarter, and would compel them to cross the Ohio, and to give up the lands to the Indians.

Captain Brandt also told them, to keep a good heart, and be strong; to do as their father advised; that he would return home, for the present, with his warriors, and come again early in the spring, with an additional number, so as

to have the whole summer before them, to fight, kill, and pursue the Americans, who could not possibly stand against the force and numbers that would be opposed to them; that he had been always successful, and would ensure them victory. But that he would not attack the Americans at this time, as it would only put them upon their guard, and bring them upon the Indians in this quarter, during the winter; therefore he advised them to amuse the Americans with a prospect of peace, until they should collect in force to fall upon them early in the spring, and when least expected.

That, agreeably to this plan or advice, the real hostile tribes will be sending *flags* frequently during the winter, with propositions of peace, but this is all fraud and art, to put the Americans off their guard.

The British made large presents to the Indians at the late council, and continue to furnish them with provision from Colonel McKee's new stores, near the mouth of the Miamies of lake Erie, where all the Indians are hutted or in tents, whose towns and property were destroyed last summer, and who will sign away their lands, and do exactly what the British request them; this was the general prevailing opinion at the breaking up of the council; since which period, the message and propositions of the 5th November, addressed to the different tribes of Indians proposing the treaty of the 9th January, 1789, held at the mouth of Muskingum, as a preliminary upon which a permanent peace should be established, has been communicated to them; upon which, a considerable number of the chiefs of several of the tribes assembled again, and were determined to come forward to treat, say about the first of this moon. But Colonel McKee was informed of it, and advised them against the measure, and to be faithful to their *father*, as they had promised. He then made them additional presents, far beyond any thing that they had ever heretofore received, which inclined a majority to adhere to Governor Simcoe's propositions, and they returned home accordingly.

That, notwithstanding this, the chiefs and nations are much divided, some for peace, and some for war; the Wyandots of Sandusky are for peace; those near Detroit for war; the Delawares are equally divided, so are the Miamies, but are dependent upon the British for provisions; the Shawanese and Tawas are for war; the Pattawatamies and Chippewas are gone home, sore from the late action.

That such of the chiefs and warriors as are inclined for peace, will call a council, and endeavor to bring it about, upon the terms proposed, as they wish to hold their lands under the Americans, and not under the British, whose title they do not like.

That Colonel McKee has spies upon all his (the informer's) movements, and that the Indians of Sandusky are in a very disagreeable situation, and are apprehensive that they will be compelled to remove, under the protection of the Americans, or to take a part with the bad Indians, unless they can obtain a majority for peace during the winter, which they do not despair of; in that case, the signal will be a ———; when that comes, rest assured it is peace; but don't believe the other flags.

*Copy of a letter from General Wayne to ———, dated*

HEAD QUARTERS, GREENVILLE, 5th November, 1794.

Your several letters of the 27th of September, and an extract of a speech which the chiefs and warriors were to have sent from Sandusky, if the evil advice had not been adhered to, were delivered to me at the Miami village, by ———, some days since; he now remains at this place to take care of ———, who has been very unwell, but now on the recovery; every attention shall be paid to him until he is perfectly restored to health.

The part you have taken to bring about a peace between the United States and the hostile tribes of Indians is highly pleasing to me. Continue to exert your influence to accomplish that good work, and you shall be liberally rewarded for your fidelity and trouble.

You will observe, by the speech of the 4th instant, that I have proposed the treaty made at Muskingum, on the 9th of January, 1789, as a preliminary or foundation of a permanent and lasting peace. A duplicate of this treaty was delivered to the Wyandots, and is probably now in your possession; from part of it being recognised and quoted in the extract of the speech of the 26th September, 1794, and as you attended that treaty in person, you must be well acquainted with the principles upon which it was founded.

I have cause to believe that my speech to the hostile tribes of Indians, of the 12th September last, was in great part suppressed by some of your bad white people at the foot of the Rapids.

I, therefore, send a copy of it, as well as my speech of the 13th of August, by this opportunity, which you will please fully and clearly to explain to your people; perhaps you may find it convenient to come to this place immediately after the receipt of this, when matters can be better and more fully understood, and I hereby pledge my sacred honor for the safe return of yourself and all such chiefs and warriors as may accompany you.

Wishing that the Great Spirit may incline all your hearts and minds to peace, and that we may soon have a happy interview,

I am your friend and brother,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

*Copy of a letter from ——— to Major General Wayne, dated*

SANDUSKY, 4th December, 1794.

**BROTHERS:**

When I received your speeches I made no delay in despatching the messenger back to you, that you might be informed how matters go on; but unluckily there fell a great quantity of rain, which caused the rivers to overflow. I now make a second trial, which I hope will not fail.

I have now the honor to communicate to your Excellency that ———, the chief of this place, is returned; he did not go as far as the Big Rock. I have delivered him the speech, and explained the others to him at the same time; he was much pleased to hear your good will towards us. He now sends for answer to yours, as follows:

**BROTHERS:** I am highly pleased to hear your voice, which you have communicated to me. I hope that the Great Spirit above will incline our hearts to that way of thinking. The chiefs would have been there long before now, to speak with you, but the evil spirit deprived us of it; but still you must not be out of hopes. Next spring you may depend upon us; we shall settle all matters to the satisfaction of all parties.

Our father will, or has, promised to settle this for us. You must not think that this will be managed as it was with the last council at the Miami river; that time, when you sent your commissioners, it was our father that disappointed us both; that time we are not to be blamed for it.

**BROTHERS:** I must inform you that I will tell all my warriors to lay down their hatchets, and not strike any more upon you, and I hope you will do the same with yours; there may be some foolish young men, such as those that have no home, do mischief to you; for those I cannot answer.

My greatest thanks to you for your good will towards us, which I hope the Great Spirit above will incline our hearts to keep this law.

I am, brothers, your friend.

SANDUSKY, 18th November, 1794.

**BROTHERS—the United States:**

I received yours of the 4th and 5th ultimo, and have the honor to inform your Excellency that all came safe to hand. Never was I more transported with joy at the receipt of them, and that mine had got safe to you.

You have explained yourself so liberal, just, and with equity, to them, on the 13th August and 12th September, 1794, it cannot bear the least doubt of your sincerity and good will towards us brown skin people. You have cer-

tainly taken the greatest pains to bring us to a right understanding with the Fifteen Fires. But, alas! as the evil minded people would have it, all would not confide. Whereas, the truth was obscured, and no attention paid at all to it. This has been the case always, particularly since the treaty at Muskingum. To this period have I waited with patience to see if they would find out their error. I saw no probability of its ever being discovered, (perhaps not till it was too late.) I then put upon foot, and insisted strongly, that we should make a trial for that desirable object of peace with the United States, which they complied with frankness. You will see, by the extract of a speech I delivered on the 25th September, 1794, to the chiefs and warriors of this place.

Your speech I have despatched from this on the 13th instant, to the Wyandot chiefs at the Big Rock, near Detroit, as ——— was not here. He left this a few days past for the aforesaid place. Very fortunately, the day before, one of the chiefs of this place returned from hunting, who is my right hand man, and one that was here before; the only two joined me.

I was very sorry that you did not send a few strings of white wampum. However, as my confidence is now on you, it was not long without one. I gave four strings, one hundred grains and two feet each string, with a light blue (Indian) ribbon tied to one end, that you might know it again.

You may rest assured that I did not spare wisdom and integrity, so as nothing should be deficient. You will see also by a letter I wrote to ———, who is a good advocate for war and mischief.

I have instructed the chief I send in with all the contents of it, and desired him to explain it to the chiefs, if in case the other did not.

Your Excellency has honored me with an invitation, if I would find it convenient. You will be pleased to admit my apology; circumstances will not allow me at present. Perhaps I or some other will be sent with their deputations, whenever the council is finished.

My reasons for sending you an answer so soon, that you might be informed of the delays incident to this affair; as, also, his time was expiring fast, and to prevent your uneasiness of mind.

I have sent you a sketch of what was done at the Big Rock lately. It does not seem to be any ways satisfactory to us. Be you assured, brothers, that every word I have advanced you is with honor and truth. I will, to the utmost of my power, use my influence to accomplish the good work we are upon. If it should eventually prove ineffectual, that shall not prevent me from holding fast the chain of friendship with the United States; and allow me the honor to return you my grateful gratifications for the good reception my people has had from you.

I am, brother, your friend.

*Extract of a speech to the chiefs and warriors of Sandusky, the 25th September, 1794.*

Listen, chiefs and warriors of Sandusky! I told you, when I returned from Detroit, and found you all in such distress, that I had something to say to you all of importance. I am now come forward to speak. Listen chiefs and warriors.

I will now make known to you all my sentiments from my heart, respecting our present situation. I do acknowledge that to be our case; the most alarming circumstance that has ever happened to us and our country.

It appears to me as if we were going to be extirpated from our native soil. You all seem to be entirely lost; and that you are not able to speak for yourselves any more; that you are not able to plan our affairs for our future advantage.

For this reason I now come forward to speak a few words, how we ought to act for our safety, in order that we may enjoy a while longer our lands. You know my right and duty, and the trust you have reposed in me by the first chiefs of the Wyandots.

We are now arrived at a period which demands justice, and tells us to look around and see the most distressing appearance. What an object it is for us to contemplate on. How unhappy I am to see you all in this state; to think that we are so near abandoning our lands. What will become of us? Surely, we will be in the greatest distress imaginable. The only plan I can see for our future happiness, is to demand a hearing from the United States once more. I think they would certainly hear our voice, for they are a humane people. I am now, from this day forward, resolved to send, in a few days, some of our warriors to demand proposals from the United States, concerning our lands. Be expeditious, and let me know your sentiments upon this head, that I may communicate it to them. All that I have to request of you in particular, is, you must not advise your father any more, for he has deceived us too often. Is it not a great shame that you will not believe your own flesh and blood? You ought certainly to know that your ill conduct would be equally hurtful to me, as it would be to yourselves.

I have now reminded you of the trust and confidence you have placed in me; that I was to see justice done you, and prohibit wrong. I am now determined, as I said before, to execute my office by some means or other. Here is four thousand of white wampum, which I deliver you, chiefs and warriors, as a token of my resolution to bring you all to your senses, that you may be enabled to see what right is, when I bring it forward to you.

*Extract of a letter from Captain Thomas Pasteur to Major General Wayne, dated*

Fort Knox, November 3d, 1794.

I am informed from Kaskaskias, that the hostile Indians are crossing the Mississippi every day; they say there is no withstanding the Americans, and they will go away. Several of the chiefs of the Wabash have been to see me; they say the Indians above are crying, and they believe what I had told them before was very true, for the British would soon cry as well as the bad Indians; but they hoped their father would have a little pity for their bad brothers.

On the above passage, General Wayne remarks, that it corroborates information heretofore received, of the intention of those Indians to cross the Mississippi; "add to this, (says he) that there are no late appearances of an enemy in the vicinity of any of our advanced posts, except from a number of printed hand bills, such as the enclosed, that are occasionally dropped near fort Defiance, evidently calculated to promote desertion, which has had some effect."

The hand bill referred to, is as follows:

*To all Loyal and Gallant Subjects—Recruits!*

Wanted; for his Majesty's 1st American regiment, or Queen's rangers, of which his Excellency Lieutenant Governor Simcoe is colonel commandant, fifty active young men.

Gentlemen-volunteers shall receive ten guineas bounty money each, on their approval, at the head quarters of the regiment, enter into free quarters, be clothed, accoutred, victualled, and paid agreeably to his Majesty's regulations. None need apply to ———, but such as are perfectly fit for the most active service, at least five feet four and a-half inches high, healthy and stout.

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 62.

[2d SESSION.

## THE CHEROKEES AND CREEKS.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, ON THE 17TH OF FEBRUARY, 1795.

*Gentlemen of the Senate**and of the House of Representatives:*

I have received copies of two acts of the Legislature of Georgia, one passed on the twenty-eighth day of December, and the other on the seventh day of January last, for appropriating and selling the Indian lands within the territorial limits claimed by that State. These copies, though not officially certified, have been transmitted to me in such a manner as to leave no room to doubt their authenticity. These acts embrace an object of such magnitude and in their consequences may so deeply affect the peace and welfare of the United States, that I have thought it necessary now to lay them before Congress.

In confidence, I also forward copies of several documents and papers received from the Governor of the South-western territory. By these, it seems, that hostilities with the Cherokees have ceased, and that there is a pleasing prospect of a permanent peace with that nation. But, from all the communications of the Governor, it appears that the Creeks, in small parties, continue their depredations; and it is uncertain to what they may finally lead.

The several papers now communicated, deserve the immediate attention of Congress, who will consider how far the subjects of them may require their co-operation.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, February 17th, 1795.

An Act for appropriating a part of the unlocated territory of this State for payment of the late State troops, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia in General Assembly met and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That, on the expiration of two months after the Indian claim shall be extinguished to the territory hereinafter described, it shall be lawful for any person or persons to obtain a warrant of survey from his Excellency the Governor, for the time being, under the regulations and restrictions hereinafter mentioned, that is to say: There shall be a commissioner of locations, appointed by the Legislature, in each county within this State, whose duty it shall be to keep a fair book of entries, in the form to be prescribed by the Secretary of the State and the Surveyor General, and to receive applications for warrants in terms of this act; but, previously to making any entry therein, such commissioner of locations shall require a certificate of two or more freeholders, together with the oath or affirmation of the person applying, taken before him in writing, setting forth the number and description of his family entitled to head rights, and that they do intend to settle the lands applied for, agreeably to the tenor of this act, which oath, or affirmation, the said commissioners are severally authorized and required to administer, a copy of which entry, together with the certificate and affidavit aforesaid, shall be transmitted, under the hand and seal of such commissioner, to his Excellency the Governor, who shall thereupon issue his warrant to the person making the entry, as aforesaid, or to his, her, or their legal representatives, under a proper check, directed to all and singular the surveyors to be appointed under this act. And the said commissioners of location shall be, and they are hereby, entitled to demand and receive of the persons applying for and obtaining entries, as aforesaid, the sum of half a dollar for every entry so made by him. And such commissioners, of locations shall, before they enter upon the duties of their office, be respectively sworn, before one or more of the justices of the inferior court of the county in which they shall reside, and enter into bond, with sufficient security, in the sum of one thousand pounds, each, payable to his Excellency the Governor, and his successor, for the due and faithful performance of the duties required of them by this act, which bonds shall be taken by the clerks of the inferior courts of the several counties, and be by them transmitted to the Executive. And his Excellency the Governor shall be entitled to receive, on every warrant issued by him, the sum of half a dollar, and his secretaries half a dollar, and all grants issued in pursuance of this act shall be free from State fees.

*And be it further enacted,* That all such warrants may be located to any part or parcel of land south of the Oconee, and within the boundary line described in and by an act, passed and dated at Augusta, on the thirty-first of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, entitled "An act for suppressing the violences of the Indians." And, after such warrant is obtained, it shall be the duty of either of the surveyors of the districts, hereinafter mentioned, or their deputies, to survey the same, in the order in which such warrants may be delivered to them, and in the manner following, viz: The said surveyors shall make two fair plats of all surveys made by them, the scale whereof to be inserted in such plats, and shall plainly and distinctly designate thereon the beginning, angles, distances, marks, and water courses, and other remarkable places crossed or touched, or near to the lines of such lands, and also the quantity of acres, and shall transmit such plats to the surveyor general's office, together with the warrant or order of survey, one of which, with the warrant, shall be filed by the surveyor general, and the other annexed to the grant. And no survey shall be made without chain carriers, who shall actually measure the land surveyed, and shall be paid by the party, for whom the survey shall be made; and such chain carriers shall be first sworn to measure justly and truly, and to deliver a true account thereof to the surveyor, which oath every surveyor is hereby empowered and required to administer. And every survey shall be bounded by natural boundaries, or right lines, and shall be an exact square, unless where such lines interfere with lands already granted or surveyed, or unless where the survey shall be made on any river, or water course, above the width of fifty feet; in which last case the water shall form one side of the survey, and the breadth on such water shall not be more than one-half of the distance back from the water; and the lines of every survey shall be distinctly and plainly marked, leaving no part thereof open, and there shall be one or more station trees plainly marked with a blaze and three chops, in every line, except where it is rendered impracticable by swamps or water courses: *Provided, nevertheless,* That nothing herein contained shall be construed to extend to prevent any person from obtaining a survey of any island or islands in the navigable waters, the quantity of which shall not exceed what is allowed by this act to be contained in one survey: *Provided, also,* That no person or persons shall be allowed to obtain a warrant for more than three hundred acres for his, her, or their head right, and fifty acres for his wife, and fifty acres for every free-born child he or they may have, under the age of sixteen years; and all unmarried persons, from that age and upwards, shall be entitled to a warrant of three hundred acres: *And provided, also,* Any person or persons obtaining such warrant, and making such survey, the surveyor making the same, shall, within two months thereafter, advertise the same, in two or more public places adjoining such district, as also in one of the gazettes, in the town of Augusta, at least three months before the same shall be sent to the surveyor general's office, in order to obtain a grant.

*And be it further enacted,* That the officers and soldiers of the late State troops, and their representatives, shall be, and they are hereby, entitled to receive a warrant from his Excellency the Governor, in like manner with the citizens aforesaid, on producing the genuine original bounty warrant, issued under, and by virtue of, the aforesaid act, for such quantity as is therein expressed; and the said surveyors, to be appointed as aforesaid, shall not locate or survey any lands in the said districts, under any other warrant or warrants whatever, than those issued agreeably to the directions of this act.

*And be it further enacted,* That every person or persons making such survey or surveys, shall, within twelve months, settle in said district, and cultivate at least one acre for every hundred acres he may so locate, and that no one person shall obtain a warrant, in his own name, for any larger quantity than is herein before specified.

*And be it further enacted,* That, for the encouragement of persons desirous of settling on the said lands, and to extend the limits and increase the population of this State, the said district or country shall be exempt from taxes, for the space of four years, from and after this act shall take effect; and no person or persons shall be bound to pay for such land, more than the usual and customary office fees.

*And be it further enacted,* That the surveyors to be appointed by this act, for the faithful performance of their duty, shall, each and every of them, give bond and sufficient security to his Excellency the Governor, for the time being, in the sum of three thousand pounds, and shall take and subscribe the oath usually administered to surveyors. Any person or persons, or surveyor, who shall presume to survey land in the said district, not duly authorized, each and every such person or persons shall, for every survey made, forfeit and pay the sum of ten shillings for every acre so surveyed, one-half to the informer, and the other half to and for the use and benefit of this State, which sum shall be prosecuted for by the department of the Attorney General, on the information of any person, and all such surveys shall be, and they are hereby declared to be, null and void.

And whereas many persons have surveyed lands contrary to the laws and welfare of this State, *Be it enacted,* That all such survey, or surveys, and the grants founded thereon, be, and the same, and each and every of them, are hereby declared to be, null and void.

*And be it further enacted,* That the sum of twenty thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby, appropriated for the purpose of extinguishing the Indian claims to such territory (should any there be) and the Senators and Representatives of this State, in the Congress of the United States, are required to apply, without loss of time, for a treaty to be held with such tribes or nations of Indians who may claim the right of soil to such lands, and this law shall begin to operate within two months after the extinguishment of such claim or claims.

*And be it further enacted,* That three commissioners be appointed to attend any treaty to be held under the authority of the United States, for the purpose of extinguishing the Indian claims to the territory aforesaid, who shall be entitled to receive six dollars per day each, as a compensation for their services, and they shall be allowed a secretary, who shall receive three dollars per day for his services.

And whereas the Indian claims to that tract of country called and known by Tallassee, lying between the rivers Altamaha and St. Mary's, were extinguished by commissioners appointed by the Legislature of this State, in October, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, by treaty: *Be it therefore enacted,* That all that tract of country known by the name of Tallassee, be, and the same is hereby, annexed and set apart, for location, in the same manner, and under the same rules and regulations, as lands described in this act, any law to the contrary notwithstanding: *Provided,* That no location on the lands herein described shall take place until the assent of the General Government shall be first obtained.

*And be it further enacted,* That the territory lying between the rivers Oconee, the branch thereof called the Apalachy, and the Oakmulgee, shall be laid off into five districts, in the following manner, viz: All that part from the confluence of the Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers, up to a line to be run directly from Carr's bluff, on the Oconee, to the place where the Cussetah path crosses the Oakmulgee river, shall form the first district: All that part lying between the said line, and a parallel line to be run directly from the mouth of Shoulderbone to the Oakmulgee river, shall form the second district: All that part lying between the said last mentioned line, and a parallel line to be run from the mouth of Jack's creek, on the Apalachy river, to where the same shall intersect the northernmost, or the main, branch of the Oakmulgee river, shall form the third district: All that part lying between the north and south branches of the Oakmulgee river, that is to say, from the fork thereof, up the said northern or main branch of the said Oakmulgee, to the place where the Bloody-trail crosses the same, thence a due west course to the Chatahouchee river, thence down the said river to a point on the same, from which a due east line shall strike the head or source of the main southernmost branch of the said Oakmulgee, thence down the same to the place of beginning, shall form the fourth district: And all the remaining part of the said territory shall form the fifth district.

*And be it further enacted,* That all the district of territory called Tallassee, shall form one other district; and that a surveyor shall be appointed by the Legislature for each and every of the districts abovementioned, who shall give bond and approved security to his Excellency the Governor, in the sum of three thousand pounds each, for the faithful and impartial performance of their duty, agreeably to the principles of this act; and no surveyor shall be at liberty to employ any person as a deputy, in either of the said districts, until he shall have passed the examination of the surveyor general, and be approved by the Governor; nor shall any surveyor retain in his service more than two deputies, and each surveyor shall be responsible for the conduct of his deputies.

*And be it further enacted,* That it shall be the duty of the surveyors, to be appointed under this act, to ascertain the quantity of land contained in their respective districts, as nearly as may be; to make a fair plan or plat thereof, marking the several water courses and remarkable places contained therein, and to return the same to the surveyor general's office, which shall be there entered of record, before any survey shall be made for any person or persons whatever.

*And be it further enacted,* That his Excellency the Governor shall, previously to his issuing any warrant of survey to the citizens of this State, or any other person whatsoever, cause three thousand acres of land to be laid off on the south side of the Altamaha river, on the bluff lying nearest to the confluence of the Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers; two thousand acres on the south side of the Oconee river, on the most advantageous bluff, near the Rock Landing; together with one thousand acres, in addition to the foregoing, in each of the districts contemplated by this act, in the most advantageous parts of the said districts, for public uses; and the plats of such surveys shall be recorded in the surveyor general's office, and from thence forward shall be completely held and vested in his Excellency the Governor, for the time being, in trust to and for the use of the public.

THOMAS NAPIER, *Speaker of the House of Representatives.*  
BENJAMIN TALIAFERRO, *President of the Senate.*

Concurred: December 28th, 1794.

GEORGE MATHEWS, *Governor.*

An Act supplementary to an act, entitled "An act for appropriating a part of the unlocated territory of this State, for the payment of the late State troops, and for other purposes therein mentioned," declaring the right of this State to the unappropriated territory thereof, for the protection and support of the frontiers of this State, and for other purposes.

Whereas, in and by the articles of confederation, entered into and finally ratified, on the first day of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, by the then thirteen United States of America, the territory within the limits of each of the said States is, to each of them, respectively, confirmed and guaranteed, first, by the second article, to wit: "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not, by the confederation, expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled;" and, secondly, by the last clause, in the second section, of the ninth article: "No State shall be deprived of territory, for the benefit of the United States."

And whereas, in and by the Definitive Treaty of Peace, signed at Paris, on the third day of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, the boundaries of the United States are established, and those boundaries which limit the westwardly and southwestwardly parts of this State, are, therein, thus defined: "Along the middle of the river Mississippi, until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude; south, by a line drawn due east, from the termination of the line last mentioned, in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola, or Chatahouchee; thence, along the middle thereof, to its junction with the Flint river; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's river; and thence down along the mid-



dle of St. Mary's river, to the Atlantic ocean;" which boundaries coincide with the southwardly and westwardly boundaries recited in the land act now in force, passed at Savannah, on the seventeenth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three: And by the convention held at Beaufort, on the twenty-eighth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, between this State and the State of South Carolina, the northern boundary of the State is established, "from the mouth of the river Savannah, up the said river, to the confluence of the river Keowee; thence up the river, and from the source thereof, a due west line to the Mississippi, including islands:" And whereas, in and by the first clause of the sixth article of the federal constitution of the United States of America, all engagements entered into before the adoption of the said constitution, shall be as valid against the United States, under the said constitution, as under the confederation; by the third clause of the ninth section of the first article of the said constitution, "no *ex post facto* law shall be passed;" and, by the second clause of the third section of the fourth article, "the Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting, the territory, or other property, belonging to the United States, and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State:"

And whereas the cession made by the State of North Carolina, to the United States, by them accepted on the second day of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety, is a full acknowledgment and recognizance, on their part, that the several States not only have the right of pre-emption, but are in the full exercise of all territorial right within their respective limits: And whereas, notwithstanding the United States did, on the twenty-second day of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety, by an act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, enact and declare, "That no sale of lands made by Indians, or any tribe or nation of Indians, within the United States, shall be valid to any person or persons, or to any State, whether having the right of pre-emption to such lands or not, unless the same shall be made and duly executed at some public treaty, held under the authority of the United States;" and did, on the seventh day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety, by a treaty held at New York, with certain Creek Indians, stipulate, by the fourth article of the said treaty, that the boundary between the citizens of the United States and the Creek nation is, and shall be, "from where the old line strikes the Savannah; thence, up the said river, to a place on the most northern branch of the same, commonly called the Keowee, where a northeast line, to be drawn from the top of the Ocumma mountain, shall intersect; thence along the said line in a southwest direction, to the Tugelo river; thence to the top of the Currahee mountain; thence to the head or source of the main south branch of Oconee river, called the Apalachy river; thence down the middle of the main south branch and river Oconee, to its confluence with the Oakmulgee, which form the river Altamaha; and thence down the middle of the said Altamaha, to the old line on the said river; and thence along the said line to the river St. Mary's;" and, by the fifth article, "That the United States solemnly guaranty to the Creek nation, all their lands within the limits of the United States, to the westward and southward of the boundary described in the preceding article:"

And, finally, whereas the State of Georgia aforesaid, hath, by no act, or in any manner whatever, transferred, alienated, or conveyed, her right of soil or pre-emption, in any part of the vacant territory within the limits of the said State, to the United States, the cession dated the first day of February, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, offered by the State of Georgia to the United States, having been, by the said United States in Congress assembled, on the fifteenth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, rejected, in which rejection territorial rights are declared to rest on the spirit and meaning of the confederation: And whereas the said proposed cession became void, and, on the part of this State, is hereby declared to be null and void to all intents, purposes, and constructions:

Sec. 1. *Be it therefore enacted by the Senate and Representatives of the Freemen of the State of Georgia in General Assembly met and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That the State of Georgia aforesaid, is in full possession, and in the full exercise of the jurisdiction and territorial right, and the fee simple thereof; and, that the right of pre-emption to vacant and unappropriated lands lying westwardly and southwestwardly of the present Indian temporary line, and within the limits of the said State, and the fee simple thereof, together with the right of disposing thereof, is, and are hereby declared to be, in the State of Georgia only.

Sec. 2. And for the purpose of raising a fund for carrying this act fully into effect: *Be it enacted,* That all that tract or parcel of land, including islands, situate, lying, and being, within the following boundaries, that is to say: Beginning on the Mobile bay, where the latitude thirty-one degrees north of the equator intersects the same, running thence, up the said bay, to the mouth of lake Tensaw; thence, up the said lake Tensaw, to the Alabama river, including Currey's and all other islands therein; thence, up the said river Alabama, to the junction of the Coosa and Oakfuskee rivers; thence up the Coosa river, above the Big Shoals, to where it intersects the latitude of thirty-four degrees north of the equator; thence, a due west course to the Mississippi river; thence, down the middle of the said river, to the latitude of thirty-two degrees, forty minutes; thence, a due east course to the Don or Tombigby river; thence, down the middle of the said river, to its junction with the Alabama river; thence, down the middle of the said river, to the Mobile bay; thence, down the said Mobile bay, to the place of beginning, shall be sold unto James Gunn, Matthew M'Allister, and George Walker, and their associates, called the *Georgia Company*, and their heirs and assigns, forever, in fee simple, as tenants in common, and not as joint tenants, for the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, to be paid in specie, bank bills of the United States, and warrants for the years one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, drawn by the Governor, the President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House of Representatives, in the following manner, that is to say: fifty thousand dollars to be deposited in the treasury previous to the passing of this act, and the remaining two hundred thousand dollars to be paid on or before the first day of November next.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That whenever the said James Gunn, Matthew M'Allister, and George Walker, and their associates, or their agent or agents, shall produce to his Excellency the Governor, a receipt signed by the treasurer, that they have deposited the aforesaid sum of fifty thousand dollars, according to the tenor and effect of this act, it shall then be the duty of his Excellency the Governor, and he is hereby required, to issue and sign to the said James Gunn, Matthew M'Allister, and George Walker, and their associates, their heirs, and assigns, in fee simple, as tenants in common, and not as joint tenants, a grant for the aforesaid tract of country, they securing the last payment of two hundred thousand dollars to the State, by a mortgage to his Excellency the Governor, and his successors in office, on the whole of the land so granted, which mortgage shall be immediately foreclosed in case default shall be made in the payment of the said sum of two hundred thousand dollars, on or before the first day of November next, as aforesaid, in the superior court of any county within the State of Georgia, at the discretion of his Excellency the Governor, any law or usage regulating the mode of foreclosing mortgages, to the contrary notwithstanding, and the whole sum of fifty thousand dollars deposited, shall become forfeited to and for the use of the State; and the grant to be given to the said James Gunn, Matthew M'Allister, and George Walker, and their associates, to be, and the same, in that case, is hereby declared to be, null and void.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted,* That the said Georgia Company shall reserve for, and to the use of, the citizens of Georgia, exclusively, the quantity of one million of acres of their purchase, in the following manner, to wit: at the expiration of three months, from and after the passing of this act, a subscription book shall be opened at the treasury office of this State, and be kept open for the term of four months thereafter, for the purpose of receiving subscriptions of the citizens for the said reserved lands: *Provided,* That no person, who shall otherwise become a member, or interested in either of the companies herein contemplated, shall be allowed to subscribe for any part of the said reserved land, and no person shall be permitted to subscribe for more than five thousand acres in his own name, or in the name of any other citizen, unless duly authorized and appointed by him for that purpose, under a warrant of attorney, executed in the presence of two or more witnesses, one of whom, at least, shall be a justice, appointed for holding the inferior court of the county, where the subscriber resides, which said power of attorney shall be lodged with the treasurer, as his voucher for entering such subscription: *And provided also,* That the citizens of the respective counties shall not, at any time within three months, from and after the opening of the book of subscriptions, as aforesaid, be allowed to subscribe for more, or a greater quantity, of the said reserved lands, than

the proportion hereinafter particularly described and limited, to wit: Chatham, one hundred and seventy thousand acres; Effingham, sixty-two thousand acres; Burke, one hundred and fifty-five thousand acres; Richmond, one hundred and fifty-five thousand acres; Columbia, one hundred and fifty-five thousand acres; Wilkes, two hundred and seventy-two thousand acres; Washington, one hundred and thirty-one thousand acres; Elbert, one hundred and thirty-one thousand acres; Greene, one hundred and twenty-five thousand acres; Franklin, seventy-eight thousand acres; Liberty, sixty-nine thousand acres; Glynn, thirty-two thousand acres; Camden, thirty-two thousand acres; M'Intosh, thirty-five thousand acres; Bryan, thirty-two thousand acres; Warren, ninety-three thousand acres; Oglethorpe, one hundred and sixteen thousand acres; Montgomery, twenty-three thousand acres; Scriven, thirty-eight thousand acres; and Hancock, ninety-six thousand acres. And it shall be the duty of the treasurer, in all cases of applications to subscribe, to require an affidavit in writing, in the following words: "I do solemnly swear, (or affirm) that I am in no way interested, directly or indirectly, either as a member, or otherwise, in any company's purchase of lands in the western part of this State; and that the subscription, which I propose to enter, is in my own proper right, and to my use and benefit only." And it shall be the duty of the justice, or justices, of the inferior courts, before whom warrants of attorney, authorizing subscriptions, shall be executed, to require a like affidavit on the back of such warrant of attorney, before attesting the same; and the land, so subscribed and paid for, shall be held by such subscribers in fee simple, as tenants in common, and not as joint tenants, on the same terms, and upon the same principles, with the original purchasers of the company in which they shall subscribe; and shall be entitled to fair and equal representation in such company, in proportion to the quantity of land so by them subscribed and paid for.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That, upon entering any subscription as aforesaid, it shall be the duty of the treasurer, and he is hereby required to receive of the subscribers the purchase money, being the proportion of one-fifth part of such subscription, in terms of this act; the remaining four-fifths, or balance of the purchase money, shall, within four months from and after the opening the said book of subscriptions, be paid unto the treasurer, in like manner, as aforesaid; and, in case such balance shall not be paid, on or before the expiration of the said seven months from the passing of this act, that then, and in that case, the subscriber, or subscribers, so failing, shall be at liberty to withdraw their said subscriptions, together with the money so paid by them, and the lands, so subscribed for by them, shall revert to, and be vested in, the company in which such subscription shall have been made or entered.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That all that tract of country, including islands, situate, lying, and being, within the following boundaries, that is to say: beginning on the river Mississippi, at the place where the latitude of thirty-one degrees and eighteen minutes north of the equator intersects the same; thence, a due east course, to the middle of Don or Tombigby river; thence, up the middle of the said river, to where it intersects the latitude of thirty-two degrees and forty minutes north of the equator; thence, a due west course along the Georgia company line, to the river Mississippi; thence, down the middle of the same, to the place of beginning, shall be sold to Nicholas Long, Thomas Glascock, Ambrose Gordon, and Thomas Cumming, and their associates, called the *Georgia Mississippi Company*, to them, and their heirs, and assigns, for ever, in fee simple, as tenants in common, and not as joint tenants, for the sum of one hundred and fifty-five thousand dollars, to be paid in gold or silver coin, bank bills of the United States, and such warrants as are made payable in the Georgia Company's purchase, in the following manner, that is to say: thirty-one thousand dollars to be deposited previous to the passing of this act, and the remaining one hundred and twenty-four thousand dollars to be paid on or before the first day of November next.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That, whenever the said Nicholas Long, Thomas Glascock, Ambrose Gordon, and Thomas Cumming, and their associates, or their agent, or agents, shall produce to his Excellency the Governor, a receipt, signed by the treasurer, that they have deposited the aforesaid sum of thirty-one thousand dollars, according to the tenor and effect of this act; it shall then be the duty of his Excellency the Governor, and he is hereby required, to issue and sign to the said Nicholas Long, Thomas Glascock, Ambrose Gordon, and Thomas Cumming, and their associates, their heirs and assigns in fee simple, as tenants in common, and not as joint tenants, grant for the aforesaid tract of country, they securing the last payment of one hundred and twenty-four thousand dollars to the State, by a mortgage to his Excellency the Governor, and his successors in office, on the whole of the land so granted, which mortgage shall be immediately foreclosed in case default shall be made in the payment of the said sum of one hundred and twenty-four thousand dollars, on or before the first day of November next, as aforesaid, in the superior court of any county within the State of Georgia, at the discretion of his Excellency the Governor, any law or usage, regulating the mode of foreclosing mortgages, to the contrary notwithstanding; and the whole sum of thirty-one thousand dollars deposited, shall become forfeited, to and for the use of the State; and the grant to be given to the said Nicholas Long, Thomas Glascock, Ambrose Gordon, and Thomas Cumming, and their associates, as aforesaid, to be, and the same, in that case, is hereby declared to be, null and void.

SEC. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That the said Georgia Mississippi Company shall reserve, for the use of the citizens of Georgia, exclusively, the quantity of six hundred and twenty thousand acres of their purchase, to be subscribed for, held, and appropriated, on the same terms, and to be represented, in like manner, as the land reserved by the Georgia Company, as aforesaid.

SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That all that tract of country, including islands, situate, lying, and being within the following boundaries, that is to say: Beginning at the Mississippi river, where the northern boundary line of this State strikes the same; thence, along the said northern boundary line, due east to the Tennessee river; thence, along the said Tennessee river, to the mouth of Bear creek; thence, up Bear creek, to where the parallel of latitude twenty-five British statute miles south of the northern boundary line of this State intersects the same; thence, along the said last mentioned parallel of latitude, across Tombigby or Twenty-mile creek, due west to the Mississippi river; thence, up the middle of the said river, to the beginning, shall be sold to John B. Scott, John C. Nightingale, and Wade Hampton, called the *Upper Mississippi Company*, and to their heirs and assigns forever, in fee simple, as tenants in common, and not as joint tenants, for the sum of thirty-five thousand dollars, to be paid in specie, bank bills of the United States, and such warrants as are made payable in the Georgia Company's purchase, in manner following that is to say: five thousand dollars, part thereof, to be deposited previous to the passing of this act, and the remaining sum, of thirty thousand dollars, to be paid on or before the first day of November next.

SEC. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That whenever the said John B. Scott, John C. Nightingale, and Wade Hampton, or their agent or agents, shall produce to his Excellency the Governor, a receipt signed by the treasurer, that they have deposited the aforesaid sum of five thousand dollars, according to the tenor and effect of this act, it shall then be the duty of his Excellency the Governor, and he is hereby required to issue and sign to the said John B. Scott, John C. Nightingale, and Wade Hampton, their heirs and assigns, in fee simple, as tenants in common, and not as joint tenants, a grant for the aforesaid land, they securing the last payment of thirty thousand dollars to the State, by a mortgage to his Excellency the Governor and his successors in office, on the whole of the land so granted, which mortgage shall be immediately foreclosed, in case default shall be made in the payment of the said sum of thirty thousand dollars, on or before the first day of November next, as aforesaid, in the superior court of any county within the State of Georgia, at the discretion of his Excellency the Governor; any law or usage, regulating the mode of foreclosing mortgages, to the contrary notwithstanding; and the whole sum of five thousand dollars, deposited, shall become forfeited to and for the use of the State; and the grant to be given to the said John B. Scott, John C. Nightingale, and Wade Hampton, as aforesaid, to be, and the same, in that case, is hereby declared to be, null and void.

SEC. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That the said Upper Mississippi Company shall reserve, to and for the use of the citizens of Georgia, exclusively, the quantity of one hundred and thirty eight thousand acres of their purchase, to be subscribed for, held, and appropriated, on the same terms, and to be represented in like manner, as herein before pointed out, in respect to the lands reserved for the citizens in the Georgia Company.

SEC. 12. *And be it further enacted*, That all that tract of land, including islands, situate, lying, and being within the following boundary lines: Beginning at the mouth of Bear creek, on the south side of Tennessee river; thence, up the said creek, to the most Southern source thereof; thence, due south to the latitude thirty-four degrees ten minutes north of the equator; thence, a due east course one hundred and twenty miles; thence, a due north course to the great Tennessee river; thence, up the middle of the said river to the northern boundary line of this State;

thence, a due west course along the said line, to where it intersects the great Tennessee river, below the Muscle Shoals; thence, up the said river, to the place of beginning, shall be sold unto Zachariah Cox and Matthias Maher, and their associates, called the *Tennessee Company*, and to their heirs and assigns forever, in fee simple, as tenants in common, and not as joint tenants, for the sum of sixty thousand dollars, to be paid in specie, bank bills of the United States, and such warrants as are made payable in the Georgia Company's purchase, that is to say; twelve thousand dollars to be deposited as part thereof, previous to the passing of this act, and the remaining forty-eight thousand dollars to be paid on or before the first day of November next.

SEC. 13. *And be it further enacted*, That whenever the said Zachariah Cox and Matthias Maher, and their associates, or their agent, or agents, shall produce to his Excellency the Governor, a receipt signed by the treasurer, that they have deposited the said sum of twelve thousand dollars, according to the tenor and effect of this act, it shall then be the duty of his Excellency the Governor, and he is hereby required to issue and sign to the said Zachariah Cox and Matthias Maher, and their associates, their heirs and assigns, in fee simple, as tenants in common, and not as joint tenants, a grant for the aforesaid tract of country, they securing the last payment of the forty-eight thousand dollars to the State, by a mortgage to his Excellency the Governor, and his successors in office, on the whole of the land so granted; which mortgage shall be immediately foreclosed, in case default shall be made in the payment of the said sum of forty-eight thousand dollars, on or before the first day of November next, as aforesaid, in the superior court of any county within the State of Georgia, at the discretion of his Excellency the Governor, any law or usage, regulating the mode of foreclosing mortgages, to the contrary, notwithstanding; and the whole sum of twelve thousand dollars deposited, shall become forfeited to, and for the use of, the State. And the grant to be given to the said Zachariah Cox and Matthias Maher, and their associates, aforesaid, to be, and the same, in that case, is hereby declared to be, null and void.

SEC. 14. *And be it further enacted*, That the said Tennessee Company shall receive, for, and to, the use of the citizens of Georgia, exclusively, the quantity of two hundred and fifty-two thousand acres, to be subscribed for, held, and appropriated, on the same terms, and to be represented in like manner, as the lands reserved by the Georgia Company, as aforesaid.

SEC. 15. *And be it further enacted*, That the said Tennessee Company shall reserve a further quantity of fifty thousand acres, to be gratuitously divided, share and share, alike, between the commissioners appointed by this State for the purpose of examining the quantity, quality, and circumstances, of the great bend of Tennessee river, which shall be held by them as tenants in common, and not as joint tenants, and be represented in like manner as the lands reserved by the other companies, for the use of the citizens, as a compensation to the said commissioners for their services rendered the State in that capacity.

SEC. 16. *And be it further enacted*, That all sums so paid by the citizens, for lands subscribed for by them, agreeably to the terms of this act, shall be received in payment, and as part of the purchase money of the said companies, respectively.

SEC. 17. *And be it further enacted*, That the grants to be issued to the respective companies, in virtue of this act, shall be free from all further, or other expense, whatsoever, the fees of office accruing upon one grant to each company excepted; which shall be, to the Surveyor General, three dollars; to the Governor of the State, three dollars; and to the Secretary of the State, three dollars; and that the lands to be granted in pursuance of this act, shall be free from taxation, until the inhabitants thereof are represented in the Legislature.

SEC. 18. *And be it further enacted*, That the said grantees, and purchasers of the land aforesaid, shall forbear all hostile and wanton attacks on any of the Indian tribes which may be found within the limits of this State, and keep this State free from all charges and expenses which may attend the preserving of peace between the said Indians and the grantees, and extinguishing the Indian claims to the territory included within their respective purchases: *And, provided further*, That this State, and the Government thereof, shall, at no time hereafter, be subject to any suit at law, or in equity, or claim, or pretension, whatever, for, or on account of, any deductions in the quantity of the said territory, or for, or on account of, the amount of the purchase money to be paid, as aforesaid, by any recovery which may or shall be had on any form, or other claim, or claims, whatever.

SEC. 19. *And be it further enacted*, That the money arising from the sale of the said territory, except what shall be appropriated to the extinguishment of Indian claims, as hereinafter expressed, shall be vested in six per cents. or such other stock, in the funds of the United States, as may be directed by this, or a future Legislature; and the interest arising thereon, or so much thereof as may be necessary, shall be applied to the payment of the civil establishment, and contingent expenses of the Government of this State.

SEC. 20. *And be it further enacted*, That, immediately after the Indian claims to the land lying between the Oconee and Ocmulgee rivers, including that tract of country lying east of a line to be drawn from the place called Fort Romulus, on the Ocmulgee river, to the head of St. Mary's river, or the northern extremity of the Akinfonoka swamp, may be extinguished, the grantees of the several companies, and their associates, are hereby authorized to apply to the Government of the United States, for their concurrence in extinguishing the Indian claims to the different tracts of country by them severally hereby purchased, or as much thereof as to them may seem practicable; which extinguishment of claims to the lands so purchased, shall be at the proper expense of the respective companies, and within five years thereafter the said companies shall severally form settlements on the lands where the claims may be so extinguished, or forfeit the further sum of five thousand dollars, for each company so failing.

SEC. 21. *And be it further enacted*, That the sum of ten thousand dollars, part of the first payment to be made by the companies aforesaid, shall be, and the same is hereby declared to be, appropriated, and set apart, for the purpose of extinguishing the Indian claim, in addition to the twenty thousand dollars appropriated by the act, entitled "An act for appropriating a part of the unlocated territory of this State, for the payment of the late State troops, and for other purposes therein mentioned."

SEC. 22. *And be it further enacted*, That the several grantees, and their associates, shall not be entitled to dispose of the said territory, in part, or in whole, in any way or manner, to any foreign king, prince, potentate, or power, whatever; which condition shall be specially expressed on the face of the grant.

SEC. 23. *And be it further enacted*, That all the lands lying westward and southward of the eastern boundary of the several company purchases, and not included therein, estimated at one-fourth of the whole lands lying westward and southward of the eastern boundary of the said purchases, and supposed to contain seven millions two hundred and fifty thousand acres, shall be, and the same is hereby declared to be, reserved, and set apart, to, and for the use and benefit of, this State, to be granted out, or otherwise disposed of, as a future Legislature may direct.

THOMAS NAPIER,  
Speaker of the House of Representatives.  
BENJAMIN TALIAFERRO,  
President of the Senate.

January 7, 1795.

GEORGE MATHEWS, Governor.

Copy of a letter from Governor Blount to the Secretary of War.

KNOXVILLE, January 9th, 1795.

SIR:

I embrace the opportunity, by Mr. Postlewait, who leaves this place in the morning for Philadelphia, to inform you that, on the third instant, the conference or meeting between the Cherokee and myself, respecting the exchange of prisoners, terminated with the pleasing prospects of peace with that nation. I am not prepared to forward to you, by this conveyance, a copy of the journal, but I shall forward a copy by Colonel Hays, of Mero district, who will leave this in three days, at most, for Philadelphia. Notwithstanding the pleasing prospects of

peace with the Cherokees, I find myself under the necessity of reporting to you that, on the 20th December, Col. Hugh Tenan, John Brown, and William Greemes, were killed and scalped by Indians, I believe Creeks, on the southern frontiers of Davidson county, about fifteen miles from Nashville.

Judging from the very exposed situation of the Cumberland settlers, and their long and unprovoked sufferings at the hands of the Creeks, there is too little reason to hope that blood-thirsty nation will ever cease to murder and rob those citizens, until it is severely chastised, or an armed force is so posted as to afford those citizens effectual protection.

It cannot but be evident to the United States, that the Creeks, except the superannuated chiefs, who have satiated themselves with blood, pay no regard to the treaty formed between them, so far as it respects the Cumberland citizens.

*Extract of a letter from Governor Blount to the Secretary of War.*

KNOXVILLE, January 10, 1795.

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose you the journal of the proceedings between the Cherokee chiefs and myself, which terminated on the 3d instant, with the pleasing prospects of peace between that nation and the United States. It will be observed, that the leading object of what I said to the chiefs, was to induce the Cherokees to take such steps as would ultimately destroy the friendship that has too long, for the peace of the United States, subsisted between that nation and the Creeks, believing that, in so doing, I was consulting the true interest of the United States. But, had they have agreed to my propositions, of permitting a company of their young warriors to range on the frontiers of Mero district, for its protection against the Creeks, I should not have called for them until I had received your approbation or order, authorizing me so to do. I say, had they have agreed; because you will see that Watts and the Bloody Fellow publicly refused; but it is necessary to inform you that afterwards they both, in a private conversation, told me they had their reasons for denying publicly, namely, that the Creeks would know it before they were ready, and would injure them; but, if I would delay to call for such a party of their young men, for a short time, they would be ready, and have no objection to their ranging, for the protection of the frontiers. And I assure you, that if Watts, the Bloody Fellow, and all the chiefs of the Lower towns, were opposed to such a measure, that I could readily draw forth, for such a purpose, at a month's notice at most, from sixty to two hundred of the young warriors of the Upper towns, provided a few white men, in whom they had confidence, were appointed to lead them. It is with you to instruct me whether their services are necessary or not. I have told you the prospects of peace with the Cherokees are very pleasing, and in great truth I have so informed you; but it is equally true that, unless effectual measures are taken to stay the murdering hand of the Creeks, that peace is not to be expected by the frontier citizens of this territory or Kentucky.

*Copy of a letter from Governor Blount to the Secretary of War, dated*

KNOXVILLE, January 20th, 1795.

SIR:

I have judged the information contained in the enclosed copy of a letter from General Robertson, written on the 13th instant, and received last night express, of such importance, and involving such consequences, as to render it my duty to forward it to you express. I also enclose a copy of my answer, of this date, to General Robertson, the two embracing the subjects so fully on which they are written, that I consider any thing further unnecessary.

*Copy of a letter from General Robertson to Governor Blount, dated*

NASHVILLE, MERO DISTRICT, January 13th, 1795.

SIR:

I intended sending off Shute on the 10th instant, but at night, on the 9th, five Chickasaws came to my house, as runners from William Colbert and three other chiefs, Captain James Underwood, Captain Mucklishapoy, the elder, and the Old Counsellor, informing that I was to expect them in two or three days, with about seventy warriors, and some women and children, and five Creek scalps, which they had taken near Duck river, on their way to war against this district, which was evidenced by a war club, and other tokens of the kind, as well as halters, bridles, and spurs, and pack-saddles which they were making. The leader of the Creeks was known by several of the Chickasaws; his name was Shotlatoke, as was his brother, and have been, as the Chickasaws say, for four or five years past, known to hunt no more than to get support to enable them to pass and repass in killing and stealing from this district. Their camp was discovered on the evening of the 2d instant; surrounded about day break, and fired upon about sunrise; and the whole party, consisting of five warriors, was killed. One Chickasaw was wounded in the groin, but is like to recover. The Indians came in yesterday in great pomp. I have had a long conference with them, and they all desired me to send their talks to your Excellency. Colbert they consider as their head, and all agree to stand by him. They desire me to let you know, that, though they have not seen your Excellency as late as some of their nation, your talks are as fresh in their minds as when spoken; that they have been waiting since the conference at this place, to see you retaliate on the Creeks for the many injuries done your people; that it is, as they believe, your good disposition which has prevented it; but that they cannot doubt you have found them fully out by this time, and will no longer believe their lies. They suppose the Creeks have yet some person to write lies for them, as McGillivray used to do, to the President, but wonder he does not believe you in preference. Much more to the same purpose they have said on the subject, and I have endeavored to explain the difficulties under which you labor, but they cannot believe it is right to suffer injuries without retaliation. Colbert has not been at home since early in the fall. He informs, that the Creeks have been very insolent in his nation this fall; they have killed one white man, named Sexton, and a number of cattle, mostly belonging to Tom Brown, whose nephew is here with Colbert, and was at the killing of the Creeks. They have come on, resolutely determined to join us, and go and build block houses on the Tennessee river, and assist in supporting them. The place they point out as best, and nearest the Creek nation, is where the road strikes the river on which the prisoners taken out, when Thompson's family was murdered, crossing the Tennessee at what is called the Creek crossing-place. I suggested the mouth of Elk as more proper, but two Chickasaws, that are well acquainted, say it is much farther from the Creeks, and a worse road from the place they propose; and add, that it is on their land, but not far from the line between them and the Cherokees, in proof of which they appeal to the journal of the conference held with them by your Excellency, at this place, and to the certificate of the bounds of their lands signed by the President, last summer, and delivered to Opoa Mingo. It was no small difficulty for me to convince them I had no power to send men with them to drive off the Creeks on this side of the Tennessee river, and build block houses, and send to your Excellency to support them with provisions, ammunition, and artillery; and, after all the arguments I could make use of, I could not satisfy them otherwise than by sending to you, giving you notice of their request: for, they say, they are now the people of the United States, and are commissioned by the President, himself, which is the cause they have retaliated on his enemies, for injuries done his people; and that they expect a large campaign this spring against the Creeks, and that they are determined to assist the President of the United States in protecting such posts as he shall establish for that purpose.

I need say no more, only that they give every assurance of exerting themselves in behalf of the United States, and often hint that they hope the United States will not leave them to suffer by their friendship, manifested in killing their enemies. But, sir, I am in pain, supposing you will not be able to establish the post they expect; and am certain the Creeks will be revenged before relief can be given them. But, could the post be established as they request, they are of opinion they could keep the Creeks from embodying against their nation, by scouting parties, till an army would be ready to invade their country. I confess, I wished the Chickasaws to kill Creeks, but lament their beginning so early. My fears are, that, should they suffer much by the Creeks, and it not be in the power of the United States to relieve them, we will lose their confidence and friendship, and they may eventually become our enemies. In all my conferences with the Chickasaws, I have only told them I expected an army would go from the United States, the ensuing summer, against the Creek nation; giving them to understand, that this expectation was founded only in the high opinion I entertained of the wisdom of the counsels of the United States, and not in any order I had received from Government. Colbert has got his Creek wife, and all his children, along, and six negroes, which he intends to put in, with some person, for a crop. I wish Shute's return as soon as possible, to save expense: for there are upwards of a hundred Chickasaws now with me, and Colbert says, he turned a number back, but expects some will yet come on.

There is an entertainment provided for Colbert and his party, at this place, to-morrow, by subscription: they will be as well received as they could expect. Colonel Roberts has ordered a general muster, and the company of cavalry, in uniform, will escort them from my house. They intend having a war dance at night.

Please direct me, as fully as in your power, how I shall proceed.

I am, yours, &c.

*Copy of a letter from Governor Blount to General Robertson, dated*

KNOXVILLE, January 20th, 1795.

SIR:

Your letters of the 9th and 13th instant, were last night delivered to me by Mr. Shute, express; and I assure you no person could be more pleased with the killing of the five Creeks by the Chickasaws than I am, so far as it respects the killing of the Creeks, but, as it respects the Chickasaws and the United States, in its consequences, I have my doubts whether it will prove beneficial or not. It is certain, from the speech of the President to Congress, that he did not, at the time he opened it, contemplate a war with the Creeks, as the only notice he takes of that nation is, that they have been protected from encroachment; but, since that time, the accounts of the many murders and thefts, by them recently committed, in Mero district, have been faithfully reported to him, which may effect an alteration of opinion respecting them. It is equally certain, that the Chickasaws, by the killing these five Creeks, will involve these two nations in a war with each other, and thereby, it is highly probable, the Southwestern frontiers will, for a time, be relieved from the tomahawk and scalping knife of the latter; but, with you, I fear, if the former are not supported by the United States, in whose behalf they have unadvisedly stepped forward, that it must end in the loss of their friendship for the United States.

I shall, without delay, forward by an express, copies of your letters of the 9th and 13th instant, and also a copy of this letter to the Secretary of War, whose answer and instructions may be expected at this place in from forty to fifty days. This length of time will have elapsed before the warm weather, the season for Indian warfare, will commence: besides, it is highly probable, as the party were all killed, that the nation will not be immediately informed of the act of hostility committed against it by the Chickasaws; and it is well known, that all Indian nations are slow in their deliberation, and operations for war—I mean, in large bodies. Hence, it may be fairly presumed, that the Chickasaws have not to expect any large body of Creeks to invade their nation, before I have the honor of receiving the instructions of the President as to the part the United States mean to act on the occasion; and, as to small marauding parties of Creeks, the Chickasaws, without the aid of the United States, are able to oppose them, or retaliate their injuries. Colbert and his party, on your receiving this letter, will expect my answer to their propositions respecting the establishment of a block house, &c. It will be best to tell them that I have despatched a hasty runner to the President of the United States, in whom all power is vested, and not in me, to give orders on such important occasions; that his answer may be expected within the time before mentioned, and that no delay should attend the execution of such orders as I shall receive respecting the Chickasaws. Point out to him, and his party, the reasons as before stated, with such others as shall occur to you, why the Chickasaws are not to fear a national attack from the Creeks, before I shall be fully informed and instructed, as to the part the United States determine to act on the occasion.

A question here presents itself, namely; what are you to do with Colbert and his party, already upwards of one hundred in number, and more expected? who, it seems from your letter, have, from a mistaken opinion, or want of information, as to the true objects of the President of the United States, in giving them commissions, come to defend the frontiers of Mero district against the Creeks, viewing them as the enemies of the United States. This being the case, and Colbert and his party having already, by killing the five Creeks, involved their nation in a war with the Creeks, if you find it absolutely necessary to the preservation of their friendship with the United States to indulge them in the performance of that duty, which they have come with a determination to perform, I would advise you to employ them accordingly, till the pleasure of the President is known on that head. They (Colbert and his party) will afford more certain security to the frontier inhabitants than an equal number of the militia, consequently you will lessen the number of the militia on duty, meaning such as are authorized by the order of the Secretary of War, of the fourteenth day of April last, so as, by keeping Colbert and his party on duty, you will not increase the expense of the defence of the district.

Herewith you will receive a copy of the journal of the proceedings at Tellico block house, by which you will be informed what passed, between the Cherokees and myself, respecting the Chickasaws, and you are to consider it your duty to use your best efforts to heal the difference, and restore peace between those two nations, as, in so doing, you will promote the interest of the United States.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 63.

[2d SESSION.]

## INDIAN LANDS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 23, 1795.

Mr. NICHOLAS, from the committee to whom was referred so much of the message from the President of the United States, of the seventeenth instant, as relates to the disposition of Indian lands, by the Legislature of the State of Georgia, made the following report:

That, it appears to your committee, that the Legislature of the State of Georgia, by an act of the 7th day of January last, have contracted and provided for an absolute conveyance of certain portions of lands held by the Creek and other Indian tribes, within the limits claimed by that State, under the sanction of treaties made with the United States, amounting to three-fourths of the lands so held by the said Indians.

That your committee cannot but foresee great danger to the peace of the United States, in vesting interests in individuals, the enjoyment of which is to depend on the extinguishment of the Indian titles, from the constant excitement which they produce, to embroil the Government with the neighboring Indians, in hope of their extinction or banishment.

That rights, so dangerous to the general happiness, should reside only in the bodies constituted for the guardianship of the general good of society, as being alone capable of comparing the various interests, alone disposed to promote a happy result to the community.

That your committee are of opinion, that it is highly incumbent on the United States to secure, to the neighboring Indians, the rights acquired by treaty, not only for obtaining their confidence in our Government, but, for preserving an inviolate respect in the citizens of the United States, to its constitutional acts.

Your committee, therefore, submit the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the President of the United States, to use all constitutional and legal means, to prevent the infraction of the treaties made with the Indian tribes by the citizens of the United States, with an assurance, that Congress will co-operate in such other acts, as will be proper for the same end.

*Resolved*, That it be further recommended to the President of the United States, not to permit treaties for the extinguishment of the Indian title to any lands, to be holden at the instance of individuals or of States, where it shall appear that the property of such lands, when the Indian title shall be extinguished, will be in particular persons: And that, wherever treaties are held for the benefit of the United States, individuals claiming rights of pre-emption, shall be prevented from treating with Indians, concerning the same; and that, generally, such private claims be postponed to those of the several States, wherever the same may be consistent with the welfare and defence of the United States.

*Resolved*, That the President of the United States, be authorized, whenever claims under prior contracts may cease to exist, to obtain a cession of the State of Georgia, of their claim to the whole or any part of the land within the present Indian boundaries, and that \_\_\_\_\_ dollars ought to be appropriated to enable him to effect the same.

*Resolved*, That all persons who shall be assembled or embodied in arms, on any lands belonging to Indians, out of the ordinary jurisdiction of any State, or of the territory south of the river Ohio, for the purpose of warring against the Indians, or of committing depredations upon any Indian town, property, or persons, shall thereby become liable and subject to the rules and articles of war, which are or shall be established for the government of the troops of the United States.

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 64.

[2d SESSION.]

## INDIAN LANDS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 26, 1795.

Mr. SEDGWICK, from the committee to whom was referred a motion, "That all persons who shall be assembled or embodied in arms on any lands belonging to Indians, out of the ordinary jurisdiction of any State, or of the territory south of the river Ohio, for the purpose of warring against the Indians, or of committing depredations against any Indian town, or persons, or property, shall thereby become liable and subject to be taken and confined by the military force of the United States, in such manner as to be made amenable to, and triable by, law," reported the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That all persons who, unauthorized by law, may be found in arms on any lands westward of the lines established by treaties with the Indian tribes, shall, on conviction thereof, forfeit a sum, not exceeding \_\_\_\_\_ dollars, and be imprisoned not exceeding \_\_\_\_\_ months.

*Resolved*, That it shall be lawful for the military force of the United States to apprehend every person or persons found in arms, as aforesaid, and him or them to convey to the civil authority of the United States, within some one of the States, who shall, by such authority, be secured to be tried, in manner hereafter expressed.

*Resolved*, That any person apprehended as aforesaid, shall be tried in manner and form as is expressed in, and by, the act, entitled "An act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes."



3d CONGRESS.]

No. 65.

[2d SESSION.

## NORTH WESTERN TRIBES AND THE CREEKS.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, MARCH 2, 1795.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, March 2, 1795.

SIR:

The President of the United States has directed me to communicate to the Senate and House of Representatives, the enclosed extracts of letters and documents, received from Major General Wayne, and from James Seagrove, agent for Indian affairs for the Creek nation.

I am, very respectfully, sir, your most obedient servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

The VICE PRESIDENT of the United States.

*Extracts from a letter to the Secretary of War from James Seagrove, agent for Indian affairs, dated at*

SAVANNAH, January 13th, 1795.

Some chiefs of the Creeks were on a visit to the Governor of Georgia, about six weeks past. I am sorry to find that the proceeding of the Legislature of Georgia, relative to them, was not such as they had reason to expect: it having been debated in Senate, for some days, whether or not they should be detained as prisoners, until the treaty of New York should be complied with. The Indians knew it, and I believe returned much displeased.

I find they (the Creek chiefs) are determined to try their strength in the nation, to crush the plunderers and murderers, and to return the property taken from this country: but I much doubt the ability of the well disposed to effect this; as the vicious and ill inclined are forbid, by the Spanish agents, to deliver up any property or prisoners to the Americans, or to give any kind of satisfaction whatever.

I also find that a principal part of the chiefs' business down, was to endeavor to have a trade established for them, as they wished to break off all connexion with the Spaniards, in the way of trade; but until they can get supplies from the United States, they must continue dependent on the Spaniards, who, they publicly say, advise them to every thing injurious to the United States, and keep their young people in an ungovernable situation. These are matters which I know to be strictly just.

*Extract of a letter from Timothy Barnard, deputy agent of Indian affairs, to James Seagrove, Esq. dated*

FLINT RIVER, 18th December, 1794.

I expect, before this, you have been informed of the Mad Dog's route to Augusta; I wrote you a few lines by Mr. Cornell, but not very fully on the business, as I considered Mr. Cornell had it in his power to give you a full detail of every matter; all that I can say at present, is, that the Mad Dog seems very intent on performing his promises to the Governor; but, on his arrival in the Lower Creeks, found all the towns entirely empty, as it is the season of the year for them to be all in the woods; even those that promised to wait for his return, as the Mad Dog was detained so long in Augusta, were all gone to the woods; the Mad Dog has, however, sent runners into the woods, to have all the head-men that can be, collected into the towns by the middle of next month, for the purpose of collecting the prisoners and property, horses, negroes, &c.; and says, that he is determined, if those Chehaw rascals will not give up the property by fair means, they shall by foul. There was a large body of the Cussetahs collected to go and take the negroes by force, as the Mad Dog come down, and it would have been done, but the Mad Dog stopped it himself, till he returned from Georgia, to see, as he said, if they could have a peace and trade from that quarter, or not. I have every reason to believe that the heads of the nation will, and are determined to do something more than has ever been done yet, to try to save their land. This trip of the Mad Dog's to Augusta has opened their eyes, and, I believe, convinced them that they are at the brink of ruin. Nothing I think will stop a good deal of the property's being given up, except some mischief should be done on this side the Oconee by the whites, as I think there is every probability of, as, up about Shoulderbone, the white people have got their stock over on this side, and are daily over a hunting fifteen and twenty miles round. I have written the Governor very fully about it. The Mad Dog, in his letter to the Governor, has likewise requested of his Excellency to keep his people from coming over, lest it may cause some trouble, which it may put out of his power to perform his promise to his Excellency, respecting the property and prisoners. I think, if you were to write his Excellency on the business, he might, perhaps, give out orders to have the stock recrossed, as I expect daily to hear of something happening in consequence of it, and in such case, the whites ought to blame themselves for what may happen.

*Extract of a letter from Major General Wayne to the Secretary of War, dated*

HEAD QUARTERS, GREENVILLE, 24th January, 1795.

It is with infinite pleasure that I now announce to you, the strong and pleasing prospects of a general peace, between the United States and all the late hostile tribes of Indians northwest of the Ohio.

*The two following preliminary articles were entered into by General Wayne, on the part of the United States, and the sachems and war chiefs of the Chippewas, Pattawatamies, Sacs, and Miami's, on the other part:*

ARTICLE 1. It is agreed, that, until articles for a permanent peace shall be adjusted, agreed to, and signed, all hostilities shall cease, and the aforesaid sachems, and war chiefs, for and in behalf of the nations which they represent, do agree to meet the above named plenipotentiary of the United States, at Greenville, on or about the 15th day of June next, with all the sachems and war chiefs of their nations, then and there to consult and conclude upon such terms of amity and peace as shall be for the interest and to the satisfaction of both parties.

ART. 2. Should any of the nations or tribes of Indians, now at war with the United States, or any other nation or tribe, meditate or attempt any hostile measure against any post or settlement, in the occupancy of the troops or citizens of the United States, or against the lives or property of any individual or individuals of the same, and it shall come to the knowledge of the before mentioned nations, or either of them, they do hereby engage to give immediate notice thereof, to the commander-in-chief, or to the officer commanding the troops of the United States, at the



nearest post; and should any nation, with hostile intentions against any part of the troops or citizens of the said United States, attempt to pass through their country, they will endeavor to prevent the same, and, in like manner, give information of such attempt, to the said commander-in-chief, or to the officer commanding the troops of the United States, at the nearest post, as soon as possible, that all causes of mistrust and suspicion may be avoided between them and the United States. In like manner, the commander-in-chief, and all officers acting under his orders, shall give notice to the said Indian nations of any harm that may be meditated against them, or either of them, that shall come to their knowledge, and do all in their power to hinder and prevent the same, that the friendship between them may be uninterrupted.

*In a message from General Wayne, dated January 1, 1795, to the sachems and war chiefs of Sandusky, is the following passage:*

I have received information from Colonel Hamtramck, one of my principal warriors, commanding at the Miami villages, that the chiefs of the Chippewas, Ottawas, Sacs, Pattawatamies, and Miamies, arrived at that place three days since, and may be hourly expected at Greenville; the Miamies say that the chiefs of the remaining hostile tribes had acceded to the prevailing opinion, and wish for peace, and that those chiefs are now on their way to this place, and may be expected in the course of a few days after the arrival of the chiefs of the five nations, before mentioned.

3d CONGRESS.]

No. 66.

[2d SESSION.]

## THE CREEKS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JUNE 25, 1795.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

Just at the close of the last session of Congress, I received from one of the Senators and one of the Representatives of the State of Georgia, an application for a treaty to be held with the tribes or nations of Indians claiming the right of soil to certain lands lying beyond the present temporary boundary line of that State, and which were described in an act of the Legislature of Georgia, passed on the 28th of December last, which has already been laid before the Senate. This application, and the subsequent correspondence with the Governor of Georgia, are herewith transmitted. The subject being very important, I thought proper to postpone a decision upon that application. The views I have since taken of the matter, with the information received, of a more pacific disposition on the part of the Creeks, have induced me, now, to accede to the request, but with this explicit declaration: That neither my assent, nor the treaty which may be made, shall be considered as affecting any question which may arise, upon the supplementary act, passed by the Legislature of the State of Georgia, on the 7th of January last, upon which inquiries have been instituted, in pursuance of a resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives; and that any cession or relinquishment of the Indian claims, shall be made in the general terms of the treaty of New York, which are contemplated as the form proper to be generally used on such occasions; and on the condition that one half of the expense of the supplies or provisions for the Indians assembled at the treaty be borne by the State of Georgia.

Having concluded to hold the treaty requested by that State, I was willing to embrace the opportunity it would present, of inquiring into the causes of the dissatisfaction of the Creeks, which has been manifested since the treaty of New York, by their numerous and distressing depredations on our Southwestern frontiers. Their depredations on the Cumberland have been so frequent, and so peculiarly destructive, as to lead me to think they must originate in some claim to the lands upon that river. But, whatever may have been the cause, it is important to trace it to its source: for, independent of the destruction of lives and property, it occasions a very serious annual expense to the United States. The commissioners for holding the proposed treaty will, therefore, be instructed to inquire into the causes of the hostilities to which I have referred, and to enter into such reasonable stipulations as will remove them, and give permanent peace to those parts of the United States.

I now nominate Benjamin Hawkins, of North Carolina, George Clymer, of Pennsylvania, and Andrew Pickens, of South Carolina, to be commissioners to hold a treaty with the Creek nation of Indians; for the purposes hereinbefore expressed.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, June 25, 1795.

*Copy of a letter from James Gunn and Thomas P. Carnes, Esqrs. to the President of the United States.*

STR:

In obedience to the will of the General Assembly of the State we have the honor to represent, we beg leave to lay before the President of the United States, an act passed by the Legislature of the State of Georgia, on the 28th day of December last. By a reference to the seventh section of the aforementioned act, it will be perceived, that it is the duty of the Senators and Representatives of that State, in the Congress of the United States, to apply, without loss of time, for a treaty to be held with the tribes or nations of Indians claiming the right of soil to certain lands, as described in the said act, lying beyond the temporary boundary line. The General Assembly, at the time they passed this law, appear to have had in view, the operation of an act of the General Government, entitled "An act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes," and, in conformity thereto, they have appointed three respectable citizens, to attend, as agents, on the part of the State, and appropriated the sum of thirty thousand dollars, for the purpose of defraying the expense of a treaty, and extinguishing the claims of Indians, if any there be, to lands lying within the boundaries described in the said act. And, to the end that the said treaty may be held, conducted, and concluded, in a fair, open, and honorable manner, and agreeable to the principles contained in the eighth section of the above recited act of the United States; we have to request, on the part of the State of Georgia, that a commissioner or commissioners be immediately appointed, and the time and place fixed on, for holding a treaty with the aforesaid Indian tribes.

It cannot have escaped the observation of the Executive, that a number of the frontier citizens of the State of Georgia have, for several years past, remained captives to a cruel and barbarous enemy, and that many of those who have been so fortunate as to avoid captivity, and preserve their lives, are reduced to extreme indigence, from the continued predatory war carried on against them by Indian tribes.

We anticipate, with confidence, that an early period will be fixed on, for holding a treaty, and hope that it may eventuate in the restoration of all the unfortunate sufferers to their distressed families, and effectually secure the peace and happiness of those, whose lot it is to reside on a frontier.

*Copy of a letter from the Secretary of War to the Governor of Georgia.*DEPARTMENT OF WAR, *March 20, 1795.*

SIR:

I am instructed by the President of the United States to inform your Excellency, that, on the 2d instant, he received from James Gunn, Esq. one of the Senators, and from Thomas P. Carnes, Esq. one of the Representatives in Congress from the State of Georgia, a letter (of which the enclosed is a copy) requesting that a treaty might be held with the Indians claiming the right of soil to certain lands, lying beyond the present temporary boundary of Georgia, for the purpose of extinguishing their claim to them.

This request demanded, and has received, much consideration. The crisis at which it has been made, has occasioned no small embarrassment to the Executive of the United States. The Creeks have been, with difficulty, restrained from open war; any movement which may hazard that event, must be cautiously made; and it is well known, that no measures excite so much jealousy among them, as those which affect their lands, unless they are previously disposed to grant them. How far this may be the case, is unknown; and, as Congress, although duly informed of the situation of the Southern and Southwestern frontiers, have provided, in the act of appropriation, merely for their defensive protection, it behooves the Executive to observe great delicacy in the management of Indian affairs; many inquiries and arrangements must precede the treaty requested, and, as time is requisite for these, no definitive answer can at present be given.

The two acts of the Legislature of Georgia, one passed on the 28th December, and the other on the 7th of January last, for appropriating and selling Indian lands, were laid before Congress. The deliberations of the two Houses issued in a concurrent resolution for directing the attorney general to investigate the title of the State of Georgia to the lands sold to the several companies, by the act of the 7th of January. A copy of this resolution I have now the honor to enclose.

The request beforementioned, embraces an important object. The facts here detailed, show some of the difficulties in which it is involved; among these, the connexion between the two acts is not the least. The President, therefore, while he is solicitous to gratify the wishes of the people of Georgia, so far as may consist with his public duty, thinks it necessary to avoid a hasty decision on the subject, with which so many weighty circumstances are combined. A postponement is the more necessary, because it is deemed proper that the commissioners for holding such a treaty as that which is requested, should be appointed with the advice and consent of the Senate; and, under the pressure of the Legislative business, accumulated at the close of the session, it was not practicable to attend to this matter before the adjournment of Congress. The Senate will assemble on the 8th of June next, on Executive business. In the interim, the President will be able further to examine the question of the treaty, in all its relations.

*Copy of a letter from the Secretary of War to the Governor of Georgia.*WAR OFFICE, *20th August, 1790.*

SIR:

The President of the United States has directed me to transmit to your honor a copy of the treaty of peace and friendship, which has been concluded between the United States and the Creek nation of Indians, together with his proclamation for a due observance thereof.

It may be justly expected, that the faithful execution of this treaty by both parties, will be productive of the most salutary consequences to the State of Georgia, by ensuring peace and tranquillity to its frontier settlements, and a regular cession of the disputed lands on the Oconee, which have hitherto caused the expense of so much blood and treasure to the State.

It would have been a desirable circumstance to have obtained an entire confirmation of all the territory claimed by Georgia, and every argument was used to effect this object. But the chiefs who were present decidedly refused, at the hazard of all events, any confirmation of the land lying to the eastward of the temporary line, mentioned in the treaty of Galphinton, to be drawn from the forks of the Oconee and Oakmulgee to the St. Mary's, and between the said temporary line and the old line from the Altamaha to the St. Mary's.

This land has been represented to be generally barren, sunken, and unfit for cultivation, except in some instances on the margin of its rivers, and that its chief value depends on its lumber. While it is thus circumstanced on the one hand, it has been represented by the Creeks, on the other, to be of the highest importance to them, as constituting some of their most valuable winter hunting grounds.

In estimating the value of this land, it was not considered of such importance, or under such circumstances as to be a sufficient cause for breaking off a treaty by which the valuable Oconee lands are effectually ceded and secured, peace established, and the Creek nation attached to the interests of the United States.

The President of the United States, therefore, persuades himself that these considerations will have their proper operation on the minds of the good people of Georgia, and induce them to a zealous concurrence in the execution of the treaty.

The chiefs of the Creeks who made the treaty sailed from this port yesterday, for the river St. Mary's, and they propose to return by that river to their own country.

H. KNOX.

*Extract of a letter from the Governor of Georgia to the Secretary of War.*STATE HOUSE, *Augusta, April 16th, 1795.*

SIR:

I received with pleasure your communication of the 20th March, and am much obliged to the President for the information respecting the Indian treaty.

I am at a loss to discover the intimate connexion between the two acts referred to. The one contemplates a treaty for extinguishing the Indian claims to the lands between the Oconee and the Oakmulgee, an object which nineteen out of twenty of the citizens of this State have the most anxious wish to see accomplished, and I feel persuaded that the present is as good a time as any that may offer to obtain it, provided the General Government would aid the endeavors of this State. I need not remind you that the Creek Indians have complied with no part of the treaty entered into at New York, and their inability to comply with it is evident, as the greater part of the property stipulated to have been returned, is so dispersed, that it is not in their power to restore it. I cannot indulge the most distant thought that the treaty, on the part of the United States, ought to be fully complied with, and the Indians released from that part which secures to the citizens of Georgia the return of prisoners and property. The Indians, latterly, show more disposition for peace than they have for many years past, and, from the information I have received, are disposed to make satisfaction for the property they cannot return; and the only thing whereby compensation can be made, is their lands. The sum they will receive from the State for those lands contemplated to be purchased, will procure them a handsome supply of goods, which that nation is in much want of.

The act for selling the lands on the Mississippi, &c. has not met with the approbation of the majority of the citizens, but it is not so generally reprobated, as has been represented to the General Government; and every attempt of that Government, tending to dispute the right, will add support to the law.

The sale of the lands was never pleasing to me, but the cause arises from a full conviction that large monopolies are against the interests of the citizens in general, and not from any doubts I entertained of the right of this State to the lands in question.

When I reflect on, and know, the very great wish the people of Georgia have to procure the lands between the Oconee and Oakmulgee, I flatter myself the President will give permission for a treaty to be held, as I am persuaded a refusal will give great uneasiness, and, in fact, disgust.

[4th CONGRESS.]

No. 67.

[1st SESSION.]

## TREATY OF GREENVILLE.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 9, 1795.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

I lay before you, for your consideration, a treaty of peace which has been negotiated by General Wayne, on behalf of the United States, with all the late hostile tribes of Indians, northwest of the river Ohio; together with the instructions\* which were given to General Wayne, and the proceedings at the place of treaty.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, December 9, 1795.

*A treaty of peace between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, Miamies, Eel Rivers, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias.*

To put an end to a destructive war, to settle all controversies, and to restore harmony and friendly intercourse between the said United States and Indian tribes, Anthony Wayne, Major General, commanding the army of the United States, and sole commissioner for the good purposes abovementioned; and the said tribes of Indians, by their sachems, chiefs, and warriors, met together at Greenville, the head quarters of the said army, have agreed on the following articles, which, when ratified by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, shall be binding on them and the said Indian tribes:

ARTICLE 1. Henceforth, all hostilities shall cease; peace is hereby established, and shall be perpetual; and a friendly intercourse shall take place between the said United States and Indian tribes.

ART. 2. All prisoners shall, on both sides, be restored. The Indians, prisoners to the United States, shall be immediately set at liberty. The people of the United States, still remaining prisoners among the Indians, shall be delivered up in ninety days from the date hereof, to the General or commanding officer at Greenville, fort Wayne, or fort Defiance; and ten chiefs of the said tribes shall remain at Greenville as hostages, until the delivery of the prisoners shall be effected.

ART. 3. The general boundary line, between the lands of the United States and the lands of the said Indian tribes, shall begin at the mouth of Cuyahoga river, and run thence, up the same, to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; thence, down that branch to the crossing place, above fort Lawrence; thence westerly, to a fork of that branch of the great Miami river running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Loromie's store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio and St. Mary's river, which is a branch of the Miami, which runs into lake Erie; thence, a westerly course to fort Recovery, which stands on a branch of the Wabash; thence, southwesterly in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river opposite the mouth of Kentucky or Cuttawa river. And, in consideration of the peace now established, of the goods formerly received from the United States, of those now to be delivered, and of the yearly delivery of goods now stipulated to be made hereafter, and to indemnify the United States for the injuries and expenses they have sustained during the war, the said Indian tribes do hereby cede and relinquish, forever, all their claims to the lands lying eastwardly and southwardly of the general boundary line, now described, and these lands, or any part of them, shall never hereafter be made a cause or pretence, on the part of the said tribes, or any of them, of war or injury to the United States, or any of the people thereof.

And for the same considerations, and as an evidence of the returning friendship of the said Indian tribes, of their confidence in the United States, and desire to provide for their accommodation, and for that convenient intercourse which will be beneficial to both parties, the said Indian tribes do also cede to the United States, the following pieces of land, to wit: 1. One piece of land, six miles square, at or near Loromie's store, before mentioned. 2. One piece two miles square, at the head of the navigable water or landing, on the St. Mary's river, near Girty's town. 3. One piece six miles square, at the head of the navigable water of the Auglaize river. 4. One piece six miles square, at the confluence of the Auglaize and Miami rivers, where fort Defiance now stands. 5. One piece six miles square, at or near the confluence of the rivers St. Mary's and St. Joseph's, where fort Wayne now stands, or near it. 6. One piece two miles square, on the Wabash river, at the end of the portage from the Miami of the lake, and about eight miles westward from fort Wayne. 7. One piece six miles square, at the Ouatanon, or old Wea towns, on the Wabash river. 8. One piece twelve miles square, at the British fort, on the Miami of the lake, at the foot of the Rapids. 9. One piece six miles square, at the mouth of the said river, where it empties into the lake. 10. One piece six miles square, upon Sandusky lake, where a fort formerly stood. 11. One piece two miles square, at the lower rapids of Sandusky river. 12. The post of Detroit, and all the lands to the north, the west, and the south of it, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments: and so much more land, to be annexed to the district of Detroit, as shall be comprehended between the river Rosine, on the south, lake St. Clair, on the north, and a line, the general course whereof shall be six miles distant from the west end of lake Erie and Detroit river. 13. The post of Michilimackinac, and all the land on which that post stands, and the main land adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments; and a piece of land on the main, to the north of the island, to measure six miles on lake Huron, or the strait between lakes Huron and Michigan, and to extend three miles back from the water of the lake or strait; and, also, the island De Bois Blanc, being an extra and voluntary gift of the Chippewa nation. 14. One piece of land six miles square, at the mouth of Chicago river, emptying into the southwest end of lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood. 15. One piece twelve miles square, at or near the mouth of the Illinois river, emptying into the Mississippi. 16. One piece six miles square, at the old Peorias fort and village, near the south end of the Illinois lake, on said Illinois river. And whenever the United States shall think proper to survey and mark the boundaries of the lands hereby ceded to them, they shall give timely notice thereof to the said tribes of Indians, that they may appoint some of their wise chiefs, to attend and see that the lines are run according to the terms of this treaty.

And the said Indian tribes will allow to the people of the United States, a free passage by land and by water, as one and the other shall be found convenient, through their country, along the chain of posts hereinbefore mentioned; that is to say, from the commencement of the portage aforesaid, at or near Loromie's store, thence, along said portage to the St. Mary's, and down the same to fort Wayne, and then down the Miami to lake Erie; again, from the commencement of the portage at or near Loromie's store, along the portage; from thence to the river Auglaize, and down the same to its junction with the Miami, at fort Defiance; again, from the commencement of the portage aforesaid, to Sandusky river, and down the same to Sandusky bay and lake Erie, and from Sandusky to the post which shall be taken at or near the foot of the rapids of the Miami of the lake; and from thence to Detroit. Again, from the mouth of Chicago, to the commencement of the portage, between that river and the Illinois, and down the Illinois river to the Mississippi; also, from fort Wayne, along the portage aforesaid, which leads to the Wabash, and then down the Wabash to the Ohio. And the said Indian tribes will, also, allow to the people of the United States, the free use of the harbors and mouths of rivers along the lakes adjoining the Indian lands, for sheltering vessels and boats, and liberty to land their cargoes where necessary for their safety.

\*The instructions are not on file.

ART. 4. In consideration of the peace, now established, and of the cessions and relinquishments of lands made in the preceding article by the said tribes of Indians, and to manifest the liberality of the United States, as the great means of rendering this peace strong and perpetual, the United States relinquish their claims to all other Indian lands, northward of the river Ohio, eastward of the Mississippi, and westward and southward of the Great Lakes, and the waters uniting them, according to the boundary line agreed on by the United States and the King of Great Britain, in the treaty of peace, made between them in the year 1783. But, from this relinquishment by the United States, the following tracts of land are explicitly excepted. 1st. The tract of one hundred and fifty thousand acres, near the rapids of the river Ohio, which has been assigned to General Clark, for the use of himself and his warriors. 2d. The post of St. Vincennes, on the river Wabash, and the lands adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished. 3d. The lands at all other places in possession of the French people, and other white settlers among them, of which the Indian title has been extinguished, as mentioned in the 3d article; and 4th. The post of fort Massac, towards the mouth of the Ohio. To which several parcels of lands, so excepted, the said tribes relinquish all the title and claim which they or any of them may have.

And for the same considerations, and with the same views as above mentioned, the United States now deliver to the said Indian tribes, a quantity of goods, to the value of twenty thousand dollars, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge; and henceforward, every year, forever, the United States will deliver, at some convenient place northward of the river Ohio, like useful goods, suited to the circumstances of the Indians, of the value of nine thousand five hundred dollars; reckoning that value at the first cost of the goods in the city or place, in the United States, where they shall be procured. The tribes to which those goods are to be annually delivered, and the proportions in which they are to be delivered, are the following:

1st. To the Wyandots, the amount of one thousand dollars. 2d. To the Delawares, the amount of one thousand dollars. 3d. To the Shawanese, the amount of one thousand dollars. 4th. To the Miamies, the amount of one thousand dollars. 5th. To the Ottawas, the amount of one thousand dollars. 6th. To the Chippewas, the amount of one thousand dollars. 7th. To the Pattawatamies, the amount of one thousand dollars. 8th. And to the Kickapoo, Wea, Eel River, Piankeshaw, and Kaskaskia tribes, the amount of five hundred dollars, each.

Provided, that if either of the said tribes shall, hereafter, at an annual delivery of their share of the goods aforesaid, desire that a part of their annuity should be furnished in domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils convenient for them, and in compensation to useful artificers, who may reside with, or near them, and be employed for their benefit, the same shall, at the subsequent annual deliveries, be furnished accordingly.

ART. 5. To prevent any misunderstanding about the Indian lands relinquished by the United States in the fourth article, it is now explicitly declared, that the meaning of that relinquishment, is this: the Indian tribes who have a right to those lands, are quietly to enjoy them, hunting, planting, and dwelling thereon, so long as they please, without any molestation from the United States; but when those tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands, or any part of them, they are to be sold only to the United States; and until such sale, the United States will protect all the said Indian tribes in the quiet enjoyment of their lands, against all citizens of the United States, and against all other white persons who intrude upon the same. And the said Indian tribes again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the said United States, and no other Power whatever.

ART. 6. If any citizen of the United States, or any other white person or persons, shall presume to settle upon the lands, now relinquished by the United States, such citizen or other person shall be out of the protection of the United States; and the Indian tribe, on whose land the settlement shall be made, may drive off the settler, or punish him in such manner as they shall think fit; and because such settlements, made without the consent of the United States, will be injurious to them, as well as to the Indians, the United States shall be at liberty to break them up, and remove and punish the settlers as they shall think proper, and so effect that protection of the Indian lands herein before stipulated.

ART. 7. The said tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, shall be at liberty to hunt within the territory and lands which they have now ceded to the United States, without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and offer no injury to the people of the United States.

ART. 8. Trade shall be opened with the said Indian tribes; and they do hereby respectively engage, to afford protection to such persons, with their property, as shall be duly licensed to reside among them, for the purpose of trade, and to their agents and servants; but no person shall be permitted to reside at any of their towns or hunting camps, as a trader, who is not furnished with a licence for that purpose, under the hand and seal of the superintendent of the department northwest of the Ohio, or such other person as the President of the United States shall authorize to grant such licences, to the end, that the said Indians may not be imposed on in their trade. And, if any licensed trader shall abuse his privilege by unfair dealing, upon complaint and proof thereof, his licence shall be taken from him, and he shall be further punished according to the laws of the United States. And if any person shall intrude himself as a trader, without such licence, the said Indians shall take and bring him before the superintendent, or his deputy, to be dealt with according to law. And, to prevent impositions by forged licences, the said Indians shall, at least once a year, give information to the superintendent, or his deputies, of the names of the traders residing among them.

ART. 9. Lest the firm peace and friendship now established should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, the United States and the said Indian tribes agree, that, for injuries done by individuals, on either side, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place; but, instead thereof, complaint shall be made by the party injured, to the other: by the said Indian tribes, or any of them, to the President of the United States, or the superintendent by him appointed; and by the superintendent, or other person appointed by the President, to the principal chiefs of the said Indian tribes, or of the tribe to which the offender belongs; and such prudent measures shall then be pursued, as shall be necessary to preserve the said peace and friendship unbroken, until the Legislature (or great council) of the United States shall make other equitable provision in the case, to the satisfaction of both parties. Should any Indian tribes meditate a war against the United States, or either of them, and the same shall come to the knowledge of the beforementioned tribes, or either of them, they do hereby engage to give immediate notice thereof to the general, or officer commanding the troops of the United States, at the nearest post. And should any tribe, with hostile intentions against the United States, or either of them, attempt to pass through their country, they will endeavor to prevent the same, and in like manner give information of such attempt, to the general, or officer commanding, as soon as possible, that all causes of mistrust and suspicion may be avoided between them and the United States. In like manner, the United States shall give notice to the said Indian tribes of any harm that may be meditated against them, or either of them, that shall come to their knowledge, and do all in their power to hinder and prevent the same, that the friendship between them may be uninterrupted.

ART. 10. All other treaties heretofore made between the United States and the said Indian tribes, or any of them, since the treaty of 1783, between the United States and Great Britain, that come within the purview of this treaty, shall henceforth cease, and become void.

In testimony whereof, the said Anthony Wayne, and the sachems and war chiefs of the beforementioned nations and tribes of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals.

Done at Greenville, in the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, on the third day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five.

ANTHONY WAYNE.

[Signed by certain chiefs and warriors of the tribes enumerated in the title.]

*Extract of a letter from Major General Anthony Wayne to the Secretary of War, dated Head Quarters, Greenville, 9th August, 1795.*

It is with infinite pleasure I now inform you, that a treaty of peace between the United States of America and all the late hostile tribes of Indians northwest of the Ohio, was unanimously and voluntarily agreed to, and cheerfully signed, by all the sachems and war chiefs of the respective nations, on the 3d, and exchanged on the 7th instant.

*Minutes of a Treaty with the tribes of Indians called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, Miamies, Eel River, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias, begun at Greenville, on the 16th day of June, and ended on the 10th day of August, 1795.*

A considerable number of Delawares, Ottawas, Pattawatamies, and Eel River Indians, having arrived at Greenville since the beginning of June, General Wayne caused them to be assembled together on Tuesday, the 16th, and, for the first time, met them in general council. They were presented with and smoked the calumet of peace; after which the General arose, and addressed them as follows:

I take you all by the hand as brothers, assembled for the good work of peace. I thank the Great Spirit for this glorious sun, (who appears to rejoice at our meeting) and for permitting so many of us to assemble here this day, the first of that moon appointed for holding the intended treaty. The Great Spirit has favored us with a clear sky and a refreshing breeze for the happy occasion.

I have cleared this ground of all brush and rubbish, and opened roads to the east, to the west, to the north, and to the south, that all nations may come in safety and ease to meet me. The ground on which this council house stands is unstained with blood, and is as pure as the heart of General Washington, the great chief of America, and of his great council—as pure as my heart—which now wishes for nothing so much as peace and brotherly love.

I have this day kindled the council fire of the United States: we will now cover it up, and keep it alive, until the remainder of the different tribes assemble, and form a full meeting and representation.

I now deliver to each tribe present a string of white wampum, to serve as records of the friendship that is this day commenced between us. [Wampum delivered.]

The heavens are bright, the roads are open; we will rest in peace and love, and wait the arrival of our brothers. In the interim, we will have a little drink, to wash the dust out of our throats. We will, on this happy occasion, be merry, without, however, passing the bounds of temperance and sobriety.

Te-ta-boksh-ke, King of the Delawares, rose, and spoke as follows:

Our meeting this day affords me infinite pleasure. I thank the Great Spirit, and I thank you, for bestowing on us so great a happiness. All my people shall be informed of, and will rejoice in, the commencement of our friendship, which, I hope, will never end. [A white string of wampum.]

The fire was raked up, and the council adjourned.

June 17.

Forty Pattawatamies arrived, and had audience.

The New Corn, one of their chiefs, addressing the General, said:

I have come here on the good work of peace; no other motive could have induced me to undertake so long a journey as I have now performed, in my advanced age and infirm state of health. I come from lake Michigan. I hope, after our treaty, you will exchange our old medals, and supply us with General Washington's. My young men will no longer listen to the former; they wish for the latter. They have thrown off the British, and henceforth will view the Americans as their only true friends. We come with a good heart, and hope you will supply us with provision.

The General replied:

I give you all a hearty welcome. I am particularly pleased with the presence of so venerable a man as New Corn. You, young warriors, will, I am persuaded, pay the highest respect to the counsels of this aged chief. Your friend, the Sun, (a Pattawatamy chief) will tell you, that yesterday we kindled the council fire; that the roads are all clear, and that we only wait the arrival of the other expected chiefs, to begin the good work. You must be fatigued. I will not detain you at present. You will be supplied with provision, and some drink to refresh you, and to make your hearts glad.

June 21.

Buck-on-ge-he-las, with a party of Delawares, and Asi-me-the, with a party of Pattawatamies, arrived, and was received in the council-house.

Te-ta-boksh-ke, the Delaware king, for the former party, addressed the General as follows:

БРОТЕР, ЛИСТЕН! We are here met, by permission of the Great Spirit. Our forefathers used soft cloths to dry up their tears: we use this, (wampum) and hope by its influence to do away all past misfortunes. We have now opened our eyes and ears, and hope to settle all differences. [A white string.]

A-si-me-the, a Pattawatamy chief, spoke as follows:

I have nothing to observe; our grandfathers, the Delawares, have said what is necessary. Excuse my not presenting you with wampums. Why should we, elder brother, be of a different opinion with our grandfathers, the Delawares? The Great Spirit has been equally kind to us in this meeting. You see us all here. You sent for us. The remainder of us are dead, or incapable of coming to see you. In compliance with your requisition for the surrender of prisoners, and as a proof of our sincere wishes for peace, I now present you two—all in our possession.

The General arose, and spoke thus:

BROTHERS: I take you all by the hand, and welcome you to Greenville. The great council fire has already been kindled, and the calumet of peace has been smoked by the different nations already here. This old chief (Te-ta-boksh-ke) has been witness to and joined in this solemn act, in the presence of the Great Spirit. We have raked up the fire until the chiefs generally assemble. Last night I had accounts from the Wyandots of Sandusky and Detroit, and all the Indians in that quarter. This day they rise upon their feet, to come and join in council with us; the roads being all clear, they will arrive, without difficulty, in ten days. We will then add fresh wood to our fire, whose pure flame shall be seen from the rising to the setting sun. We will postpone entering on business until that period. In the mean time, I will give you, my brothers, what will make your hearts glad. I have already given wampum to all the tribes present: I now present you with a little more, to evince that my mind and heart are always the same. [Wampum.]

June 23.

Le Gris, the Little Turtle, and seventeen Miamies, arrived, and were presented.

Le Gris merely observed, that he was very happy to see the General; that he had nothing particular to say at this time; he wished to encamp, and prepare for bad weather; and added, that the Miamies were united with him in friendly sentiments and wishes for peace.

The General spoke thus to them:

I feel much satisfaction in taking you all by the hand; my pleasure is equally great with yours in this interview. The council fire was kindled in this house on the first day of this moon; we covered it up, and have preserved it clear, waiting for your arrival and the appearance of our brothers the Wyandots, Shawanese, and a part of the Five

Nations, among us; they are now three days on their way hither. I will not now detain you; you must require rest, and I will order you to be provided with proper refreshments. This belt testifies the sincerity of the welcome with which I receive you. [A belt.]

June 25.

The Indian chiefs present were assembled. The General thus addressed them:

**BROTHERS:** I take you all by the hand. I have invited you to this meeting to inform you of some measures I have taken for your convenience. I now give you up my exterior redoubts, to accommodate the different nations with council houses; my people are called in from them, and you will allot them amongst you, as you may think proper. I take this opportunity to make you acquainted with some customs which we observe: Upon firing our evening gun, all our men repair to their quarters; I wish your people to act in the same manner; I am persuaded you will perceive the propriety of this measure. If you find any of my foolish young men troubling your camps after that signal, I would thank you to tie them, and send them to me. I wish to preserve good order and harmony.

I will now explain, what yesterday might have had a strange appearance.

It is a standing rule, in all our armies, upon any alarm or accident whatever, for our warriors to repair instantly to their posts. I mention this to you, to prevent, for the future, any misapprehensions. It is by my invitation you are here, and I stand pledged for your safety and security. It is also our practice to parade our men, morning and evening, and call every man by his name. An accident occurred yesterday, in the explosion of some of our fire-works; it will have no other effect than to delay, for a few days, the exhibition intended for the 4th of July, the anniversary of the independence of America. I have nothing further to mention to you at this time; I called you together, merely to acquaint you with these things, to repeat my sentiments of care and regard for you, and to assure you again, that you may rest as easy, and are as safe here, as if you were in your own villages.

The council fire remains covered, until the arrival of the rest of our brothers. General Washington and his great council have sent you large presents, whose arrival I expect about the same time. Your friends (Onas) the Quakers, have also sent you a message, and some small presents, as a token of their regard for you.

Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish (or Bad-bird) a Chipewa chief, arose and said—

**ELDER BROTHER:**

I thank you, in the name of all the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pattawatamies, for what you have this day told us; it is all very right and good.

The Delawares signified their concurrence in opinion with their grand children, the Chippewas, &c.

The General rose and said—

I have never yet, in a public capacity, told a lie. You will not be deceived, by placing the utmost confidence in what I shall tell you. I again repeat, that your own towns and villages could not afford you greater liberty, safety, and security, than you will enjoy, whilst you choose to remain with me.

Meeting adjourned.

June 26.—Thirty-four Chippewas and Pattawatamies arrived.

Michi-mang, a Pattawatamy, briefly observed—

That, as soon as they heard his (the General's) words, they rose to come and see him; that they had no old chiefs, or they would have come forward on this great occasion—they were all dead; that they came in expectation of being supplied with provisions, to refresh them after their fatigues.

June 30.—The chiefs were assembled, at their own request.

Le Gris, chief of the Miamies, addressed the General as follows:

**BROTHER:**

I have only come this day to see you; the other chiefs present have no other object than that pleasure. I hope every thing, hitherto, appears well to you; I now express our perfect satisfaction. Our young warriors are glad to meet and see yours, and I hope no suspicions have existence with either. You have told us, we should share your provisions whilst we stayed with you, and in consequence, depend upon receiving it; as you have promised, and do give us these things, we now visit you with real pleasure. The chiefs present are happy in the belief of their perfect safety; and I am persuaded, the other chiefs, when they arrive, will be equally satisfied of their situation. When brothers meet, they always experience pleasure. As it is a cool day, we would hope you would give us a little drink; you promised to treat us well, and we expect to be treated as warriors; we wish you to give your brothers a glass of wine. I hope you are pleased with this visit of your brothers. You have some things of which we have not yet had any; we would like some mutton and pork, occasionally:

The New Corn, a Pattawatamy chief, rose and said—

I agree perfectly in sentiment with my brother, Le Gris. I hope you will comply with his request; our hearts are sorry and afflicted, at seeing the graves of our brothers, who died here last winter.

The Sun, a Pattawatimy chief, rose and said—

When I came to your house, you told me I should have what I wanted. We get but a small allowance; we eat it in the morning, and are hungry at night. The days are long; we have nothing to do; we become weary, and wish for home.

The General answered thus:

I am pleased to see you all here, and happy to find you think yourselves secure in this camp; I wish you to think yourselves perfectly at home. The chiefs on their way, I am persuaded, will also think themselves safe when they arrive; they are now ten days on their journey towards us, and we may with certainty expect them. I have received a speech from their nations to this effect. Blue Jacket comes by the Miami villages; the others may, perhaps, arrive by a different route. You say, that when you came forward, I promised you plenty; it is my wish and intention you should have sufficient. The Sun, alone, complains of scarcity. I wish you to consult generally, and let me know if you really do not receive enough. Pork, we have none; the few sheep we have, are for the comfort of our sick, and occasionally for our officers; your sick shall, most cheerfully, share with mine; and I will, with pleasure, participate with your chiefs. The New Corn has observed, that your hearts were troubled for the loss of your brothers, who died here last winter; grief is unavailing, and ought not to be indulged. I will give the chiefs, of each nation present, a sheep for their use, and some drink for them and their people, this afternoon, to make their hearts glad, and to dry up their tears; at present, we will have a glass of wine together. I wish to see you all happy and contented.

Council adjourned.

July 3.—The chiefs of the different nations present were assembled.

The General addressed them as follows:

**BROTHERS:**

I take you all by the hand, with that strong hold with which brothers ought to salute each other. To-morrow will be the anniversary of the day which gave peace, happiness, and independence, to America; to-morrow,



all the people of the Fifteen Fires, with shouts of joy, and peals of artillery, will celebrate the period which gave them freedom. Nineteen times have the United States, already, hailed the return of that auspicious morn; to-morrow, we shall, for the twentieth time, salute the annual return of this happy day, rendered still more dear by the brotherly union of the American and red people; to-morrow, all the people within these lines will rejoice; you, my brothers, shall also rejoice, in your respective encampments. I called you together to explain these matters to you; do not, therefore, be alarmed at the report of our big guns; they will do no harm; they will be the harbingers of peace and gladness, and their roar will ascend into the heavens. The flag of the United States, and the colors of this legion, shall be given to the wind, to be fanned by its gentlest breeze, in honor of the birth-day of American freedom. I will now shew you our colors, that you may know them to-morrow; formerly, they were displayed as ensigns of war and battle; now, they will be exhibited as emblems of peace and happiness. This Eagle, which you now see, holds close his bunch of arrows, whilst he seems to stretch forth, as a more valuable offering, the inestimable branch of peace; the Great Spirit seems disposed to incline us all, to repose, for the future, under its grateful shade, and wisely enjoy the blessings which attend it.

Mash-i-pi-nach-i-wish, chief of the Chippewas, arose, and spoke as follows:

**ELDER BROTHER:**

I have heard your words, and have received great pleasure from them. I never make long speeches; what I have to say, I say in a few words. Look at your warriors around you, and view ours. Does it not give you pleasure to see us all met together in brotherly love?

**ELDER BROTHER:** You may believe what I say, and what I am going to say. As we are here on good business, our hearts must dictate what our tongues express. The Great Spirit knows when we speak truth, and punishes falsehood. As you have told us we are to rejoice, I have a favor to ask of you, compliance with which will prepare our hearts for the occasion. We would wish to rescue from death two of your young warriors, whom we brought in to you, and whom we hear are to die. I entreat you, in the name of all present, to spare their lives, and pray you to indulge us in this request. [A white and blue string.]

Te-ta-boksh-ke, king of the Delawares, thus spoke:

**ELDER BROTHER:**

I thank you for having kindly explained to us what will take place to-morrow. Our young men shall all be informed of it. We thank you for your attention to us. We will sincerely rejoice on the happy occasion.

The General replied—

**BROTHERS:**

I have heard your words, and will answer you presently. As I never speak without deliberation, you may depend on what I say.

**BROTHERS:** I have considered your request respecting the two warriors condemned to die. I will now answer you. The two men condemned to death are not those whom you brought to me, but two very bad men, from another quarter. I desired this good man (Doctor Jones) to prepare the minds of these men for the awful change they are about to experience. We put no men to death without giving them time to repent, and to whiten their hearts. The lives of the two men whom you brought in, (although very culpable) are now granted to your humane entreaties. That you may all remember that, to-morrow, and every anniversary of it, the Americans rejoice, I now present each nation with a white string of wampum. We will now retire, and hope that to-morrow's dawn may be propitious to the happy occasion. [Wampum.]

July 4.—A-goosh-a-way, and twenty-three Ottawas, from the vicinity of Detroit, arrived, and had audience.

The General addressed them:

**BROTHERS:**

I take you all by the hand. I am happy to see you. You must be hungry and dry. I will order you refreshments to make your hearts glad. The hearts of your brothers are also made glad this day. I will no longer detain you from taking that repose of which you seem to stand in so much need. I deliver this string as a proof of my happiness in seeing you. [A white string.]

A-goosh-a-way spoke as follows:

**BROTHER:**

Those nations who are now represented at this meeting, are probably all you may reasonably expect; as for the Shawanese and Wyandots of Detroit, I do not believe they will come. I frequently told them they ought to advance without hesitation, but they still continue irresolute, and hover round their enemies, the British. I cannot discover the motives which actuate the Wyandots. The Six Nations sent two letters, prevailing on me to wait their junction; but finding they delayed, and suspecting their sincerity, I came away without waiting long for them.

July 9.—In Council: Present the chiefs of the Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, Miami, and Wabash tribes.

The General arose and addressed them as follows:

**YOUNGER BROTHERS:**

I take you all by the hand, and welcome you to this council fire. Viewing the number of nations who, last winter, signed the preliminary articles, I perceive all are present except the Wyandots of Sandusky and Shawanese. It is now twenty-five days since the council fire was kindled at this place; it has continued to burn bright, and it has happily dissipated the clouds which have hung over the people of Sandusky. They now see that the sky is clear and serene, that the roads are open, and free of thorns. Four runners arrived from them last evening, to announce to me the near approach of all the chiefs of the Wyandots and others of Sandusky. The intelligence which these messengers have brought me, is this: that the dark cloud which enveloped the Shawanese in the neighborhood of the British post, (for that, my brothers, is a very cloudy place) has also been dispelled; that they have at length awoke from their intoxicated slumber, and are now on their feet, coming to this place. They and the Wyandots, &c. of Sandusky, may be expected to arrive here in the course of three days.

The question then is, shall we now name the day upon which to begin the great and good work, or, shall we wait the arrival of those chiefs, and have their united voice on the subject?

This is all I shall propose at present, until I hear your respective opinions.

The Little Turtle made some remarks on the General's speech, to the other chiefs, and gave them some reasons why the fixing of the day should be postponed, when

A-goosh-a-way, an Ottawa chief, arose and said,

**ELDER BROTHER:**

I am much obliged to you for requiring our opinions on this matter. 'Tis true, as the Little Turtle has observed to us, that we have been here a long time waiting, but it will be best to remain contented a few days longer, that we may begin the good work all together. I now present you our pipe, and hope that you and your warriors will smoke it.

**ELDER BROTHER:** You see that all your chiefs, as well as ours, have smoked out of this calumet of peace, and the Great Spirit is well pleased to see it. The calumet does not now speak; it remains silent until the arrival of our brothers, who are on their way.



The General arose and said:

YOUNGER BROTHERS:

Twenty-five days ago the calumet of peace of the Fifteen Fires of the United States was smoked in this house; it did not then speak; and it yet remains silent. I am pleased to hear you all concur in opinion with the Little Turtle, that we should wait the arrival of our brothers, the Wyandots and Shawanese. I therefore propose that we shall meet again at this place on Monday next. [A white string to each nation present.]

Council adjourned to Monday the 13th.

MONDAY, July 13.

At the request of the Wyandot chiefs (who arrived on the 12th) and others, the meeting proposed for this day is postponed until Wednesday, the 15th; some necessary regulations among them not having been decided upon.

WEDNESDAY, July 15.

In Council, agreeable to adjournment: Present the chiefs of the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, Miamies, and Wabash tribes.

The Council opened with swearing in the interpreters; after which, the General addressed the Indians thus:

YOUNGER BROTHERS:

These interpreters whom you have now seen sworn, have called the Great Spirit to witness, that they will faithfully interpret all the speeches made by me to you, and by you to me; and the Great Spirit will punish them severely hereafter, if they do not religiously fulfil their sacred promise.

This is the calumet of peace of the Fifteen Fires of the United States of America: I shall first present it to the *soldier* (Wabash tribe) who first took us by the hand, as I do not yet know which nation among you is in future to have the precedence; the next were the Wyandots, who came forward last fall early; the next were the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies and Sauckeys; and the next were the Delawares.

YOUNGER BROTHERS: All the chiefs and warriors of the different nations present, I now take you all by the hand. It was my wish to have waited for the arrival of the Shawanese, Wyandots of Detroit, and some Chippewas, who I learn are on their way; but as it is the desire of the chiefs present to commence the business generally, I will now shew them by what authority I hold this treaty.

Treaties made by all nations on this earth ought to be held sacred and binding between the contracting parties; hence it is the practice to commission certain persons with powers to make and conclude stipulated articles of treaties accordingly. These books contain treaties which have been held with all the Indian nations in North America, and shew what has been said and done at each, without the smallest alteration. In the first place, this is a commission appointing me Commander-in-chief of the American legion, presented to me by General Washington, and the Fifteen Fires, three years since. On the 4th day of April, 1794, I received a commission from the same authority, for settling a peace with all the tribes of Indians, northwest of the Ohio. I will now read another commission, given me on the 15th day of April last. [Here the General read the renewal of his powers as commissioner to treat with the Indians.]

Having thus produced my authority, given me by General Washington, and the Fifteen Fires, I will now proceed to review the preliminary articles which we mutually entered into and exchanged during the past winter.

YOUNGER BROTHERS: Open your ears, and listen to the question asked me by the Wyandots of Sandusky, on the 26th September last: This was the voice of the Wyandots and other tribes of Sandusky:

“BROTHER: Bring forth from the bottom of your heart your sentiments, respecting making a definitive treaty of peace, and upon what terms. We shall deliver our prayers daily to the Great Spirit above, our maker, that he will open your heart and sentiments to us.” This was a strong and serious question, upon which the happiness of the United States and the Indian nations mutually depended. The answer made to that question required some explanations, which are tedious, and do not seem at present necessary to repeat; but I will read that part which explains the principles upon which a peace could take place.

“BROTHER: You desired me to bring forth, from the bottom of my heart, my sentiments respecting a peace, and upon what terms it could be obtained.

“BROTHER: I now call upon you to exert your utmost powers of attention, and listen to what I shall say to you. It is now near six years since the chiefs of the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, and Sac nations concluded a treaty at the mouth of the Muskingum, with Governor St. Clair, for removing all causes of controversy, and settling the boundaries between them and the United States. That treaty appeared to be founded upon principles of equity and justice, and to be perfectly satisfactory to all parties at that time: I therefore propose that treaty, as a foundation for a lasting treaty of peace between the United States and all your nations of Indians. Should you have any well grounded objections to these principles and to this proposition, come forward and speak your minds freely, and rest assured of a sincere welcome and safe conduct in coming hither, and in returning to your homes, from your friend and brother, Anthony Wayne,” &c.

This was my answer to the Wyandots; they are here present, and can testify the truth of it. In consequence of this answer, the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, Sauckeys, Miamies, Delawares, and Shawanese, came forward and signed these preliminary articles, of which you have all, respectively, copies. Having now shown you, that I stand here in the place of General Washington, and represent the Fifteen Fires of America; and having shown you the manner in which this happy meeting came about, by an application, first from the Wyandots, whose good example was followed by the other nations, I shall forbear to say any more, as the day is far spent, but to request you to consider what I have said.

BROTHERS: I wish you all clearly to understand that we have progressed so far in the good work, as to explain those preliminary steps. I would advise you to appropriate two or three days to revolve, coolly and attentively, these matters, and those which will naturally follow them. I take you all by the hand. We will now rake up the fire; and, as we have talked a long time, we must be dry, and have a little drink.

Council adjourned, to meet on the 18th.

SATURDAY, July 18.

In Council: Present as before.

The Little Turtle, a Miami chief, addressed the General as follows:

BROTHER: We have heard and considered what you have said to us. You have shown, and we have seen, your powers to treat with us. I came here for the purpose of hearing you. I suppose it to be your wish that peace should take place, throughout the world. When we hear you say so, we will be prepared to answer you. You have told me that the present treaty should be founded upon that of Muskingum. I beg leave to observe to you, that that treaty was effected altogether by the Six Nations, who seduced some of our young men to attend it, together with a few of the Chippewas, Wyandots, Ottawas, Delawares, and Pattawatamies. I beg leave to tell you, that I am entirely ignorant of what was done at that treaty. I hope those who held it may give you their opinion, whether or not it was agreeable to them.

The Sun, a Pattawatamy chief, arose and said:

BROTHER: The Master of Life had pity on me, when he permitted me to come and take you first by the hand. With the same hand and heart I then possessed, I now salute you. When I gave you my hand, you said, “I thank you, and am glad to take your hand, Pattawatamy;” and you thanked the other Indians also, and told them you had opened a road for them to come and see you. When I got this belt from the Americans, they told me the roads were open and clear, and that no obstruction should prevent our coming to see you. I was happy when you gave me the road, [a belt] and so are we all: for we have all travelled it. I hope it will remain free of bushes and thorns as long as Americans and Indians live. You, yourself, have told me it should be so; and that this, (meaning the olive

branch, held by the eagle) was a leaf of that great tree, under whose shade we, and all our posterity, should repose in safety and happiness.

**ELDER BROTHER:** We have followed the road you gave us in safety. I now present it to your view as your gift. [Presenting a road belt, with the eagle of the United States attached.]

Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, a chief of the Chippewas, arose and said:

Brothers of the different nations present, listen to what our elder brother tells us, with attention; I am satisfied it is the truth: listen to me also.

**ELDER BROTHER:** Last winter, I heard your word, when you stretched your hands to us, and asked us to come and see you. I never heard before, what the Sun has been observing; when I heard what you said last winter, I took you by the hand; and now, when I returned, I found your gates open to receive me, and that you told me truth. I was deputed by the chiefs of my nation to hear your words, and am happy that they now are convinced of the truth of them. You now also find the truth of my words: that I then came only to carry back your words; and the other chiefs would come to see you. You now see them present, the representatives of their nations: here are the chiefs of the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pattawatamies. We three are faithful allies, and one of us speaks for the whole, when in council. The words you spoke last winter are fresh on my memory. I know nothing of the treaty in question, which took place at Muskingum: the people who made it are present, and will be able to speak to it. My remote situation on Lake Michigan prevented me from being acquainted with it.

Tarke (or Crane) chief of the Wyandots, arose and said:

Brothers of all nations present, listen!

**ELDER BROTHER:** I don't think it proper to select any particular nation to speak for the whole. You have kindled the council fire. I wish you to determine what nation shall speak, and appoint a day when we shall all be collected, and when those who are on their way shall have joined us.

The General rose, and said:

**BROTHERS:** I have paid very great attention to what has been observed by the Miamies, Pattawatamies, Chippewas, and Wyandots; and the day after to-morrow, I will endeavor to fully explain the treaty of Muskingum, of which so many plead ignorance. I will bring to the recollection of the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, and Sac nations, what they did at that treaty, and show them and you, their names who witness it. There are some Chippewas approaching, who, perhaps, were at that treaty, and when I look around me, I imagine I see some faces who were present at it. This road (alluding to the *Sun's* road belt) is the true road. I have a branch similar to this, at my breast. I know them to be of the same tree, and of equal value. This is all I shall say at present. I thank the Great Spirit for assembling so many of us together on this good work, and I hope we will have all things perfectly understood and explained, to our mutual satisfaction, before we part.

Council adjourned, to meet on the 20th.

In the evening of this day, (18th) Blue Jacket, and thirteen Shawanese, and Masass with twenty Chippewas, arrived, and were received in the council house.

Masass spoke as follows: I am very happy to be here this day; I was at the treaty of Muskingum, and have it now in my hand to show it you. Nothing but my having it in my possession could have brought me here at this time; for I came voluntarily and unasked. We should have come in greater numbers, but for Brandt's endeavors to prevent us. The Wyandots and Six Nations are counselling. I do not know what may be the result of their conference. I am happy to find so many of my brothers with you. I hope, for the future, they will walk in the right way, and be sincere in their engagements. I again repeat my knowledge of the treaty of Muskingum; as far as I understand it, I have been faithful to it. I have brought these Frenchmen with me, that I may be well acquainted with every thing that shall take place. This is all I have to say at present, having travelled far. I am fatigued, require refreshment.—[A white string.]

Blue Jacket spoke as follows:

**BROTHER:** When I came here last winter, I did not mean to deceive you; what I promised you, I did intend to perform. My wish to conclude a firm peace with you, being sincere, my uneasiness has been great, that my people have not come forward so soon as you would wish, or might expect; but you must not be discouraged by these unfavorable appearances. Some of our chiefs and warriors are here; more will arrive in a few days. You must not, however, expect to see a great number; yet, notwithstanding, our nation will be well represented. Our hearts are open, and void of deceit.

The General spoke as follows:

**BROTHER THE CHIPPEWA:** I am happy to see you and your people. The open and generous manner in which you have acknowledged being present at, and acquainted with, the treaty at Muskingum, displays an honest, open, and manly heart. I therefore take you by the hand, with the warmth and friendship of a brother. I know you have come a great way; provision shall be furnished you and your people, to appease your hunger; and you shall have some liquor, also, to quench your thirst, and to enable you to rejoice with your friends and brothers present.

**BROTHER THE SHAWANEE:** I am well convinced of the integrity of your heart, and that your exertions have not been wanting to bring hither a full representation of your nation, at an earlier hour. I therefore bid you, and my friends with you, a sincere welcome.

19th July.—Blue Jacket, a Shawanee chief, in private conference with the General, spoke as follows:

**BROTHER AND ALLY:** It is a long time since I left you. I believe it is about five months; many things have occurred since that time, which, if you please, I will inform you of, as, perhaps, you may be unacquainted with them. I visited the British, and was kindly received at their garrison, on the Miami. I was asked for news; I had none for them, except that of my kind reception from you. A Mr. Magdalen wrote from thence to Detroit, that he had taken off my blue coat, which I had received from the Americans, and broke my gun, which he also falsely said was presented to me by General Wayne. I did not rest until I exposed this man, and refuted his assertions. I informed all the Indians of my full persuasion of the truth of the kind and benevolent intentions you expressed to me, and that they, in due time, would be convinced of the goodness of your motives. Mr. McKee invited me to his house, and told me he was very sorry to find I had acted with such little regard for my people; that he ascribed my strange conduct to the instigations of some evil spirit, who had led me astray from the plain good road, and put me in the path which led towards the Americans. "The commission you received from Johnston," said he, "was not given you to carry to the Americans. I am grieved to find that you have taken it to them. It was with much regret I learned that you had deserted your friends, who always caressed you, and treated you as a great man. You have deranged, by your imprudent conduct, all our plans for protecting the Indians, and keeping them with us. They have always looked up to you for advice and direction in war, and you have now broke the strong ties which held them all together, under your and our direction. You must now be viewed as the enemy of your people, and the other Indians whom you are seducing into the snares the Americans have formed for their ruin; and the massacre and destruction of these people by the Americans must be laid to your charge."

**BROTHER:** I am very happy, that, notwithstanding all the difficulties and obstructions I had to encounter from my relations and others at Detroit, I have succeeded so far, in bringing my people to you at this time. I expect intelligence this day of the approach of more of them. I have briefly acquainted you with these things. I repeat my assurances of the sincerity of my sentiments and resolution, to be, for the future, a steady friend to the United States.

MONDAY, July 20.

In Council: Present as before, with the addition of the Shawanese and Chippewas, who arrived on the evening of the 18th.

The General arose, and spoke as follows:

BROTHERS: all the nations present: I take you by the hand; when we were last in council, two days since, the Little Turtle observed, "We came with an intention to hear you; we expect your wish is for peace with all the world; we would be glad to hear your sentiments upon the subject." I did hope and expect, that every man among you would be perfectly acquainted with my sentiments on this subject, as I have, for a long time past, taken pains to diffuse them throughout your nations. I will read you a message which I sent amongst you by Mr. Miller, now present, on the 13th of August last, and which, I am persuaded, from the best authority, had been fully explained to, and perfectly understood by, your chiefs and warriors.

[Here the General read his message to the hostile Indians, of the 13th August, 1794.]

I likewise told you that the ears and heart of the President, General Washington, were ever open to the voice of peace; and that he had instructed me, his principal warrior, to listen to that welcome voice, from whatever quarter it might come, provided it came from proper authority, and from the heart.

Six moons since, the *Crane*, (Wyandots) and a number of Chippewas, Ottawas, and Sacs, came here, in consequence of this invitation. They were also accompanied by the Miamies. I received them with great pleasure, and informed them that I thanked the Great Spirit for opening their eyes to see, and their ears to hear, the happy dawn of peace. I told them that peace was like that glorious sun which diffused joy, health, and happiness, to all the nations of this earth, who had wisdom to embrace it, and that I, therefore, in behalf and in the name of the President of the United States of America, took them all by the hand, with that strong hold of friendship, which time could never break.

These have been the sentiments of my heart with regard to peace, and I think may be considered as a full answer to the wishes expressed by the Little Turtle. To prove that my sentiments are still the same, I present to Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, and to the Little Turtle, these strings of wampum, which are not purer or whiter than the heart that gives them. These will be considered as presented to the whole, for the same purpose. [White wampum to the Chippewas and Miamies.]

The Little Turtle, observes: "You have informed us that the treaty of Muskingum shall be the foundation upon which the present treaty shall be founded. That treaty was held by the Six Nations, and by a few young men of the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pattawatamies. We Miamies and Wabash tribes are totally unacquainted with it." And Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish has also remarked, that the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pattawatamies, know nothing of that treaty; it had never reached as far as Michilimackinac.

YOUNGER BROTHERS: In order to refresh your memories, and to bring every article of that treaty fully to your recollection, I will now read and explain it to you. These are the articles of that treaty, made more than six years ago, between the United States of America and the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, and Sauckeys. [Here was read and explained the treaty of fort Harmar, held in 1789.]

YOUNGER BROTHERS: You have now heard the treaty of Muskingum read and explained to you. It has been for more than six years well understood by many of the chiefs, now present, of those nations who concluded it. And I am persuaded that those who were present, and those who signed it, will have candor sufficient, when they hear their names called over, to acknowledge it as their act and deed, as *Masass* has freely and sincerely done, the day before yesterday, by which he proved himself to be possessed of a manly, undisguised heart.

YOUNGER BROTHERS: I have now fully explained to you the treaty of fort McIntosh, which was concluded ten years ago; and the treaty of Muskingum, which took place six years since; the boundaries agreed on by the former, are the same that are stipulated by the latter. I have also pointed out a number of chiefs, in this house, who were present at, and signed, those treaties. As I have refreshed their memories in this manner, and read them a few passages of their own speeches and proceedings on those occasions, it is probable they will be able to inform you of every thing relating thereto, and give you full satisfaction on the subject.

I have no more to say at present. I wish you to consider well what I have said to you, that we may be enabled to form a treaty that shall continue unbroken as long as the woods grow and waters run. Think seriously on the great business before you. Consult among yourselves; and, when we meet again, speak your thoughts freely. I am persuaded we shall agree in opinion; and, when we return home, all nations will have cause to rejoice in the good work we have been doing.

Pe-ke-te-le-mund, a Delaware chief, arose, and said:

ELDER BROTHER: We are very happy to meet you here this day. The Great Spirit is kind, in permitting us to meet as brothers. We are pleased with what you have this day said to us. Five days ago you told us what you said last winter to our uncles the Wyandots. 'Tis true, brother, they were the first who then came in to you. We were happy to hear their words when they returned. We sent forward immediately a deputation to you, with our grand children the Shawanese, and with them two prisoners. Brother, when our king returned, and proclaimed the happy news from you, we rejoiced to hear it, and prepared to come in and fulfil what he had promised. We brought in all our prisoners, agreeable to your desire, and in conformity to our chief's engagements.

BROTHER: So far we have evinced our disposition; when we meet again, we shall have more to say upon the good work before us.

Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, a Chippewa chief, arose, and said:

ELDER BROTHER: I am very glad you have pointed out those of my nation who were at, and signed, the treaty of Muskingum. I did not know them before. That treaty did not reach us who live in Michigan. I am happy in having it now explained. I thank you for expediting our good work. We wish much to return to our families, many of whom have died since we left home.

Council adjourned.

TUESDAY, 21st July.

In Council: Present as before.

Masass, a Chippewa chief, arose, and spoke as follows, in behalf of the three fires, Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pattawatamies:

ELDER BROTHER: I have heard what you said yesterday, and know it to be the same that was said at the treaty of Muskingum. I remember it perfectly well, and thought, whilst I heard you speak it, that it was again renewed. My eyes were opened, and I listened with attention.

ELDER BROTHER: I now address myself to you. You see the fire kindled at Muskingum. I now tell you that some words of that treaty we did not perfectly understand at the time we made it. The Wyandots were foremost at that treaty; we, the three fires, followed them. You there told us that it was not in your name that you treated, but in behalf of the Thirteen Fires which lie along the great water. You told us you would throw the tomahawk into the river; but you know the waters in our woods are not deep, and some foolish young men have had arms long enough to reach to the bottom, and again take it out. This day we will try to wipe away their bad actions, and to open their hearts to the voice of peace.

ELDER BROTHER: I live at the gate leading to all those nations, and to the Pattawatamies and those living in the prairies, and we, the three fires, will do our utmost to bury the hatchet so deep that it can never be found: for it is this hatchet which has reduced us to misery and wretchedness. I tell you this as the true sentiments of the three nations for whom I speak. I cannot answer for the others.

ELDER BROTHER: You see the wampum I hold is small; our three fires, it would appear, are small also. As the other nations have often told you, they have also told you, that they were masters of the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pattawatamies, and of their territory. Notwithstanding I am so small a man, I do now, in the name of the three na-

tions, throw the hatchet into the middle of the great lake, where it will be so covered with sand, as never to be again found as long as white people and Indians live.

**ELDER BROTHER:** This is all these three fires, and the tribe of the Little Turtle, who unites with us in sentiment, have at present to say. The hatchet is now buried forever, and we now expect your assistance. Your officers and our warriors are now around us; let us join sincerely in making a solid and lasting peace. Peace with our three fires is now established. [A string of blue and white wampum.]

**ELDER BROTHER:** You do not forget any of your words, and I show you this belt, which you gave a great many years ago to *Wassung*, one of our nation. You told him, at that time, that upon this road he should always come and see you; that he would always find it free from thorns. [Presented a road belt.]

**ELDER BROTHER:** When you yesterday read to us the treaty of Muskingum, I understood you clearly: at that treaty we had not good interpreters, and we were left partly unacquainted with many particulars of it. I was surprised when I heard your voice, through a good interpreter, say that we had received presents and compensation for those lands which were thereby ceded. I tell you, now, that we, the three fires, never were informed of it; if our uncles, the Wyandots, and grandfathers, the Delawares, have received such presents, they have kept them to themselves. I always thought that we, the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pattawatamies, were the true owners of those lands, but now I find that new masters have undertaken to dispose of them; so that, at this day, we do not know to whom they, of right, belong; we never received any compensation for them. I don't know how it is, but ever since that treaty, we have become objects of pity; and our fires have been retiring from this country. Now, elder brother, you see we are objects of compassion; and have pity on our weakness and misfortunes; and, since you have purchased these lands, we cede them to you; they are yours. Perhaps, at a future day, your younger brothers may be made happy, by becoming your children, should you extend to us your paternal protection. This is all your younger brothers, the three fires, have to say to you, our elder brother. Now the great men will address you.

Tarke, chief of the Wyandots, arose and said:

Brothers of the Fifteen Fires, listen! and you, my nephews, the Delawares and Six Nations, younger brothers, Shawanese and Miamis, and elder brothers, Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pattawatamies; we are here assembled, this day, in the presence of God above.

**BROTHERS AMERICANS:** Our brothers, the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pattawatamies, have related to you a little of what happened at the treaty of Muskingum; and observe, that we had sold the lands to you without their consent or knowledge: however, elder brother, I hope you will explain to them how the country was first disposed of into your hands. These people now claim the land, and must establish their right with you. We had, yesterday, some council, among ourselves, on this subject. We feel much alarmed at these words of our brothers, claiming, in this manner, these lands. This is all I have, at present, to say, brothers.

Tarke rose again, and continued thus:

Elder brothers and all nations, we have all assembled to effect a good work. My nephews and I have been talking together, concerning the speech of Masass. We were a little confused by it; and now leave it to our brothers, the Fifteen Fires, to day, whether we shall now speak in answer to it, or consider of it until to-morrow.

The General replied:

**YOUNGER BROTHERS:**

As I am called upon by the Wyandots to give my opinion, whether they shall, this day, answer the speech of Masass, or consider of it till to-morrow, I will give it freely. I do think it will be better to postpone until to-morrow, because, after reflecting coolly, and sleeping, the answer may be more dispassionate, and pleasing to all. I am convinced Masass had no intention to hurt the feelings of his uncle and grand father; he only meant to inform me that he had not received any goods or compensation for the lands ceded by the treaty of Muskingum. When we come into articles presently, for a permanent peace, all those nations, who have any right to the lands in question, shall receive yet further compensation, I hope, to the satisfaction of all parties.

Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, chief of the Chippewas, thus spoke:

**ELDER BROTHER:**

I take you by the hand; I now tell you I am not come here to take umbrage at trifles, but to accomplish the great and serious work in which we are engaged. My heart is good, and I will not be interrupted by little things. I now wish to know, in the name of our three fires, how long we may have to remain here on this business. When I first entered this house, my mind was prepared and made up. We live at a great distance from hence, and feel anxious to return.

The General thus replied:

**YOUNGER BROTHERS:**

It is rather difficult for me to say how many days it may require, to finally settle this good work. I will, to-morrow, listen to what our brothers, the Wyandots and others, have to say upon the speech of Masass, and then I shall be perfectly ready to enter upon the main object of this meeting, and lay before you the articles of a treaty, which may establish the happiness and peace of the Fifteen Fires, and of the Indian nations now assembled.

Masass arose and said:

I have heard the words of my elder brother: he has heard mine: I have reflected coolly: I approve of them; and, what I have said, I will never retract.]

Little Turtle, a Miami chief, arose and spoke as follows:

**ELDER BROTHER:**

I wish to ask of you, and my brothers present, one question. I would be glad to know what lands have been ceded to you, as I am uninformed in this particular. I expect that the lands on the Wabash, and in *this* country, belong to me and my people. I now take the opportunity to inform my brothers of the United States, and others present, that there are men of sense and understanding among my people, as well as among theirs, and that these lands were disposed of without our knowledge or consent. I was yesterday surprised, when I heard from our grandfathers, the Delawares, that these lands had been ceded by the British to the Americans, when the former were beaten by, and made peace with, the latter; because you had before told us that it was the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, and Sauckeys, who had made this cession.

Council adjourned, to meet at 10 o'clock to-morrow.

WEDNESDAY, 22d July.

In Council: Present as before.

The Little Turtle, a Miami chief, arose and spoke as follows:

General WAYNE: I hope you will pay attention to what I now say to you. I wish to inform you where your younger brothers, the Miamies, live, and, also, the Pattawatamies of St. Joseph's, together with the Wabash Indians. You have pointed out to us the boundary line between the Indians and the United States, but I now take the liberty to inform you, that that line cuts off from the Indians a large portion of country, which has been enjoyed by my forefathers time immemorial, without molestation or dispute. The print of my ancestors' houses are every where to be seen in this portion. I was a little astonished at hearing you, and my brothers who are now present, telling each other what business you had transacted together heretofore at Muskingum, concerning this country. It is well known by all my brothers present, that my forefather kindled the first fire at Detroit: from thence, he extended his lines to the head waters of Scioto; from thence, to its mouth; from thence, down the Ohio, to the mouth of the Wabash, and

from thence to Chicago, on lake Michigan; at this place I first saw my elder brothers, the Shawanese. I have now informed you of the boundaries of the Miami nation, where the Great Spirit placed my forefather a long time ago, and charged him not to sell or part with his lands, but to preserve them for his posterity. This charge has been handed down to me. I was much surprised to find that my other brothers differed so much from me on this subject: for their conduct would lead one to suppose, that the Great Spirit, and their forefathers, had not given them the same charge that was given to me, but, on the contrary, had directed them to sell their lands to any white man who wore a hat, as soon as he should ask it of them. Now, elder brother, your younger brothers, the Miamies, have pointed out to you their country, and also to our brothers present. When I hear your remarks and proposals on this subject, I will be ready to give you an answer; I came with an expectation of hearing you say good things, but I have not yet heard what I have expected.

**BROTHERS:** (the Indians.) I expected in this council that our minds would have been made up, and that we should speak with one voice; I am sorry to observe that you are rather unsettled and hasty in your conduct.

Tarke, chief of the Wyandots, arose, and thus spoke:

**ELDER BROTHER:** Now listen to us! The Great Spirit above has appointed this day for us to meet together. I shall now deliver my sentiments to you, the Fifteen Fires. I view you lying in a gore of blood; it is me, an Indian, who has caused it. Our tomahawk yet remains in your head; the English gave it to me to place there.

**ELDER BROTHER:** I now take the tomahawk out of your head; but, with so much care, that you shall not feel pain or injury. I will now tear a big tree up by the roots, and throw the hatchet into the cavity which they occupied, where the waters will wash it away where it can never be found. Now I have buried the hatchet, and I expect that none of my color will ever again find it out. I now tell you, that no one in particular can justly claim this ground; it belongs, in common, to us all; no earthly being has an exclusive right to it; the Great Spirit above is the true and only owner of this soil, and he has given us all an equal right to it.—[Spoken on a blue belt.]

**BROTHERS,** The Fifteen Fires, listen! You now see that we have buried the hatchet; we still see blood around you, and, in order to clear away all grief, we now wipe away the blood from around you, which, together with the dirt that comes away with it, we bury with the hatchet, in the hole we have made for them, and replace the great tree as it stood before, so that our children, nor our children's children, can ever again discover it.—[Spoken on a blue string attached, and both delivered.]

**BROTHERS:** Listen! I now wipe your body clean from all blood with this white soft linen, (white wampum) and I do it with as much tenderness as I am capable of. You have appointed this house for the chiefs of the different tribes to sit in with you, and none but good words ought to be spoken in it. I have swept it clean; nothing impure remains in it.

**BROTHERS:** Listen! We are both placed on this ground. I now wipe the tears from your eyes, and open your ears. I see your throat is so stopped that you are nearly suffocated. I now open your throat, and make it quite clean, that whatever the Great Spirit may think proper for you to swallow, may go down without any obstruction. I see, also, that your heart is not in its true situation; I now place it in its proper position, that any thing you may hear from us, your brothers, may descend directly to it, and what you shall say may come with truth and ease from it.

**BROTHER:** I clear away yon hovering clouds, that we may enjoy a clear bright day, and easily see the sun, which the Great Spirit has bestowed on us, rise and set continually.—[A white string.]

**BROTHER:** Listen to us, all Indians, who now speak to you! The bones which lie scattered of your ancient warriors, who fell in defence of the present cause, we gather all together, and bury them now; and place this white board over them, that they may never again be seen by our posterity.—[A white and blue belt and string.]

**BROTHER WARRIOR:** Listen to us! the great chiefs are now about to speak to you. You, chiefs and warriors present, listen also!

**BROTHER:** We speak not from our lips, but from our hearts, when we are resolved upon good works. I always told you that I never intended to deceive you, when we entered upon this business; it was never the intention of us Indians to do so. I speak from my heart what I now say to you. The Great Spirit is now viewing us, and did he discover any baseness or treachery, it would excite his just anger against us.

**BROTHER:** Listen to me! We are all of one mind who are here assembled; this is a business not to be trifled with; it is a matter of the utmost concern to us. We happily so far agree in handling our ancestors' records, who always worked for peace.

**BROTHER:** You have proposed to us to build our good work on the treaty of Muskingum; that treaty I have always considered as formed upon the fairest principles. You took pity on us Indians; you did not do as our fathers the British agreed you should. You might, by that agreement, have taken all our lands; but you pitied us, and let us hold part. I always looked upon that treaty to be binding upon the United States and us Indians.

**BROTHER:** Listen to us Indians; I told you just now, that we were upon business of the greatest moment; I now conclude the great good works we have been employed in, and with *this* I cover the whole earth, that it may appear white, and shine all over the world. I hope the Great Spirit will have pity on us, and make this work lasting.—[Four large mixed belts presented.]

**BROTHER:** I am going to relate to you the treaty made at Muskingum, in a few words. I have not forgot that treaty, neither have you; at that time we settled a peace between the Delawares, Six Nations, Ottawas, Chippewas, Patawatamies, and us Wyandots. It is very true there were not so many different nations then assembled as are now present. We now establish a general, permanent, and lasting peace, for ever.

**BROTHERS:** We are all sensible, that when you struck the boundary at that time, it run from Tuscarawas to a little below Loromies, where the fort stood which was destroyed in 1752. I understand the line has since been moved a little towards us. Be strong, brothers, and fulfil your engagements.

**BROTHERS:** Listen! I have told you that I speak from my heart; you see the speeches I have delivered; peruse them, and see whether or not I have spoken with sincerity; this is all your brothers, of the different nations present, have this day to say to you.—[A large belt.]

The General arose and spoke as follows:

**YOUNGER BROTHERS:** I have listened, with great attention, to every thing you have said this day. I find the hatchet has been buried by all the nations present. I shall peruse these belts, speeches, and boundaries, now laid before me, with great attention, and I am convinced they will agree with the records in my possession. The day is far spent, and we will now separate, to meet again to-morrow morning at ten o'clock, and proceed in this good work.

Council adjourned.

In Council: Present as before.

Blue Jacket, a Shawanese chief, arose, and addressed the Indians as follows:

**BROTHERS:**

I hope you will not take amiss my changing my seat in this council. You all know the Wyandots are our uncles, and the Delawares our grandfathers; and that the Shawanese are the elder brothers of the other nations present: it is therefore proper that I should sit next my grandfathers and uncles. I hope, younger brothers, you are all satisfied with what our uncles said yesterday, and that I have done every thing in my power, at all times, to advise and support you.

Au-goosh-a-way, an Ottawa chief, spoke as follows:

**BROTHERS, THE INDIANS:**

When I last had my calumet of peace, our elder brothers, the Shawanese, were not present; I now offer it to them, that the sentiments of their hearts may be similar to ours: all you nations present, you know this to be the calumet of the three fires. It is six years since it was sent from the North to Michilimackinac, to the three

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fires, who live at the Gate, to be presented by them to the Wyandots, Delawares, and Shawanese, with an injunction always to hide it when any thing bad was in motion, but to display it when any thing good was contemplated. You all know the importance of this sacred token of peace among us Indians.

BROTHER: I do not consider you as a brother; I view you as a friend. I present you this calumet, that came far from the North, and has gone round all the lakes. When it was sent to us, the stem pointed toward you (the East.) Now, my friend, you may do with this pipe what you please; if you think proper, you may point it toward the Fifteen Fires, and afterwards turn it toward us. It is entirely at your disposal: I am ordered to deliver it into your hands. [Delivers the pipe.]

FRIEND: I now present you with a belt, which has been given us by the Hurons, who received it from our brothers, the Americans, as a seat upon which we all should sit and rest. Our father, at Detroit, has always endeavored to lead us off from this seat, but we never listened to him; we considered it as a carpet spread for our use, and we now show it you, that you may recognise it. [A large belt, with men and a house designated upon it.]

Masass, a Chippewa chief, arose and spoke as follows:

ELDER BROTHER:

This great calumet comes not from the little lake near us, but from the great lake Superior, to the North, from whence our great chiefs and warriors come.

ELDER BROTHER: When I returned from the treaty of Muskingum, I repeated the substance of its proceedings to my nation. You, therefore, see that your words have gone a great way, even to lake Superior. Brother, I live at a great distance from you, but, when you call a council, I hear your voice immediately, and I come without delay. You now see all your brothers around you. We are well acquainted with what we are now doing, and what we have done heretofore. The white beads on this belt denote the number of large villages from the North, who have heard your word. [A belt with nine white squares.]

Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, chief of the Chippewas, spoke as follows:

ELDER BROTHER, and all you present, listen to me with attention!

When the Great Spirit made the world, he put me at Michilimackinac, where I first drew my breath. At first I was entirely naked and destitute; and, as if he had compassion on me, he pointed out to me the way to the white people. I followed his path, and found them below Quebec, at the falls of Montmorency. I was satisfied the Great Spirit pitied us, for you whites had all pity on us; and, hence, we always loved you. The Great Spirit has blessed you with greater knowledge than we are possessed of; you are, therefore, entitled to great respect. When we first found the French whites, we took them to our fires, and they have lived among us ever since. [A white string.]

ELDER BROTHER: You see all your brothers assembled here, in consequence of your messages last winter; at that time the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, some who call themselves Sauckeys, and the Miamies, heard your words. You remember, brother, I then told you, that I would withdraw the dark cloud from your eyes, that you might know us again. You see I have done so, for you now behold us all clearly. At the same time, I told you I would open both your ears, and my own, that we might hear each other clearly. Our ears are opened accordingly, and we hear and understand accurately. I now speak to you with a pure heart. This white wampum testifies our sincerity and unanimity in sentiment. I now put your heart in its right place, as you did mine, that you may make known to the Fifteen Fires what I now tell you. [A blue and white string.]

ELDER BROTHER: When I view my situation, I consider myself as an object of compassion.

ELDER BROTHER: Listen to me; as I told you last winter, if we Indians have acted wrong, we are not entirely to blame. It was our father, the British, who urged us to bad deeds, and reduced us to our present state of misery. He persuaded us to shed all the blood we have spilled. You this day see me fulfil my promise. With this belt I cover all the slain, together with our evil actions. [A white belt.]

ELDER BROTHER: Listen to me with attention. I speak in the name of all present. You see that I am worthy of your compassion. When I look upward, I see the sky serene and happy; and when I look on the earth, I see all my children wandering in the utmost misery and distress. I tell you this to inform you I have never moved my fire; that I still live where the Great Spirit first placed me. [A belt.]

ELDER BROTHER: Listen! The Great Spirit above hears us, and I trust we shall not endeavor to deceive each other. I expect that we are about to do shall never be forgotten as long as we exist. When I show you this belt, I point out to you your children at one end of it, and mine at the other; and I would solicit the Fifteen Fires, and their women and children, to have pity on my helpless offspring. I now tell you that we will assist you to the utmost of our power to do what is right. Remember, we have taken the Great Spirit to witness our present actions; we will make a new world, and leave nothing on it to incommode our children. [A white belt.]

ELDER BROTHER: I now use this white wampum, that the words I utter may descend to the bottom of your heart, and that of the Fifteen Fires.

ELDER BROTHER: I was not disposed to take up the hatchet against you; it was forced into my hand by the white people. I now throw it into the middle of the deepest lake, from whence no mortal can bring it back.

BROTHER: I have thrown my hatchet into a bottomless lake, from whence it never will return; I hope you will also throw yours so far that it may never again be found. [A string, blue and white.]

BROTHER: After hearing all your words, my heart feels easy, and in its proper place. I do not speak to you about lands, for why should I? You have told us we might hunt upon your lands; you need not apprehend any injury from us; we will, for the future, live and hunt in peace and happiness.

ELDER BROTHER: You see before you all my war chiefs; they never go ahead of their commander; they ever obey obey and follow his orders; when I was here last winter, you expressed a desire to see them; you told me you would treat them well; but they say they have not seen this treatment; and inquire the cause of this alteration. [A blue string.]

The New Corn, a Pattawatimy chief, arose, and spoke thus:

ELDER BROTHER: Had you seen me in former days, you would have beheld a great and brave chief; but now I am old, and burthened with the weight of years.

ELDER BROTHER: I take you and the Fifteen Fires, by the hand with the lively feelings of a brother. I am old, but my age does not prevent me from assisting in good works. I am happy, and satisfied with the words you have spoken, and those delivered by my brother Indians. Our satisfaction is general; when a chief rises to speak, I wish him to speak nothing but truth; because I feel for my young men, women, and children, whose happiness I have deep at heart. I must observe, that I never received any part of the compensation given at the treaty of Muskingum. Our chiefs are all well disposed, and I hope every thing that passes between you and them may be marked with sincerity and truth. My nation consists of one thousand men, who live at, and between Detroit and Lake Michigan. We have the Miamies for our allies, and we mutually assist each other. I am by birth a Sac, I married a Pattawatimy, and have resided amongst them. Twenty-three chiefs of that nation are inferior to me in command. [A belt.]

The General spoke as follows:

YOUNGER BROTHERS:

I have heard, with due attention, all that you this day have said; to-morrow I will reply fully to you. My plate, and my table, are not very large; they could not entertain all present at one time; but I hope to see all your chiefs in person, and in due rotation, before we part. In the mean time, you must acknowledge, that I have helped your plates pretty well, and kept them full all around me. I will send you a little liquor this evening; but I hope you will keep your heads clear, to attend to what I shall say to you to-morrow.

Council adjourned.



In Council: Present as before.

FRIDAY, 24th July.

Blue Jacket, a Shawanee chief, arose, and spoke as follows:

**BROTHERS:**

You know that we, the seven nations, have always been of one opinion. You know, also, that our uncles have always taken care of the great fire; they being the oldest nation. Our elder brother will, therefore, address his words to our uncle the Wyandot, who will hand them round through the different nations.

The General arose, and spoke as follows:

**BROTHERS**, the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pattawatamies, open your ears, and be attentive:

I have heard with very great pleasure, the sentiments delivered by Masass, as the unanimous voice of your three nations. When Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, your uncle, came to me last winter, I took him to my bosom, and delivered him the key of all my forts and garrisons; and my heart rejoices when I look around me, and see so many of your chiefs and warriors assembled here, in consequence of that happy meeting. It will give infinite pleasure to General Washington, the Great Chief of the Fifteen Fires, when I inform him you have thrown the hatchet with so strong an arm, that it has reached the middle, and sunk to the bottom of the great lake, and that it is now so covered with sand, that it can never again be found. The belt which was given to Wassung, many years since, establishing a road between you and the Fifteen Fires, I now return, renewed, and cleared of all the brush and brambles with which time had scattered it.

**BROTHERS** of the three great fires: You say you thought you were the proper owners of the land that was sold to the Fifteen Fires, at the treaty of Muskingum; but, you say, also, that you never received any compensation for those lands. It was always the wish and intention of the Fifteen Fires that the true owners of those lands should receive a full compensation for them; if you did not receive a due proportion of the goods, as original proprietors, it was not the fault of the United States; on the contrary, the United States have twice paid for those lands, first, at the treaty of McIntosh, ten years ago, and next, at that of Muskingum, six years since.

**YOUNGER BROTHERS:** Notwithstanding that these lands have been twice paid for, by the Fifteen Fires, at the places I have mentioned, yet, such is the justice and liberality of the United States, that they will now, a third time, make compensation for them. [A large string to the three fires.]

**BROTHERS**, the Miamies: I have paid attention to what the Little Turtle said two days since, concerning the lands which he claims. He said his fathers first kindled the fire at Detroit, and stretched his line from thence, to the head waters of Scioto, thence, down the same, to the Ohio; thence, down that river, to the mouth of the Wabash, and from thence to Chicago, on the southwest end of Lake Michigan, and observed that his forefathers had enjoyed that country undisturbed, from time immemorial.

**BROTHERS:** These boundaries enclose a very large space of country indeed; they embrace, if I mistake not, all the lands on which all the nations now present live, as well as those which have been ceded to the United States. The lands which have been ceded have, within these three days, been acknowledged by the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, Wyandots, Delawares, and Shawanese. The Little Turtle says, the prints of his forefathers' houses are every where to be seen within these boundaries. Younger brother, it is true, these prints are to be observed; but, at the same time, we discover the marks of French possessions throughout this country, which were established long before we were born. These have since been in the occupancy of the British, who must, in their turn, relinquish them to the United States, when they, the French and Indians, will be all as one people.—[A white string.]

I will point out to you a few places where I discover strong traces of these establishments; and first of all, I find at Detroit a very strong print, where the fire was first kindled by your forefathers; next, at Vincennes, on the Wabash; again at Musquiton, on the same river; a little higher up that stream, they are to be seen at Ouitanon; I discover another strong trace at Chicago, another on the St. Joseph's of Lake Michigan; I have seen distinctly the prints of a French and a British post at the Miami villages, and of a British post at the foot of the rapids, now in their possession; prints, very conspicuous, are on the great Miami, which were possessed by the French, forty five years ago; and another trace is very distinctly to be seen at Sandusky.

It appears to me, that, if the Great Spirit, as you say, charged your forefathers to preserve their lands entire for their posterity, they have paid very little regard to the sacred injunction: for I see they have parted with those lands to your fathers the French, and the English are now, or have been, in possession of them all: therefore, I think the charge urged against the Ottawas, Chippewas, and the other Indians, comes with a bad grace indeed, from the very people who perhaps set them the example. The English and French both wore hats; and yet your forefathers sold them, at various times, portions of your lands; however, as I have already observed, you shall now receive from the United States further valuable compensation, for the lands you have ceded to them by former treaties.

**YOUNGER BROTHERS:** I will now inform you who it was who gave us these lands, in the first instance; it was your fathers the British, who did not discover that care for your interest which you ought to have experienced. This is the Treaty of Peace, made between the United States of America and Great Britain, twelve years ago, at the end of a long and bloody war, when the French and Americans proved too powerful for the British; on these terms they obtained peace. [Here part of the treaty of 1783 was read.]

Here you perceive that all the country, south of the great lakes, has been given up to America; but the United States never intended to take that advantage of you, which the British placed in their hands; they wish you to enjoy your just rights, without interruption, and to promote your happiness. The British stipulated to surrender to us all the posts on their side of the boundary agreed on. I told you some days ago, that treaties should ever be sacredly fulfilled by those who make them; but the British, on their part, did not find it convenient to relinquish those posts as soon as they should have done; however, they now find it so, and a precise period is accordingly fixed for their delivery. I have now in my hand the copy of a treaty, made eight months since, between them and us, of which I will read you a little. [First and second article of Mr. Jay's treaty, read.]

By this solemn agreement, they promise to retire from Michilimackinac, fort St. Clair, Detroit, Niagara, and all other places on this side of the lakes, in ten moons from this period, and leave the same to the full and quiet possession of the United States.

**BROTHERS:** All nations present, now listen to me!

Having now explained those matters to you, and informed you of all things I judged necessary for your information, we have nothing to do but to bury the hatchet, and draw a veil over past misfortunes. As you have buried our dead with the concern of brothers, so I now collect the bones of your slain warriors, put them into a deep pit, which I have dug, and cover them carefully over with this large belt, there to remain undisturbed. I also dry the tears from your eyes, and wipe the blood from your bodies, with this soft, white linen: no bloody traces will ever lead to the graves of your departed heroes; with this, I wipe all such entirely away. I deliver it to your uncle the Wyandot, who will send it round amongst you. [A large belt, with a white string attached.]

I now take the hatchet out of your heads, and with a strong arm throw it into the centre of the great ocean, where no mortal can ever find it; and I now deliver to you the wide and straight path to the Fifteen Fires, to be used by you and your posterity for ever. So long as you continue to follow this road, so long will you continue to be a happy people: you see it is straight and wide, and they will be blind indeed, who deviate from it. I place it also in your uncle's hands, that he may preserve it for you. [A large road belt.]

I will, the day after to-morrow, shew you the cessions you have made to the United States, and point out to you the lines which may, for the future, divide your lands from theirs; and, as you will have to-morrow to rest, I will order you a double allowance of drink; because we have now buried the hatchet, and performed every necessary ceremony, to render propitious our renovated friendship.



Tarke, chief of the Wyandots, arose, and spoke as follows:

**BROTHERS:** the Fifteen Fires, listen! and all you chiefs and warriors present.

This is a day appointed by the Great Spirit above, for us; he has taken pity on us all, and disposed us to perfect this good work. You have all heard what our elder brother has said, on these two belts; we will all now return thanks to this great chief, and to the Great Chief of the Fifteen Fires, for their goodness towards us; and we will, at the same time, offer our acknowledgments to the Great Spirit; for it is him alone who has brought us together, and caused us to agree in the good works which have been done. My thanks are also due to you chiefs and warriors present.

Council adjourned, to meet on the 27th.

MONDAY, 27th July.

In Council: Present as before.

The General arose, and addressed the Indians as follows:

**YOUNGER BROTHERS:** When we were last in council, I informed you that I would, on this day, describe the general boundary line that shall be proposed to divide the lands of the United States, or Fifteen great Fires of America, from those belonging to the Indian nations, which I will now proceed to do, in such manner as to prevent mistakes or disputes, in future, respecting that boundary. I will therefore read and explain to you the several articles of a treaty, upon which a permanent peace shall be established, between the United States of America and all the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio.

You will, therefore, younger Brothers, open your ears to hear, and your hearts to understand, all and every of the articles of agreement which I now hold in my hand.

[Here the General read the proposed articles of treaty, and, in explanation of the 3d, made the following observations:]

**YOUNGER BROTHERS:** I wish you clearly to understand the object of these reservations; they are not intended to annoy, or impose the smallest degree of restraint on you, in the quiet enjoyment and full possession of your lands; but to connect the settlements of the people of the United States, by rendering a passage from one to the other more practicable and convenient, and to supply the necessary wants of those who shall reside at them: they are intended, at the same time, to prove convenient and advantageous to the different tribes of Indians residing and hunting in their vicinity, as trading posts will be established at them, to the end that you may be furnished with goods in exchange for your skins and furs, at a reasonable rate. You will consider that the principal part of the now proposed reservations were made and ceded by the Indians, at an early period, to the French; the French, by the treaty of peace of 1763, ceded them to the British; who, by the treaty of 1783, ceded all the posts and possessions they then held, or to which they had any claim, south of the great lakes, to the United States of America. The treaty of Muskingum embraced almost all these reservations, and has been recognised by the representatives of all the nations now present, during the course of last winter, as the basis upon which this treaty should be founded.

**YOUNGER BROTHERS:** I have now proposed to you, articles of a treaty calculated to ensure our future friendship and happiness, and which may continue till time shall be no more. I present this belt, emblematic of the ten articles which compose it, to your uncles the Wyandots. [A belt.]

Tarke, chief of the Wyandots, arose and said:

**BROTHERS:** the Fifteen United States, listen! and you, my nephews, the Delawares, brothers Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, Shawanese, and Miamies. This is the day the Great Spirit has appointed for us, wherein we have completed the good work of peace; we have opened our ears and we all understand well what has just now been said; we have paid the utmost attention to all your words in describing the boundary between the United States and us Indians, and the roads that you have made, which shall lead through our country, to the different posts and reservations you have mentioned. We thank you for your information; and we are persuaded you have acted with great equity and moderation, in dividing the country as you have done; we are highly pleased with your humanity towards us. Listen you, chiefs and warriors present; our Elder Brother has made proposals to us, which require the greatest deliberation among us all. I do now request of you to consult upon this business without delay, that we may be enabled to return an answer to our brother to-morrow. Make no delay in deciding. This is all I have to say.

The Little Turtle, a Miami chief, arose and said:

Listen you, chiefs and warriors, to what I am about to say to you; to you I am speaking. We have heard what our elder brother has said to us this day. I expected to have heard those words ever since we have been here, for which reason I observed that you were precipitate on your part. This is a business of the greatest consequence to us all: it is an affair to which no one among us can give an answer. Therefore, I hope we will take time to consider the subject, that we will unite in opinion, and express it unanimously. Perhaps our brothers the Shawanese from Detroit, may arrive in time to give us their assistance. You, chiefs present, are men of sense and understanding; this occasion calls for your serious deliberation, and you, my uncles the Wyandots, and grandfathers the Delawares, view our situation in its true point of consideration.

Council adjourned.

TUESDAY, 28th July.

In Council: Present as before.

Tarke, chief of the Wyandots, arose and said:

**ELDER BROTHER:**

You told us yesterday to deliberate, seriously, on the subject of your communications to us. We, the Wyandots, Delawares, and Shawanese, have not yet formed our opinions; more time is required to consider of so important a matter: to-morrow morning we will be prepared to answer you; our minds will, by that time, be made up.

The Sun, a Pattawatamy chief, spoke as follows:

**ELDER BROTHER:**

If my old chiefs were living, I should not presume to speak in this assembly; but, as they are dead, I now address you in the name of the Pattawatamies, as Masass has spoken in the name of the three fires, of which we are one: I have to express my concurrence in sentiment with him. It is two years since I assisted at the treaty of Vincennes. My voice, there, represented the three fires. I then said it would require three years to accomplish a general peace; I am now of a different opinion, for I am confident it will be completed at this meeting.

**ELDER BROTHER:** I now bury the hatchet for ever; and tell you that all the bad and imprudent actions, which have been committed, were not done by me, the Indian.

**ELDER BROTHER:** You now see why I have done wrong. This war-belt caused us to spill so much blood through this country. The Great Spirit has, at length, put a period to the influence of this pernicious belt. You must know that it was presented to us by the British, and has involved us, for four years past, in misery and misfortunes. I am rejoiced to think it can never lead us again astray, even if a fresh war should break out with redoubled fury. We have already the loss of too many chiefs and warriors to lament, who fell a sacrifice in this destructive contest.

**ELDER BROTHER:** You have been told that the Pattawatamies are always foremost in mischief. I now tell you that was not a true representation. The Pattawatamy sits in the centre; nothing takes its beginning from thence. It is the three people who lived at the Miami villages, who assumed to themselves the privilege of going before; but this cannot be unknown to you.

**ELDER BROTHER:** I shall now dispose of this belt. I live too far from the lakes, and my arm is not long enough to throw it into the centre of any of them; neither have I strength sufficient to tear up a big tree and bury it beneath its root; but I will put it from me as effectually, by surrendering it into your hands, as by doing with it any thing else.

You may burn it if you please, or transform it into a necklace for some handsome squaw; and, thus, change its original design and appearance, and prevent, for ever, its future recognition. It has caused us much misery, and I am happy in parting with it. [A war belt.]

ELDER BROTHER: I have now made you acquainted with the determined resolution of the three fires; and if any other nation should pretend to tell you that their strength and influence can hereafter stir us up to war, do not believe them: for I now tell you that we, the three fires, are not only immovable in our determination, but, being the most powerful people, have nothing to dread from their compulsion.

The New Corn, a Pattawatamy chief, arose and said:

All you nations present, I must tell you that I am much surprised, that you cannot agree, in opinion, on the good work now before you. You do not act well. You undo to-day, what you did yesterday. It would appear as if you were ashamed to come forward with one voice: why do you hesitate? You know good works are always better, when executed with decision. I now entreat you all to join hand and heart, and finish this good work with our elder brother.

The Little Turtle, a Miami chief, spoke as follows:

All you present must know that every kind of business, especially such as we are at present engaged in, exhibits difficulties, which require patience to remove, and consideration to adjust. Your younger brothers, the Miamies, again light the calumet of peace, and present it to the Shawanese, who have not yet smoked out of it.

ELDER BROTHER: Your younger brothers, the Miamies, now thank you for the sentiments you have expressed, and for burying the hatchet; they offer, at the same time, their acknowledgments to their elder brother, of the Fifteen Fires, for throwing his tomahawk, with so strong an arm, into the great ocean. We are convinced of the sincerity with which these actions were performed. I do not believe the hatchet was ever before buried so deep. I fancy it has always, heretofore, been cast into shallow running water, which has washed it up on dry land, where some of our foolish young men have always found it, and used it to involve their people in trouble.

ELDER BROTHERS: I wish we could all unite and give our elder brother, at once, a final answer to his propositions; I am surprised at you, my uncles, the Wyandots, and you, my grandfathers, the Delawares, and you, Shawanese, should say you were not ready. Your younger brother expects that you will call them all together, and make them acquainted with your sentiments first, as elder brothers ought to do, and afterwards to listen to the opinion of your younger brothers.

Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, chief of the Chippewas, arose and said:

ELDER BROTHER, *listen to me:*

My mind has long been made up; it is not necessary for me to consider upon what I am already resolved upon; we have been a long time here, and ought, without further delay, to finish this good work. We, the three nations, are long united in opinion; we fully agree to your propositions; we want no further private council; we should lay aside trifling; our tardy brothers have got their wives with them; they are content and easy; ours are at home, and we are anxious to be with them.

Council adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, 29th July.

Council present as before.

Tarke, chief of the Wyandots, spoke as follows:

ELDER BROTHER of the Fifteen Fires, *listen to us, all you that are assembled here! Brother Indians listen also!*

We are now come forward to give you an answer to what you proposed to us the other day, as my nephews, the Delawares, and my younger brothers, the Shawanese, have agreed upon what they will say to you. We request you, brother, to relate this answer to our brother Indians, after I have delivered it to you.

The following written address was then presented:

GREENVILLE, HEAD QUARTERS, 29th July, 1795.

BROTHERS of the Fifteen United Fires, *listen to the voice of the Wyandots and their confederates of Sandusky!*

We take the Delawares, our nephews, and our younger brothers, the Shawanese, by the hand, as their sentiments agree with ours, and have one heart and voice to speak. I now speak, brothers, in the name of the before mentioned tribes, in answer to your proposals made to us two days ago—as we have said before, that you had done the greatest justice to us, which we do now again acknowledge a second time.

BROTHERS, *listen well!* We have only the following objections to make; you mentioned in one of the articles, that you would not protect us from the mischief that might take place amongst ourselves. Remember well, brothers, the speech you sent us, dated the 1st January, 1795. We shall only give part of the contents, and these are the words:

“Your father, General Washington, the President of the Fifteen great Fires of America, will take you under his protection, and has ordered me to defend his dutiful children from any injury that may be attempted against them, on account of their peaceable disposition towards the United States, and for which purpose, he will order a fort or fortification to be built at the foot of the rapids of Sandusky, on the reserved lands, as soon as the season and circumstances will permit.”

BROTHERS: We never expected you would change your sentiments regarding our safety, on which depends our future happiness.

BROTHERS: Reconsider this beneficial part of the articles—don't change your sentiments; hold fast to General Washington's orders, as we do; we shall never be happy or contented, if you do not take us under your powerful wings; we are sensible, that no one dare pluck a feather from your body; if they do, the fifteen speared arrows in your claws, will display in every direction.

BROTHERS, *listen!* You have requested of us all, to give you an account of the nation or nations, the true owner of the soil northwest of the Ohio, of the boundaries you have laid off two days ago. We will ask you a few questions. Did you not, in the last war between you and the British, divide the country? He gave one part to you, and the other part he reserved for himself; we are well acquainted that you are master of the lands, and you have now thought proper to return a large tract of the country to us again.

BROTHERS: We leave the disposal of the country wholly in your breast; make out the boundaries that shall divide the lands between our nations, as we, the Wyandots, Delawares, and Shawanese, wish to know if we are entitled to any part of it. We wish to inform you of the impropriety of not fixing the bounds of every nation's rights: for, the manner it now lies in, would bring on disputes forever, between the different tribes of Indians; and we wish to be by ourselves, that we may be acquainted how far we might extend our claims, that no one may intrude on us, nor we upon them.

BROTHERS: This speech we deliver you, is the unanimous opinion of the chiefs, the Wyandots, Ottawas, Delawares, and Six Nations of Sandusky, and the Delawares and Shawanese, from the waters of the Miami river.

My nephews, the Delawares, and my younger brothers, the Shawanese, have further added to this speech; it is their wishes, from their hearts, that the present proposed plan; ought to be left to your consideration, as you had pity on us in settling the present business in such a manner as you thought proper. You may rest assured, brothers, that this is our sentiments.

J. WILLIAMS,

*Agent, and commissioner for the chiefs and warriors of Sandusky.*

The Little Turtle, a Miami chief, arose and spoke as follows:

ELDER BROTHER, *and all you present*:

I am going to say a few words, in the name of the Pattawatamies, Weas, and Kickapoos. It is well known to you all, that people are appointed on those occasions, to speak the sentiments of others; therefore am I appointed for those three nations.

ELDER BROTHER: You told your younger brothers, when we first assembled, that peace was your object; you swore your interpreters before us, to the faithful discharge of their duty, and told them the Great Spirit would punish them, did they not perform it. You told us, that it was not you, but the President of the Fifteen Fires of the United States, who spoke to us; that, whatever he should say, should be firm and lasting; that it was impossible he should say what was not true. Rest assured, that your younger brothers, the Miamies, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, Shawanese, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias, are well pleased with your words, and are persuaded of their sincerity. You have told us to consider of the boundaries you shewed us; your younger brothers have done so, and now proceed to give you their answer.—[A white string.]

ELDER BROTHER: Your younger brothers do not wish to hide their sentiments from you. I wish them to be the same with those of the Wyandots and Delawares; you have told us, that most of the reservations you proposed to us, belonged to our fathers, the French and the British. Permit your younger brothers to make a few observations on this subject.

ELDER BROTHER: We wish you to listen with attention, to our words; you have told your younger brothers, that the British imposed falsehoods on us, when they said, the United States wished to take our lands from us, and, that the United States had no such design; you pointed out to us the boundary line, which crossed a little below Loromie's store, and struck fort Recovery, and run from thence to the Ohio, opposite the mouth of Kentucky river.

ELDER BROTHER: You have told us to speak our minds freely, and we now do it. This line takes in the greater and best part of your brothers' hunting ground, therefore, your younger brothers are of opinion, you take too much of their lands away, and confine the hunting of our young men within limits too contracted. Your brothers, the Miamies, the proprietors of those lands, and all your younger brothers present, wish you to run the line as you mentioned, to fort Recovery, and to continue it along the road; from thence to fort Hamilton, on the great Miami river. This is what your brothers request you to do, and you may rest assured of the free navigation of that river, from thence to its mouth, forever.

BROTHER: Here is the road we wish to be the boundary between us. What lies to the east, we wish to be yours; that to the west, we would desire to be ours. [Presenting a road belt.]

ELDER BROTHER: In speaking of the reservations, you say they are designed for the same purpose as those for which our fathers, the French and English, occupied them. Your younger brothers now wish to make some observations on them.

ELDER BROTHER: Listen to me with attention. You told us you discovered on the Great Miami, traces of an old fort. It was not a French fort, brother; it was a fort built by me. You perceived another at Loromies: 'tis true, a Frenchman once lived there for a year or two. The Miami villages were occupied as you remarked; but it was unknown to your younger brothers, until you told them, that we had sold land there to the French or English. I was much surprised to hear you say that it was my forefathers had set the example to the other Indians, in selling their lands. I will inform you in what manner the French and English occupied those places.

ELDER BROTHER: These people were seen by our forefathers first at Detroit; afterwards we saw them at the Miami village—that glorious gate, which your younger brothers had the happiness to own, and through which all the good words of our chiefs had to pass, from the north to the south, and from the east to the west. Brothers, these people never told us they wished to purchase our lands from us.

ELDER BROTHER: I now give you the true sentiments of your younger brothers the Miamies, with respect to the reservation at the Miami villages. We thank you for kindly contracting the limits you at first proposed. We wish you to take this six miles square on the side of the river where your fort now stands, as your younger brothers wish to inhabit that beloved spot again. You shall cut hay for your cattle wherever you please, and you shall never require in vain the assistance of your younger brothers at that place.

ELDER BROTHER: The next place you pointed to, was the Little river, and said you wanted two miles square at that place. This is a request that our fathers, the French or British, never made us; it was always ours. This carrying place has heretofore proved, in a great degree, the subsistence of your younger brothers. That place has brought to us, in the course of one day, the amount of one hundred dollars. Let us both own this place, and enjoy in common the advantages it afford. You told us, at Chicago the French possessed a fort; we have never heard of it. We thank you for the trade you promised to open in our country; and permit us to remark, that we wish our former traders may be continued, and mixed with yours. [A belt.]

ELDER BROTHER: On the subject of hostages, I have only to observe, that I trust all my brothers present are of my opinion with regard to peace and our future happiness. I expect to be with you every day when you settle on your reservations; and it will be impossible for me or my people to withhold from you a single prisoner, therefore, we don't know why any of us should remain here. These are the sentiments of your younger brothers present, on these particulars. [A white string.]

Au-si-me-the, a Pattawatamy chief, arose and spoke as follows:

ELDER BROTHER: You have heard the voice of your younger brothers present. I have nothing to add to what has been said; where could I find a contrary opinion? I have only to hope that we all may experience the truth of what you have told us in the name of General Washington, who sent you. All our treaties, hitherto, have failed; this, I am confident, will be lasting. These words come from the three fires, and we hope the Great Spirit may witness our sincerity.—[A white string.]

Council adjourned.

THURSDAY, 30th July.

In Council: Present as before.

Au-si-me-the thus resumed his address:

ELDER BROTHER: What I am about to say, is the voice of all present. You know the Great Spirit witnesses our words; I am afraid to tell an untruth. I have nothing to add to what has been said; it meets the full approbation of all your younger brothers. You know we have all buried the hatchet, together with our bad actions. Why, therefore, do you wish to detain hostages from among us? You may depend on our sincerity. We cannot but be sincere, as your forts will be planted thick among us. Although an Indian, I respect the words of a good man; and when I pledge my faith, I do not deviate from my engagements. Your people with us will, undoubtedly, be restored as soon as possible; I cannot fix any precise period for their delivery: for, perhaps, I could not exactly fulfil my promises, and I should be sorry to give you cause to doubt my veracity.

The Shawanese, Miamies, and Delawares, who lived at the gate, and who caused all our misfortunes, have wisely buried the hatchet forever; they wish to return to their former situation, and enjoy again their favorite abode.

ELDER BROTHER: Do not view my freedom with displeasure.—[A white string.]

Kee-a-hah, a Kickapoo chief, arose and said:

I am sent by my nation to hear what the assembled nations should say at this treaty, together with the words of our elder brother. I shall now speak a few words through the Little Turtle.—[Presents a pipe to smoke.]

## The Little Turtle:

ELDER BROTHERS, the United States, and you, elder brothers, present, look at this calumet—you see it is white. It is an instrument given to us Indians by the Great Spirit, to assist in communicating our sentiments to each other.

ELDER BROTHER: I return you thanks for the good words you sent among us; in consequence of which we are here this day. We, the Kickapoos and Kaskaskias, are happy in perceiving your humanity towards us; we see, with great pleasure, all our elder brothers now take you by the hand, and we sincerely hope your words to each other may never be violated. We present this calumet as a token of our lasting friendship towards you, and of our anxious desire that this good work may last forever.—[A pipe delivered.]

Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, chief of the Chippewas, arose and spoke as follows:

ELDER BROTHER: Listen to what I now say; your younger brothers, that is, the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pattawatamies, have told you, that they were but one people, and had but one voice; they have said the truth, and what I now say, is in the name of the three fires; you have asked of us the island of Michilimackinac, and its dependencies, on the main, where the fort formerly stood; they are ceded to you, forever, with the utmost cheerfulness; you have also asked a piece of ground, at the entrance of the straits, to cut your wood on, and for other necessary purposes; this is also granted to you; and I further add to it, the *Isle de Bois Blanc*, as an instance of our sincere disposition to serve and accommodate you. You know, brother, when the French formerly possessed this country, we were but one people, and had but one fire between us; and we now entertain the hope of enjoying the same happy relation with you, the United States. Your brothers present, of the three fires, are gratified in seeing and hearing you; those who are at home will not experience that pleasure, until you come and live among us; you will then learn our title to that land; you will then be convinced of my sincerity, and of the friendship and strength of our nations.

This, elder brother, is all I have to say at present. We all know that the good work of peace is accomplished. I only address these few words to you, that all nations present may again hear the sentiments of the three fires, and understand them perfectly.—[A blue and white string.]

The Little Beaver, a Wea chief, arose and said:

ELDER BROTHER: You already know what I am about to say. I have got a cold; I cannot speak well at present; my brother, the Little Turtle, will speak for me.

## The Little Turtle:

ELDER BROTHER: Here are papers which have been given to me by General Washington, the great chief of the United States. He told me they should protect us in the possession of our lands, and that no white person should interrupt us in the enjoyment of our hunting grounds, or be permitted to purchase any of our towns or lands from us; that he would place traders among us, who would deal fairly. I wish you to examine these papers.

ELDER BROTHER: You have asked for a reservation at the Ouataton; I hope you will put a trader there, on the spot formerly occupied by one. We would wish Captain Prior to be our trader. I can't give you any lands there, brother; I will lend you some as long as you want it.

ELDER BROTHER: You have told us of a place possessed by the French, called Musquion. We have lived at our village a long time; it is very surprising that we should never know any thing about it. The French lived at Vincennes, where they were permitted to settle by my forefathers, who told them they should have a small quantity of land for the cattle, &c. on the east, but none on the west side of the Wabash.—[A white string.]

Massas, a Chippewa chief, rose and said:

All you, my brothers, present, when the chiefs of my village sent me hither to hear your proceedings in council, they told me I could not see the extent of the American fires; that they believed their elder brother had called them together, in pity to them, their women, and children; and they enjoined the three fires to speak with one voice, and do their utmost to forward the good work; saying, that they had seen several treaties heretofore made with the United States, which the Indians had always violated by taking up the hatchet.

ELDER BROTHER: I have listened to all your words, and to those of my brothers. It would be very wrong in me to raise objections to what has been done, as you have explained to us your treaty with Britain.

ELDER BROTHER: You say at the fort of Detroit you intend to take a piece of land six miles deep, from the river Rosine to lake St. Clair. I now ask you, what is to become of our brothers, the French, who live on this land? We look on them as our brothers and friends, who treated us well, when abused by the British. We wish to know your sentiments on this subject. We think, brother, you could find land enough between the rivers Raisin and Rouge; we have no objection to your reservation at the foot of the Rapids. We have no objection to any other proposition you have made, and we sincerely wish we could now take you among us; because the British, on our return, will renew their old songs.

ELDER BROTHER: My children must have suffered, since I left home; perhaps I, myself, may be made unhappy on my return to them: for the British may probably say, why don't you seek relief from your new friends? This makes me uneasy, and urges me to entreat you to come immediately, and live nearer to us; you might then assist us; and it would be more convenient for the surrender of our prisoners. I hope you will pity my situation; when I returned from the treaty of Muskingum, McKee threatened to kill me; I have not now less cause to fear him, as he endeavored to prevent my coming hither.

ELDER BROTHER: You asked who were the true owners of the lands now ceded to the United States. In answer, I tell you, if any nations should call themselves the owners of it, they would be guilty of a falsehood; our claim to it is equal; our elder brother has conquered it.

BROTHERS, have done trifling. Let us conclude this great work; let us sign our names to the treaty now proposed, and finish our business.

ELDER BROTHER: If I can escape the snares of McKee and his bad birds, I shall ascend as high as the falls of St. Mary's, and proclaim the good tidings to all your distant brothers in that quarter. [A belt.]

The General spoke as follows:

YOUNGER BROTHERS, all of you, listen with attention! I shall now reply to what was said yesterday by the Wyandots; I will then answer the observations of the Little Turtle, made in behalf of the Miamies and Wabash tribes.

YOUNGER BROTHERS, the Wyandots, Delawares, and Shawanese. I am pleased to hear you say, with one voice, for the second time, that I have done the greatest justice to you in dividing the lands of the United States from those of the Indian nations, by the boundary line which I have proposed. You request me to fix the boundaries that shall divide the lands between the respective tribes of Indians now present.

YOUNGER BROTHERS: A moment's reflection will show you the impropriety, as well as impossibility, of my acting in this business. You, Indians, best know your respective boundaries.

I particularly recommend to all you nations, present, to continue friendly and just to each other; let no nation, or nations, invade, molest, or disturb, any other nation, or nations, in the hunting grounds they have heretofore been accustomed to live and hunt upon, within the boundary which shall now be agreed on; and, above all, I enjoin that no injury be offered to any nation, or nations, in consequence of the part any, or either of them, may have pursued, to establish a permanent and happy peace with the United States of America.

YOUNGER BROTHERS, the Wyandots, and other Indians, of Sandusky, make your hearts and minds easy. Be assured that, as soon as circumstances will permit, a fort shall be established on the reserved lands, near the entrance of Sandusky Lake, which will always afford you protection against the common enemy, should any such presume to disturb our peace and mutual friendship.

YOUNGER BROTHERS, the Miamies: I have listened to you with attention; and have heard your observations upon the general boundary line proposed by me, as well as upon the proposed reservations. If my ears did not

deceive me, I have heard all the other nations give their assent to the general boundary line, and to the reservations, generally; I, therefore, address you, the Miamies:

You say that the general boundary line, as proposed by me, will take away some of your best hunting grounds; and propose to alter it, and run it from fort Recovery, through the centre of this place, and along the road to the Miami river, opposite fort Hamilton.

**YOUNGER BROTHERS:** This would be a very crooked, as well as a very difficult line to follow; because, there are several roads between this and fort Hamilton, some of them several miles apart, which might certainly be productive of unpleasant mistakes and differences; that which I propose will be free from all difficulty and uncertainty. You all know fort Recovery as well as the mouth of Kentucky river; a straight line, drawn from one to the other, will never vary; they are two points which will ever be remembered, not only by all present, but by our children's children, to the end of time; nor will this line prevent your hunters, or young men, in the smallest degree, from pursuing all the advantages which the chase affords; because, by the 7th article, the United States of America grant liberty to all the Indian tribes to hunt within the territory ceded to the United States, without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and offer no injury to the people of the United States.

I find there is some objection to the reservation at fort Wayne. The Little Turtle observes, he never heard of any cessions made at that place to the French. I have traced the lines of two forts at that point; one stood near the junction of the St. Josephs with the St. Mary's, and the other not far removed on the St. Mary's; and it is ever an established rule, among Europeans, to reserve as much ground around their forts, as their cannon can command; this is a rule as well known as any other fact.

Objection has also been made respecting the portage between fort Wayne and the Little river; and the reasons produced, are, that that road has been to the Miamies a source of wealth; that it has, heretofore, produced them one hundred dollars per day. It may be so; but let us inquire who, in fact, paid this heavy contribution. It is true the traders bore it in the first instance; but they laid it on their goods, and the Indians, of the Wabash, really and finally paid it; therefore, it is the Little Beaver, the Soldier, the Sun, and their tribes, who have actually been so highly taxed. The United States will always be their own carriers, to, and from, their different posts. Why should the United States pay the large sum of eight thousand dollars, annually, if they were not to enjoy the privilege of open roads to, and from, their reservations? And this sum of money the United States agree to pay for this and other considerations. And the share, which the Miamies will receive, of this annuity, shall be one thousand dollars.

I will then inquire, of all the nations present, whether the United States are not acting the part of a tender father, to them and their children, in thus providing for them, not only at present, but for ever?

The Miamies shall be at liberty, as usual, to employ themselves for private traders, whenever their assistance may be required; and those people, who have lived at that glorious gate, (the Miami villages,) may now rekindle their fires at that favorite spot; and, henceforth, as in their happiest days, be at full liberty to receive from, and send to, all quarters, the speeches of their chiefs as usual; and here is the road the Miamies will remember. [A road belt.]

Now, all ye chiefs and warriors, of every nation present, open your ears that you may clearly hear the articles of treaty, now in my hand, again read, and, a second time, explained to you, that we may proceed to have them engrossed on parchment, which may preserve them for ever.

[The articles of treaty were here a second time read, and explained by the General, who observed upon]

*The article respecting hostages;—*

I did not expect any objections to this particular, for I see no reason why you should hesitate at leaving ten of your people with me, until the return of our people from among you; the promise of a mutual exchange of prisoners, made last winter, when we met at this place, you have not performed on your part; I have kept none of your flesh and blood; nor would General Washington, the Great Chief of the United States, suffer me so to do; the period will be short, and those who remain shall be kindly treated.

*On the Ouia-tonon reservation;—*

The Little Beaver has asked for Captain Prior to reside, as a trader, at Ouia-tonon; he shall reside at that place; but Captain Prior is a warrior, not a trader. He shall have a few warriors with him, to protect the trade and the Indians in that quarter.

*On the reservation at Detroit;—*

Masass has asked, what will become of the French? The United States consider the French and themselves as one people; and it is partly for them and their accommodation, this reservation is made, whenever they become citizens thereof, as well as for the people of the Fifteen Fires.

*On the gift of the Isle de Bois Blanc;—*

In addition to the cessions which the three fires have made with such cheerfulness, of the reservations in their country, Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish has, in their name, made a voluntary gift to the United States of the Isle de Bois Blanc, in lake Michigan. The Fifteen Fires accept of this unasked for grant from the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pattawatamies, according to their intentions; and will always view it as an unequivocal mark of their sincere friendship.

*And on trade;—*

The Little Turtle yesterday expressed a wish, that some of their former traders might be continued among them as a part of the number to be licensed by the United States. This is very fair and reasonable, and a certain number will be licensed accordingly, when properly recommended as good and honest men.

**BROTHERS:** All you nations now present, listen!

You now have had, a second time, the proposed articles of treaty read and explained to you. It is now time for the negotiation to draw to a conclusion.

I shall, therefore, ask each nation individually, if they approve of, and are prepared to sign, those articles, in their present form, that they may be immediately engrossed for that purpose. I shall begin with the Chippewas, who, with the others who approbate the measure, will signify their assent.

You, Chippewas, do you approve of these articles of treaty, and are you prepared to sign them? [A unanimous answer.] Yes.

You, Ottawas, do you agree? [A unanimous answer.] Yes.

You, Pattawatamies? [ditto.] Yes.

You, Wyandots, do you agree? [ditto.] Yes.

You, Delawares? [ditto.] Yes.

You, Shawanese? [ditto.] Yes.

You, Miamies, do you agree? [ditto.] Yes.

You, Weas? [ditto.] Yes.

And you, Kickapoos, do you agree? [ditto.] Yes.

The treaty shall be engrossed; and as it will require two or three days to do it properly, on parchment, we will now part, to meet on the 2d of August; in the interim, we will eat, drink, and rejoice, and thank the Great Spirit for the happy stage this good work has arrived at.

Council adjourned.

July 31.—The Red Pole, with eighty-eight Shawanese, and Tey-yagh-taw, with seven Wyandots, nine of the Six Nations, and ten Delawares, arrived, from the vicinity of Detroit, and were received.

August 2.—In Council: Present as before, with the addition of the Shawanese, Wyandots, &c. who arrived on the 31st ultimo.

The Red Pole, a Shawanee chief, arose and spoke as follows:

I am very happy to see, you all, my brothers, here assembled. I am come late, but I come with a good heart. I am well pleased to hear of the good work you have agreed upon, with our elder brother, the Fifteen Fires; and thank you for the pity you have shewn for our helpless women and children, whom we have left behind.

The General arose and spoke as follows:

YOUNGER BROTHERS:

I have received a letter from your ancient friends and brothers, the people called Quakers, with a message to all the nations here assembled. The Quakers are a people whom I much love and esteem, for their goodness of heart, and sincere love of peace with all nations; listen then to their voice, and let it sink deep into your hearts.

[Here the General read the address of the people called Quakers, and the invoice of their present.]

Their present, you perceive, is small, but being designed with the benevolent view of promoting the peace and happiness of mankind, it becomes of important value. They wish it to be considered merely as a token of their regard for you, and a testimony of their brotherly affection and kind remembrance of you.

YOUNGER BROTHERS: The articles of treaty are not yet completely engrossed; they will be ready by 8 o'clock to-morrow, when we will again meet here, read the treaty once more, and proceed to the act of mutually signing and exchanging it.

The Shawanese and Wyandots, who arrived the day before yesterday, will then hear what we have all agreed upon, and be equally convinced, with all the others, of the liberality of the articles.

Blue Jacket, a Shawanee chief, arose and spoke as follows:

ELDER BROTHER, and you my brothers present:

You see me now present myself as a war chief, to lay down that commission, and place myself in the rear of my village chiefs, who, for the future, will command me. Remember, brothers, you have all buried your war hatchets; your brothers the Shawanese, now do the same good act. We must think of war no more.

ELDER BROTHER: You now see that all the chiefs and warriors around you have joined in the good work of peace, which is now accomplished. We now request you to inform our elder brother, General Washington, of it; and of the cheerful unanimity which has marked their determinations. We wish you to inquire of him, if it would be agreeable that two chiefs, from each nation, should pay him a visit, and take him by the hand: for your younger brothers have a strong desire to see that great man, and to enjoy the pleasure of conversing with him.—[A blue string.]

The General thus replied:

BROTHERS THE SHAWANESE, and all you other nations:

I am confident the heart of the Great Chief, General Washington, will be rejoiced when he hears that you have unanimously joined in the good work of peace; and the instrument we will sign to-morrow, shall be an everlasting record of the good action; one part of which, I will immediately transmit to him. I will, with pleasure, make the inquiries you desire, and communicate the answer to you whenever I receive it.

Council adjourned.

August 3.—In Council: Present as before.

The General rose, and spoke as follows:

YOUNGER BROTHERS:

When this council fire was first kindled, my commissions and authority for holding this treaty were read and explained to all then present; but, as several chiefs had not at that time arrived, I shall now read them a second time, for the perfect satisfaction of all.

[The General here again exhibited and explained his powers.]

That I have strictly performed my duty in fulfilling those instructions, and that they were manifestly calculated to establish the peace and happiness of all the Indian nations now present, will appear by the engrossed articles of treaty, unanimously agreed to, and now before us. They shall now be read a third time, that all may be perfectly acquainted with them; therefore listen.

[The engrossed articles were here read; the signing commenced and finished; and the General thus proceeded:]

YOUNGER BROTHERS: Having completed the signing of this treaty, one part of it shall be delivered to the Wyandots, who will preserve it as a sacred pledge of the establishment of our future friendship; the other, or counterpart, I will send to the Great Chief, General Washington. In addition, one copy, on paper, shall be delivered to each nation, for their frequent and particular information. We will now proceed to apportion the goods designed to be given to you, and I hope to be prepared for their delivery in a day or two. Some assistance must be afforded to the Chippewas, and other remote tribes, to facilitate the transportation of their proportions. We will, for the present, retire, and we will have a little drink this evening.

Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, chief of the Chippewas, arose, and said:

ELDER BROTHER: I now see that all is settled. It affords us a great deal of pleasure. I hope you feel equally gratified. I repeat our entire satisfaction, that all present may know it. We, the three fires, have never done you any harm. With the same good heart I met you here, I will depart, and return home. You will find the truth of these words when you come and live among us. You must not believe ill of me.

ELDER BROTHER: I hope you will listen with attention to my words, and have pity on me. I have a request to make of you. You know I have come a great distance to assist in this good work, and, as it is now happily completed, I hope you will deliver to us our friend, whom you sent from hence into confinement. We would be grieved to leave him in durance behind us, for he has been friendly to us. This is the request of your brothers, the three fires.

Council adjourned.

August 7. In Council: Present as before.

The General arose, and spoke as follows:

BROTHERS, all nations now present: You have all smoked out of this calumet, when we first opened council at this place, except the Shawanese. I will, therefore, smoke with the Shawanese, and with some of the Wyandots who arrived late.

Listen, all you sachems, chiefs, and warriors! Lift up your eyes, and behold these instruments of writing, to which the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Ottawas, Chippewas, Patawatamies, Miamies, Eel Rivers, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias, have set their hands and seals, that they may be handed down to your children's children, as a memorial of the happy peace thereby established. When your posterity shall hereafter view these records, they will be informed that you were the great people who accomplished this blessed work, to ensure to them peace and happiness forever. One of these I shall transmit to General Washington, the other I will deposit, agreeable to your own desires, with your uncles the Wyandots. A true copy, on paper, shall now be given to each nation. This large belt, and this seal, will accompany the original instrument, and will declare its sacred and important value.

The next business will be the distribution of the goods and presents promised by treaty. To-morrow the Wyandots shall receive their proportion: the other nations will be sent for, in order as they signed, as soon as we are



ready to deliver them. It will make no difference to any, who is first served, or who last; all shall have their due proportion. I have only to recommend a just and equal distribution among your respective nations.

Independent of this general delivery, and as a reward for the good disposition to peace of some chiefs and nations, early evinced, I shall make some further presents, which must be considered as private property to those who shall receive them, and as testimonies of particular regard. And, in return for the generous and unasked for present of the Chippewas, of the Isle de Bois Blanc, the Fifteen Fires will make them an acknowledgment, to shew that they will never be outdone in kindness.

I have to exhort you to take every measure to restrain your young men from the bad practice of stealing horses from those who are their friends. Some Frenchmen who accompanied you to this place, have complained to me of having had their horses stolen since their arrival. This is ungrateful and disgraceful.

Be all now attentive! This letter in my hand informs me, that some very bad Indians, indeed, regardless of the good work we have been engaged in, have barbarously surprised and murdered an innocent family, who thought themselves secure from harm whilst negotiations for peace engaged your attention. This grieves me very much. By an article of the agreement entered into last winter, we were mutually to inform each other of any harm intended, which should come to our knowledge, and do our utmost to prevent it. And it is expressly stipulated in this treaty, that similar conduct shall be pursued by both parties. That for injuries done, no private or personal retaliation shall take place, but complaint shall be made by the party injured to the other, &c.

I do, accordingly, at this time, complain to you of the bad conduct of those bad people, and desire you who live nearest to them, to exert your powers to restrain their practices and correct their lives. I fear, if they are permitted to continue uncontrolled, much mischief will ensue. They are a small, lawless banditti, who insult your authority at the same time they injure the United States, by their savage and inhuman practices. Our people, roused and provoked by their depredations and cruelties, will follow them into their country, to punish them as they merit; and should they, in the pursuit, fall in with any of you or your people, who are our sincere friends, they might not be able to distinguish one from the other, and would probably wreak their vengeance on their innocent brothers, and hurt them, when they meant to chastise those guilty aggressors only.

Tarke, chief of the Wyandots, arose, and spoke as follows:

BROTHERS, listen! and you also, brothers of the different nations present. The Great Spirit above has appointed this day for us to complete all the good work in which we have been engaged. You remember that, some time ago, our brother, the American, rose up and thanked the Great Spirit above for conducting the good work so far as it then was; and he desired of us to know whether we would acknowledge him, the fifteen United States, to be our father; but we have not yet returned him an answer. Now, this day, the good work is completed. I inform you all, brother Indians, that we do now, and will henceforth, acknowledge the fifteen United States of America to be our father, and you will all, for the future, look upon them as such: you must call them brothers no more. The Great Spirit has crowned them with success in all their undertakings.

FATHER: You see we all now acknowledge you to be our father. I take you by the hand, which I offer as a pledge of our sincerity, and of our happiness in becoming your children.

FATHER: Listen to your children, here assembled; be strong, now, and take care of all your little ones. See what a number you have suddenly acquired. Be careful of them, and do not suffer them to be imposed upon. Don't shew favor to one, to the injury of any. An impartial father equally regards all his children, as well those who are ordinary, as those who may be more handsome; therefore, should any of your children come to you crying, and in distress, have pity on them, and relieve their wants.

Now, all my brothers present, you see that we have acknowledged and called on the United States as our father. Be strong, brothers, and obedient to our father; ever listen to him when he speaks to you, and follow his advice. I now deliver this wampum, in presence of you all, as a token of our being now the children of the Fifteen Fires. [A large string, blue and white.]

The General rose and said:

Listen! all you nations, to what your uncle, the Wyandot, has said. [Tarke's speech was here interpreted to each nation.]

Listen! all you nations present. I have hitherto addressed you as brothers. I now adopt you all, in the name of the President and Fifteen great Fires of America, as their children, and you are so accordingly. The medals which I shall have the honor to deliver you, you will consider as presented by the hands of your father, the Fifteen Fires of America. These you will hand down to your children's children, in commemoration of this day—a day in which the United States of America gives peace to you and all your nations, and receives you and them under the protecting wings of her eagle. [Council adjourned.]

August 8th.—In council: Present as before.

The Sun, a Pattawatamy chief, arose, and said:

FATHER: I now speak to acquaint you and all present that I am perfectly satisfied with all that has been done in this council. You have told us to bring in our prisoners without delay. I have not one in my village. I never took any. You further told us, if any of your people injured us, you would punish them, and enjoined on us a similar conduct as it respected our offenders. Father, I have not the same authority over my people that you exercise over yours. They live dispersed, and it is difficult to reach them on all occasions. As you have now become our father, we are no longer objects of pity; as your children, we shall be happy whilst you continue to protect us. When the British adopted us as children, they made false promises, and left us to the mercy of the traders, who took advantage of, and much abused, our ignorance and weakness. You have promised to send traders among us, by whom we will not be abused, and we have promised to protect their lives and property. We are happy, father, and thank you for your kindness to your children. I now ask of you to send a trader to my village, which is a day's walk below the Wea towns on the Wabash. You said you would send one of your officers to command at those towns. We would wish you to send Captain Ouitanon, (Prior) and should any meditated mischief come to my knowledge, I will immediately acquaint him of it, agreeable to our compact. All your children present have the articles of the treaty fully and indelibly impressed on their hearts, and should bad birds attempt to misconstrue or prevent them, we promise, sincerely, not to listen to their designing, artful songs.

FATHER: We, the Pattawatamies present, are in three classes. One from the river Huron, one from St. Joseph's, and that to which I belong from the Wabash; and, as you intend to give the goods designed for us in bulk to that nation, I am afraid the division amongst ourselves will be attended with difficulty and discontent. I pray you, father, to make the division among us, and thus preserve proportion and harmony. [A belt.]

The New Corn, a Pattawatamy chief, spoke as follows:

My friend, when I first came here, I took you by the hand. You welcomed me, and asked me for my great war chief. I told you they were killed, and that none remained but me, who have the vanity to think myself a brave man, and a great warrior. The Great Spirit has made me a great chief, and endowed me with great powers. The heavens and earth are my heart, the rising sun my mouth, and thus favored, I propagate my own species! [This is the Nestor of the wilderness, possessed by all the garrulity of age.] I know the people who have made and violated former treaties. I am too honorable and too brave a man to be guilty of such unworthy conduct. I love and fear the Great Spirit. He now hears what I say. I dare not tell a lie.

Now, my friend, the Great Wind, do not deceive us in the manner that the French, the British, and Spaniards, have heretofore done. The English have abused us much; they have made us promises which they never fulfilled; they have proved to us how little they have ever had our happiness at heart; and we have severely suffered for placing



our dependence on so faithless a people. Be you strong, and preserve your word inviolate; and reward those Frenchmen who have come so great a distance to assist us.

My friend, I am old, but I shall never die. I shall always live in my children, and children's children. [A string.]

Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, chief of the Chippewas, thus spoke:

FATHER: The good work being now completed, we are left without a subject to employ our conversation. You see your children the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pattawatamies, around you. Those at home will be rejoiced when we inform them that, for the future, they will enjoy the protection of a new father. Our happiness is great in being permitted to address you by that endearing appellation. Father, since we have been here, some mischief has been done. We are entirely ignorant of the perpetrators. It grieves us much, and excites our anger and indignation. Time will discover to you and us those wicked disturbers, who richly merit punishment. I have to request you to license a trader to reside with your children at Ki-ka-na-ma-sung, where we shall pass the ensuing winter. I have never been guilty of stealing horses, nor shall I now commence the practice. But as I am an old man, I would ask you for one to carry me home.

Welle-baw-kee-lund, a Delaware chief, spoke as follows:

FATHER: Listen a few words from the Delawares. This is the speech you gave us when you first came into this country, and when we first met together in council. In this you told us we should live in peace and friendship with each other, and join our hands firmly together. It seems they were badly bound, for the ties were soon broken. We know not exactly how or when they were destroyed. We will now renew them in so strong a manner that they will last forever, and bury in oblivion all past misfortunes. Be strong in this good work, and it will never fail. This belt was presented to us from brothers, and our king now shows it to you, that you may recognise it.

Oki, a Pattawatamy chief, arose and spoke as follows:

FATHER: I come from the river Huron, near Detroit. My fathers have long possessed that country. The other Pattawatamies present live on the St. Joseph's, and in that direction. All my old chiefs are dead; you therefore see young chiefs only from my towns, who are unaccustomed to speak in council. You told us you would deliver the presents in bulk to the Pattawatamy nation. In this case, I am afraid my people will not get a due proportion, and I am too proud to complain to you, should they be unfairly distributed; therefore, as I live detached from the others, and intend to return home with the Chippewas, by the way of fort Defiance, I beg my father would let me have my proportion separately, for we have many young women and children at home, to whom I shall be very happy to deliver the presents of their father. I wish much to carry with me a copy of the treaty, to show my people. Living so far from the rest of my name, I can derive no advantage from the one you have given to our nation generally, and I should be ashamed and mortified to return without one. I would request a trader for my village, and would wish for Mr. La Chambre, with whom we are long acquainted. [A belt.]

Te-ta-boksh-ke, King of the Delawares, spoke as follows:

FATHER: You have in your prison a man (Newman) who came in to us about a year ago, and proved the preservation of many of our women and children, by the information he gave us: for this we cannot help feeling grateful. Now, your children, the Delawares, all beg of you to spare the life of this man, as he has been instrumental in saving many of us from destruction. We hope, father, you will grant this first request of your children, the Delawares. [A string.]

The General arose, and spoke as follows:

MY CHILDREN, THE PATTAWATAMIES: I wish you to endeavor to make among yourselves an amicable and fair division of the goods intended for you. It would be a very difficult task for me to perform with justice. You are acquainted with your own people and numbers. I am not well enough informed on this head, to make a true appointment. I wish all the other nations to act in a similar manner, and make a distribution to the satisfaction of their respective people. I wish each nation to appoint two confidential people from among themselves, to receive the goods, and to give receipts to the storekeeper, who will thereby convince me of his having justly delivered them. Council adjourned.

8th August, afternoon.—The medals and silver ornaments, &c. were delivered. No material, or other than complimentary conversation took place.

August 10th. In Council: Present as before.

The Red Pole, a Shawanese chief, spoke as follows:

You, my uncles, the Wyandots, my grandfathers, the Delawares, and all you nations present, you see we are now here from all parts of this great island, and you happily accomplished the good work before we, the Shawanese, arrived. I thank you all for it. I now present to your view, the wampum given to me by our elder brother, now become our father. He gave it to us from his heart; and I hope you will, for the future, view him as our true father. We must, for the future, live in harmony with him, and one another. The Great Spirit gave us this land in common. He has not given the right to any one nation, to say to another, this land is not yours, it belongs to me.

FATHER: I have heard every thing which has been here transacted. Peace is firmly established. It affords me satisfaction and happiness the hatchet is cast away for ever. I have reason to believe that the mischief which has been lately done, has been committed by a small party of Shawanese, who have been in the woods a long time hunting. It grieves us much, that, while we are here accomplishing the good work of peace, some of our own people are yet deaf to our advice. And, to convince you that we will never permit such practices, I now offer to leave with you my aged father, as a hostage, and proceed immediately, myself, to call home those people, and take measures to prevent their future misconduct. I have just returned from an absence of two years to the Southward; and in that period, my young men, uncontrolled by their other chiefs, have fallen into bad practices; but they shall have an immediate end.

All my brothers present, as the peace is now entirely completed, and as our Father of the Fifteen Fires has adopted us as his children, and called us by that name, I now tell him, in presence of you all, that we, the Shawanese, do acknowledge the Fifteen Fires as our father, and that, henceforth, we will always regard him as such.—[A white string.]

You, my uncles and grandfather, have settled with our father the boundary line, in a manner which meets my entire approbation. I am perfectly satisfied with it, and it appears you had our common interest in view.

FATHER: As all the nations are now present, they can never hereafter deny their own work, nor say that other people acted for them, without authority. I, therefore, recommend to them, to fulfil strictly their agreements, and adhere religiously to their engagements.—[A belt.]

The General arose and spoke as follows:

CHILDREN:

All you nations listen. By the seventh article of this treaty, all the lands now ceded to the United States, are free for all the tribes now present to hunt upon, so long as they continue to be peaceable, and do no injury to the people thereof. It is, therefore, the common interest of you all, to prevent any mischief being done upon those hunting grounds. Those people who have committed the late outrage on our peaceable inhabitants, had been hunting on those grounds, and after finishing their hunt, proceeded to the commission of the bad actions of which I have complained. These practices, for the reasons I have already given you, must have an immediate end.

The Red Pole has behaved like a candid, honest man, in acknowledging the errors of his people, and in promising to restrain them immediately. He has done more; he has offered to leave his own father as a hostage, until he can inform me of his having called them home; but, I will not separate him from his old father; I will depend upon his honor for the performance of his promise.—[A white string to the Red Pole.]

All you, my children, listen to me. The great business of peace, so long and ardently wished for, by your great and good father, General Washington, and the Fifteen Fires, and, I am sure, by every good man among you, being now accomplished, nothing remains but to give you a few words of advice from a father, anxious for the peace and happiness of his children. Let me earnestly exhort you to restrain your young people from injuring, in any degree, the people of the United States. Impress upon their minds the spirit and meaning of the treaty now before us. Convince them how much their future welfare will depend upon their faithful and strict observance of it. Restore to me, as soon as possible, all my flesh and blood which may be among you, without distinction or exception, and receive now from my hands the ten hostages stipulated by the second article, to be left with me as a security for their delivery. This unequivocal proof of the confidence that I place in your honor, and in the solemn promises you have made me, must satisfy you of my full persuasion of your sincerity. Send those ten young men to collect your prisoners; let them bring them to me, and they shall be well rewarded for their trouble. I have here a particular account of the number remaining among you, and shall know when they are all restored.

I now fervently pray to the Great Spirit, that the peace now established may be permanent, and that it may hold us together in the bonds of friendship, until time shall be no more. I also pray that the Great Spirit above may enlighten your minds, and open your eyes to your true happiness, that your children may learn to cultivate the earth, and enjoy the fruits of peace and industry.—[A white string.]

As it is probable, my children, that we shall not soon meet again in public council, I take this opportunity of bidding you all an affectionate farewell, and of wishing you a safe and happy return to your respective homes and families.—[A string.]

Bu-kon-ge-he-las, a Delaware Chief, spoke as follows:

FATHER:

Your children all well understand the sense of the treaty which is now concluded. We experience daily proofs of your increasing kindness. I hope we may all have sense enough to enjoy our dawning happiness. Many of your people are yet among us. I trust they will be immediately restored. Last winter, our king came forward to you with two, and when he returned with your speech to us, we immediately prepared to come forward with the remainder, which we delivered at fort Defiance. All who know me, know me to be a man and a warrior, and I now declare, that I will, for the future, be as true and steady a friend to the United States as I have heretofore been an active enemy. We have one bad young man among us; who, a few days ago, stole three of your horses: two of them shall this day be returned to you, and I hope I shall be able to prevent that young man from doing any more mischief to our Father the Fifteen Fires.

Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, chief of the Chippewas, spoke as follows:

FATHER:

I have heard, and understand, all that you have said. I am perfectly satisfied with every part of it; my heart will never change. No prisoners remain in our hands in the neighborhood of Michilimackinac. Those two Frenchmen present (Messieurs Sans Crainte and Pepin) can witness to the truth of this assertion.

Masass, a Chippewa chief, arose and spoke as follows:

I have heard all the proceedings relating to this treaty. I express my perfect satisfaction at its happy conclusion. When I relate at home the important event, my people will stretch out their arms towards you; and when I have informed them that you have promised to cherish them as your children, they will rejoice in having acquired a new, and so good, a father.

Council adjourned.

I certify the foregoing to be a true register of the minutes and proceedings of the treaty of Greenville.

H. DE BUTTS, *Secretary.*

HEAD QUARTERS, GREENVILLE, 20th Sept. 1795.

*A return of the numbers of the different nations of Indians present at, and parties to, the treaty of Greenville, taken on the 7th August, 1795.*

		<i>Interpreters.</i>
Wyandots,	180	Isaac Zane and Abraham Williams.
Delawares,	381	Robert Wilson.
Shawanese,	143	Jacques Lasselle and Christ'r. Miller.
Ottawas,	45	
Chippewas,	46	Messieurs Sans Crainte and Morin.
Pattawatamies,	240	
Miamies and Eel Rivers,	73	
Weeas and Piankshaws,	12	William Wells.
Kickapoos and Kaskaskias,	10	
	1,130	

H. DE BUTTS, *Secretary.*

SUPPLEMENT.

*To the Cherokees, now settled on the head waters of Scioto.*

Whereas, I, Anthony Wayne, Major General, commanding the army of the United States, and sole commissioner for settling a permanent peace with all the Indian tribes northwest of the river Ohio, having accomplished that great and good work, and having this day signed and exchanged articles of a permanent peace with the Chippewas, Ottawas, Pattawatamies, Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Miamies, Eel river, Weas, and Kickapoos, nations of Indians:

Do, hereby, once more invite you, the said Cherokees, residing on the waters of the Scioto, to come forward immediately to this place, and enter into similar articles of peace: for which purpose, I now send Captain Longhair, a principal Cherokee chief, to conduct you to head quarters, where you shall be received in friendship, and treated with kindness and hospitality. Captain Longhair will give you the particulars respecting this treaty; as also those of a treaty of peace lately made between the United States and the Cherokee nation; so that you now stand alone and unprotected, unless you comply with this last invitation.

Given at Head quarters, Greenville, 3d August, 1795.

ANTHONY WAYNE.

In consequence of the above message, some of this party of Cherokees returned to Greenville with Captain Longhair, and have since accompanied him home to their nation; the remainder promised to hunt peaceably on Scioto, until their corn was fit to gather; when they would quit this side of the Ohio forever, and return to their own country.

*At a private conference, on the 12th August, with the Miamies, Eel river, and Kickapoo Indians:*

The Little Turtle, in the name of the others, observed, that, as they intended soon to depart, and return to their respective homes, he took this opportunity of repeating to the General, that he, himself, and the Indians with him, were perfectly acquainted with every article of the treaty; that no part of it had escaped their serious and anxious deliberation; that, in the early stage of the negotiation, he had not comprehended the moderation and liberality with which he is now convinced it is dictated; that, to this cause, and to a duty which he conceives he owes his country, must be attributed the opposition he exhibited on sundry occasions; that he was persuaded, his Father would not think unkindly of him for it; for he had heard him, with much pleasure, approve of the freedom with which he delivered his sentiments; that he was a man who spokè as he thought, and a man of sincerity; and that he embraced this last occasion to declare, that, as he was fully convinced that the treaty was wisely and benevolently calculated to promote the mutual interest, and insure the permanent happiness of the Indians, and their Father, the Americans; so it was his determined resolution to adhere religiously to its stipulations. He asked for traders to reside at their different villages, and mentioned the names of some, who, for the confidence they had in their integrity, they wished might be licensed, and continued by the United States, as traders among them; he hoped (the Weas particularly) that a fort would be immediately established at Ouiatanon; and promised every assistance which they could afford to the establishment; that he, himself, would reside near fort Wayne, where daily experience should convince his Father of his sincere friendship; and that, as he intended to rekindle the grand council fire at that place, by means of which the different nations might communicate with each other as usual, he requested his Father to give orders to the commandant of fort Wayne, to inform him, from time to time, of any measures which the great council of the Fifteen Fires might adopt, in which the interest of their children should be concerned; and that Mr. Wells might be placed there as a resident interpreter, as he possessed their confidence as fully as he did that of their Father.

On the 9th September, a party of Shawanese, consisting of between sixty and seventy warriors, who had hitherto proved refractory and hostile, arrived at Greenville, with four prisoners, three of whom they captured on the 13th of last July, in Randolph county, Virginia.

On the 11th, the General gave them audience, when Puck-se-kaw, (or Jumper) one of their chiefs, spoke as follows:

MY FATHER: I have been in the woods a long time: I was not acquainted with the good works which were transacting at this place, by you, and all our great chiefs.

Last spring, when we were hunting peaceably, our camp on Scioto was robbed: we are very poor, and the mischief that has since been done, was in retaliation for the injuries we then sustained.

As soon as I received this belt, which you sent me by Blue Jacket, one of our great chiefs, and as soon as I was informed by him, that the good work of peace was finished, I rose to come and see you, and brought with me these four prisoners. I now surrender them up to you, my father, and promise sincerely that we will do no more mischief.

I hope that, for the future, we shall be permitted to live and hunt in peace and quietness. We were poor, ignorant children, astray in the woods, who knew not that our nation, and all the other tribes of Indians, had come in, and made peace with you. I thank the Great Spirit for at length opening our eyes.

FATHER: We beg you will forgive, and receive your repentant children: these people whom I now deliver to you, must plead our forgiveness, and vouch our sincere intention to alter our conduct for the future.—[A white string.]

The foregoing is the supplement to the treaty of Greenville.

H. DE BUTTS, *Secretary.*

4th CONGRESS.]

No. 68.

[1st Session.]

### INDIAN TRADE.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 15, 1795.

WAR OFFICE, December 12, 1795.

SIR:

By direction of the President of the United States, I have the honor to present herewith, "a report of the measures taken for opening trade with the Indians;"

And am, &c.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

The VICE PRESIDENT of the United States, and President of the Senate.

#### *Report of the Secretary of War of the measures taken for opening a trade with the Indians.*

The situation of the Six Nations, surrounded either wholly by the settlements of citizens of the United States; or, on one side by them, and on the other, by the British of Upper Canada; and by both in near neighborhoods; seemed to exclude them from the experiment proposed to be made, of commencing a trade on the principle of furnishing cheap supplies to the Indians: for the familiar intercourse between them and the whites, would have subjected the public to continual impositions, against which no checks were provided.

Peace with the tribes northwest of the river Ohio, was only in a train of negotiation; these, of course, were not in a condition to participate in the projected trade.

It remained then to make the experiment with the Southern tribes. And because the small appropriation for this object seemed intended merely as an experiment, it was desirable to make it with as little expense as possible. For this, among other reasons, the sum appropriated was divided unequally, and more than two-thirds destined for opening a trade with the Creeks, to whom the goods could be conveyed by sea. The remainder was designed for the trade with the Cherokees and Chickasaws. The remote situation of the Choctaws could render either of the two trading posts but of small and only contingent use to them.

To accommodate the Creeks, Colerain, on the river St. Mary's, was chosen, on the best information to be obtained, as the most eligible situation for a trading post; because it was easy of access to us, there being depth of water for sea vessels to go to the spot, and sufficiently so to the Creeks, especially of the Lower towns.

For the purpose of supplying the Cherokees and Chickasaws, it was supposed that Tellico Block-house, within the country of the Cherokees, would be a convenient station. It is already a military post; with a small garrison of regular troops, as such it will be secure; as advanced of the settlements of the white people, it will be convenient; and the Indians are already accustomed to resort thither for friendly conferences and negotiations. Notwithstanding, lest there should be any solid objection to that station, the final choice of the trading post in that quarter is referred to Governor Blount, with a reliance on his knowledge and judgment, to fix it in the place most suitable for effecting the true objects of the establishment.

It is obvious that neither the Chickasaws nor Choctaws, especially the latter, can be much benefitted by these arrangements: nor can they be well accommodated, until at least one trading post for each be established on the Mississippi. But, besides that, circumstances did not admit of taking such posts; the whole quantity of goods appropriated to this trade, would not allow of any farther division than that above mentioned.

It has been unfortunate that this trade could not have been earlier commenced: but, after procuring the goods necessary for General Wayne's treaty, and the annuity due to the Chickasaws, with some supplies accidentally demanded for the Choctaws and Chickasaws, by deputations from those tribes, the merchant stores were so drained, that the requisite assortments, especially of the articles most important for the Indian trade, could not be obtained, either at Philadelphia, New York, or Baltimore; and the purveyor was obliged to wait the arrival of the fall ships. Then, as soon as the purchases could be made, and the very trusty persons, necessary as factors, could be procured, the goods were sent off, under their care, to their respective destinations: they are now on their way.

The Secretary of War begs leave to remark, that the annuities stipulated to be paid to the several tribes of Indians, on the borders of the United States, are the following:

To the Six Nations, and associates, to the value of	-	-	-	\$ 4,500 00
To the Chickasaws,	-	-	-	3,000 00
To the Cherokees,	-	-	-	5,000 00
To the Creeks,	-	-	-	1,500 00
To the Wyandots, Delawares, and several other tribes, northwest of } the Ohio, agreeably to General Wayne's late treaty, -	-	-	-	9,500 00
Whole amount,	-	-	-	\$ 23,500 00
To which may be added, for contingent demands,	-	-	-	6,500 00
				<u>\$ 30,000 00</u>

Making a total of thirty thousand dollars.

Goods to this amount, to be regularly supplied, should be imported by the Government: they will cost less; they will be of the precise kind and proportions demanded; and always in season. If the wisdom of Congress should decide on a continuance and extension of the Indian trade, on the principle heretofore contemplated, and of which the experiment is now in train, the importance of importing on public account, will be vastly increased.

All which is respectfully submitted to the Senate of the United States.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, December 12, 1795.

4th CONGRESS.]

No. 69.

[1st SESSION.]

### CHEROKEE LANDS.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, FEBRUARY 2, 1796.

Gentlemen of the Senate

and of the House of Representatives:

I transmit, herewith, the copy of a letter, dated the 19th of December last, from Governor Blount to the Secretary of War, stating the avowed and daring designs of certain persons, to take possession of lands belonging to the Cherokees, and which the United States have, by treaty, solemnly guaranteed to that nation. The injustice of such intrusions, and the mischievous consequences which must necessarily result therefrom, demand that effectual provision be made to prevent them.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, February 2, 1796.

Copy of a letter from Governor William Blount to the Secretary of War, dated

KNOXVILLE, December 19, 1795.

SIR:

Believing it not only my duty to prevent infractions of treaties, if in my power, and to report such as have happened, but to give you information of such sources, as from which, infractions may probably flow, I shall now state to you one that will give Government much trouble. Recourse being had to the following acts of the Legislature of North Carolina, namely, "An act for opening the Land Office for the redemption of the specie and other certificates, and discharging the arrears due the army;" (page 446, Iredell's revision) to "An act for the relief of the officers and soldiers in the continental line, and for other purposes therein mentioned;" (page 421, Iredell's revision) and to "An act to amend an act, entitled An act for the relief of the officers and soldiers of the continental line, and for other purposes;" (page 449, Iredell's revision) it will appear, that North Carolina opened offices for disposing of all her unappropriated lands, except a part, which is, by the fifth section of the first recited act, reserved for the Cherokees. The grantees under these acts contend, that they have a legal right to the lands granted, and that to that right is attached the right immediately to possess them, notwithstanding the lands granted may be guaranteed to Indians by treaty; and many of them declare, they will take the possession, be the consequences what they may, unless prevented by superior force.

People, in general, are ever partial to their own claims, and some of these grantees, who have taken the counsel of persons reputed learned in the law, are the more confirmed as to their right immediately to possess the lands granted, any treaty to the contrary notwithstanding. Government appears to have the alternative, either to extinguish the claims of the grantees, or Indians, to the lands in question, or to take effectual measures to prevent the grantees from taking possession, or again be involved in an Indian war by their so doing. Few of these grantees originally resided in this territory, but many of them have arrived in the course of the last fall, and others are daily arriving.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. BLOUNT.

The SECRETARY OF WAR, Philadelphia.

4th CONGRESS.]

No. 70.

[1st Session.

## THE SEVEN NATIONS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, MAY 3, 1796.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

Sometime last year, Jeremiah Wadsworth was authorized to hold a treaty with the Cohnawaga Indians, styling themselves the Seven Nations of Canada, to enable the State of New York to extinguish, by purchase, a claim which the said Indians had set up to a parcel of land lying within that State. This negotiation having issued without effecting its object, and the State of New York having requested a renewal of the negotiation, and the Indians having come forward with an application on the same subject, I now nominate Jeremiah Wadsworth, to be a commissioner to hold a treaty with the Cohnawaga Indians, styling themselves the Seven Nations of Canada, for the purpose of enabling the State of New York to extinguish the aforesaid claim.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, May 2, 1796.

4th CONGRESS.]

No. 71.

2d Session.

## THE CHEROKEES AND CREEKS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DECEMBER 26, 1796.

The Secretary of War, to whom was referred a petition of Hugh Lawson White, respectfully reports:

That the claim set forth in the said petition is intended to establish a principle, that will apply to the whole of the militia which were called out under Brigadier General Sevier, in 1793, to act offensively against certain Indians southwest of the Ohio.

That the expedition against these Indians, as appears from the muster rolls, comprehended a period of above five months, or from the 22d July to the 31st of December, 1793.

That it was undertaken without authority derived from the President, under the laws of the United States, and for the avowed purpose of carrying the war into the Cherokee country.

That the tenor of the instructions from the Department of War, to the Governor of the Southwestern territory, particularly the annexed letter, dated the 14th day of May, 1793, forbade offensive operations.

That these considerations have heretofore opposed the settlement of the claim, and occasioned the reference for legislative interference.

Having given these facts, it may be proper to add, that it appears, by a recurrence to official papers, that the Indians had greatly perplexed and harassed, by thefts and murders, the frontier inhabitants of Tennessee; and previous to the service for which compensation is demanded, had shown themselves in considerable force, and killed at two stations (one of them within seven miles of Knoxville) fifteen persons, including women and children, as stated in the annexed letter; that it must rest with Congress to judge how far these aggressions of Indians, and such other circumstances as can be adduced by the parties, constituted a case of imminent danger, or the expedition a just and necessary measure.

All which is respectfully submitted to the House of Representatives.

JAMES M'HENRY.

WAR OFFICE, December 24, 1796.

*Extract of a letter from the Secretary of War to William Blount, Esq. Governor of the territory of the United States Southwest of the river Ohio, dated .*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 14th May, 1793.

You have been fully informed of the difficulties which have existed to prevent the President of the United States from giving orders, in consequence of your representations for the most vigorous offensive operations against the hostile Indians.

If those difficulties existed while the Congress were in session, and which it was conceived they alone were competent to remove, they recur in the present case with still greater force: for all the information received at the time Congress were in session, was laid before both Houses, but no order was taken thereon, nor any authority given to the President of the United States; of consequence, his authority remains in the same situation it did on the commencement of the last session.

It is, indeed, a serious question to plunge the nation into a war with the Southern tribes of Indians, supported as it is said they would be.

But if that war actually exists, if depredations are repeated and continued upon the frontier inhabitants, the measure of protection is indispensable; but that protection can only be of the defensive sort. If other or more extensive measures shall be necessary, they must probably result from the authority expressly given for that purpose by Congress.

Hence, if it shall be your judgment, that the Cumberland settlements require the assistance of the militia of the other parts of your Government, you will impart it to them for such time, and in such a degree, as shall be commensurate with the occasion, always taking care to report the number actually called into service, and the time for which they shall be engaged, and that they be dismissed as soon as the danger shall cease.

*Copy of a letter from Daniel Smith to the Secretary of War, dated*

KNOXVILLE, 1st October, 1795.

SIR:

By advertising to the correspondence of Governor Blount, in the year 1793, (previous to his going to Philadelphia) with Mr. Secretary Knox, it will appear that very frequent acts of hostility were perpetrated on the citizens of this territory, by the Cherokee and Creek Indians. Their repeated murders, which his vigilance could not prevent, I cannot say were, in all cases, borne with as much patience as they ought to have been, considering the hopes that were held out to them, that the General Government would, in due time, interpose with efficacy.

Shortly after the Governor's departure for Philadelphia, the enormities committed by these Indians, far from abating, grew more flagrant. A Captain John Beard (availing himself of the general temper of the frontier citizens, heated by repeated murders being committed on them) being ordered on duty by Governor Blount, about two days before his departure, to pursue and punish the murderers of one Gilham and son, but restricted in his order from crossing the Tennessee, violated these orders, crossed the Tennessee, and killed several Indians at the Hanging Maw's. Beard said, on his return, he had pursued the trace of the murderers. I own I did not believe him. But the fact now stands so well attested by the testimony of several men of credibility, even of some connected with Indians, who, if they had any bias, it might be presumed would lean in favor of Indians, that I cannot refrain from believing he did follow the trace of the murderers across the Tennessee.

A while after this, a party of about two hundred Indians made an attack on Henry's station. They killed Lieutenant Tedford and a private, but failed of taking the garrison. On that quarter being so vigorously invaded, I ordered General Sevier to march to the defence of the frontiers, with one-third of the militia who had been ordered, previous to the Governor's departure, to hold themselves in readiness for such a service. But the General, under this order, had not collected more than about three hundred infantry, and two troops of horse, when a large body of Creeks and Cherokees attacked and carried Cavet's station, seven miles below this place, and killed every man, woman, and child, belonging to it, being thirteen in number.

From the information I then received, I was convinced there could not be less than twelve hundred Indians in arms against us, and later information proves that number stated too low.

My situation was distressing. I could look on this act of the Creeks and Cherokees in no other light than as positive a declaration of war as ever was or can be denounced by one nation against another, because it was the act of so great a proportion of these tribes, not the act of what the chiefs are apt to call a few bad young men, but headed also by the most distinguished of their warriors. Should I forbear to yield protection to the inhabitants, such conduct would be charged both with want of duty and humanity, and criminal in a great degree. Notwithstanding Beard's act cannot be justified, it may be palliated in a great degree, from his having actually followed the trace of Gilham's murderers, as now appears; and had it not this palliation, could I look on and see the whole of the inhabitants sacrificed! innocent men, women, and children? Ought I not to have made use of the power understood to be lodged with me by the constitution, in the latter part of 10th section, 1st article, where each individual State is restricted from engaging in war, unless actually *invaded*, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay?

I hesitated not, but ordered General Sevier, with what troops could be hastily assembled, to repel and pursue these invaders; and in so doing, I then believed I consulted the true interest of the United States. The consequences have confirmed the fact that my opinion was well founded.

The service which those troops performed was of that importance that it laid the ground work of our present tranquillity, which otherwise could not have been effected.

Yet, I learn the General and his men have not been paid. This, to my mind, carries a tacit censure of my conduct.

If no act of Congress exists, embracing the case, permit me to suggest the propriety of laying the matter before that body, to obtain their sense thereof.

I am, Sir, &c.

DANIEL SMITH.

TIMOTHY PICKERING, Esq. *Secretary of War.*

4th CONGRESS.]

No. 72.

[2d SESSION.]

### THE CREEKS AND SEVEN NATIONS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 4, 1797.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

I lay before you, for your consideration, a treaty which has been negotiated and concluded on, the twenty-ninth day of June last, by Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, and George Clymer, commissioners on behalf of the United States, with the Creek Indians, together with the instructions\* which were given to the said commissioners, and the proceedings at the place of treaty.

I submit, also, the proceedings and result of the treaty held at the city of New York, on behalf of the State of New York, with certain nations or tribes of Indians, denominating themselves the Seven Nations of Canada.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, January 4th, 1797.

*A treaty of peace and friendship, made and concluded between the President of the United States of America, on the one part, and behalf of the said States, and the undersigned kings, chiefs, and warriors, of the Creek nation of Indians, on the part of the said nation.*

The parties being desirous of establishing permanent peace and friendship between the United States and the said Creek nation, and the citizens and members thereof, and to remove the causes of war, by ascertaining their limits, and making other necessary, just, and friendly arrangements, the President of the United States, by Benjamin Hawkins, George Clymer, and Andrew Pickens, commissioners, whom he hath constituted with powers for these purposes, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and the Creek nation of Indians, by the undersigned kings, chiefs, and warriors, representing the whole Creek nation, have agreed to the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. The treaty entered into at New York, between the parties, on the 7th day of August, 1790, is, and shall remain, obligatory on the contracting parties, according to the terms of it, except as herein provided for.

ARTICLE 2. The boundary line from the Currahee mountain to the head or source of the main south branch of the Oconee river, called by the white people Apalachy, and by the Indians, Tulapocka, and down the middle of the same, shall be clearly ascertained and marked, at such time, and in such manner, as the President shall direct. And the Indians will, on being informed of the determination of the President, send as many of their old chiefs as he may require, to see the line ascertained and marked.

\* The instructions are not on file.

ARTICLE 3. The President of the United States of America shall have full powers, whenever he may deem it advisable, to establish a trading or military post on the south side of the Altamaha, on the bluff about one mile above Beard's bluff, or any where from thence, down the said river, on the lands of the Indians, to garrison the same with any part of the military force of the United States, to protect the post, and to prevent the violation of any of the provisions or regulations subsisting between the parties. And the Indians do hereby annex to the post aforesaid, a tract of land of five miles square, bordering, one side on the river, which post, and the lands annexed thereto, are hereby ceded to, and shall be to the use, and under the government of, the United States of America.

ARTICLE 4. As soon as the President of the United States has determined on the time and manner of running the line from the Currahee mountain to the head or source of the main south branch of the Oconee, and notified the chiefs of the Creek land of the same, a suitable number of persons, on their part, shall attend to see the same completed. And if the President should deem it proper, then to fix on any place or places adjoining the river, and on the Indian lands, for military or trading posts, the Creeks who attend there will concur in fixing the same, according to the wishes of the President. And to each post, the Indians shall annex a tract of land, of five miles square, bordering, one side on the river. And the said lands shall be to the use, and under the government, of the United States of America. *Provided, always,* That, whenever any of the trading or military posts mentioned in this treaty, shall, in the opinion of the President of the United States of America, be no longer necessary, for the purposes intended by this cession, the same shall revert to, and become a part of, the Indian lands.

ARTICLE 5. Whenever the President of the United States of America and the King of Spain may deem it advisable to mark the boundaries which separate their territories, the President shall give notice thereof to the Creek chiefs, who will furnish two principal chiefs and twenty hunters, to accompany the persons employed in this business, as hunters and guides, from the Choctaw country to the head of St. Mary's. The chiefs shall receive, each, half a dollar per day, and the hunters one quarter of a dollar each, per day, and ammunition, and a reasonable value for the meat delivered by them for the use of the persons on this service.

ARTICLE 6. The treaties of Hopewell, between the United States and the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and at Holston, between the Cherokees and the United States, mark the boundaries of those tribes of Indians. And the Creek nation do hereby relinquish all claims to any part of the territory inhabited or claimed by the citizens of the United States, in conformity with the said treaties.

ARTICLE 7. The Creek nation shall deliver, as soon as practicable, to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, at such place as he may direct, all citizens of the United States, white inhabitants and negroes, who are now prisoners in any part of the said nation, agreeable to the treaty at New York; and also, all citizens, white inhabitants, negroes, and property, taken since the signing of that treaty. And if any such prisoners, negroes, or property, should not be delivered on or before the first day of January next, the Governor of Georgia may empower three persons to repair to the said nation, in order to claim and receive such prisoners, negroes, and property, under the direction of the President of the United States.

ARTICLE 8. In consideration of the friendly disposition of the Creek nation towards the Government of the United States, evidenced in the stipulations in the present treaty, and particularly the leaving it in the discretion of the President to establish trading or military posts on their lands: the commissioners of the United States, on behalf of the said States, give to the said nation, goods, to the value of six thousand dollars, and stipulate to send to the Indian nation, two blacksmiths, with strikers, to be employed for the Upper and Lower Creeks, with the necessary tools.

ARTICLE 9. All animosities, for past grievances, shall henceforth cease, and the contracting parties will carry the foregoing treaty into full execution, with all good faith and sincerity: *Provided, nevertheless,* That persons now under arrest in the State of Georgia, for a violation of the treaty at New York, are not to be included in this amnesty, but are to abide the decision of law.

ARTICLE 10. This treaty shall take effect, and be obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall have been ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Done at Coleraine, the twenty-ninth of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS,  
GEORGE CLYMER,  
ANDREW PICKENS.  
TUSTINCKE HAJO,  
*And by a number of others.*

Witness,

J. SEAGROVE, *Superintendent Indian Affairs, C. N. et al.*

COLERAINE, 12th May, 1776.

Benjamin Hawkins, one of the commissioners for holding a treaty with the Creek nation of Indians, arrived; he came by land from Savannah.

13th. Captain Eaton, the Captain commanding, being unable to give the requisite information relative to the supplies and preparations for the intended treaty; the assistants to the contractor, and the superintendent, being equally misinformed, a letter was written and sent to Mr. Seagrove, at the town of St. Mary's, to inform him of the arrival of one of the commissioners.

COLERAINE, 13th May, 1796.

SIR:

I arrived here last evening from Savannah. I left that place on Monday. I had heard of the arrival of Mr. Clymer, at Charleston, but had not heard any thing of General Pickens. The commissioners of Georgia expected to set out from Savannah to-morrow, and to be here by the 20th. They will come by water. I wish you would furnish me with a copy of the law for regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, the treaty of New York with the Creeks, and your subsequent agreement with them. I hope for the pleasure of seeing you shortly.

B. HAWKINS.

JAMES SEAGROVE, *Superintendent of Indian Affairs.*

Mr. Price, the factor, informed the commissioners, that the sloop William, Captain Simkins, had arrived at St. Mary's, from Philadelphia, with stores for the commissioners of the United States; that Mr. Clymer had sailed in the vessel, and put into Charleston; that he had determined to come from thence by land; that the vessel or stores was addressed to the commissioners; in their absence, to him; and that she might be expected to arrive at this port in a day or two. Mr. Price was requested to take charge of the stores, to receipt for them, and to hold them till the further order of the commissioners.

14th. Received information, the first since the departure of the superintendent's messenger, that some Indians were on the way from the nation, and may be expected to arrive in a day or two. I accompanied the officers to view the state of the garrison; every one industriously employed. Finding that the accommodations for the commissioners were not in train of execution, owing to the want of some person whose immediate duty it was to superintend them, I requested Captain Eaton to use his endeavors to aid in the preparations, which he obligingly promised to do. The officers of the garrison all immediately offered their aid, also, and very politely made a tender of their furniture, apartments, &c.

15th. Mr. Seagrove and Colonel Gaither arrived from St. Mary's. The Colonel visited me, gave assurances of his disposition to do every thing in his power to have the necessary accommodations prepared for the commissioners and Indians, and his readiness to execute any regulations that might be deemed advisable on the occasion. Mr. Sea-



grove informed me, that his messenger had not returned from the nation, but that he momentarily expected him. That he received the letters from the War Office, to invite the Indians, only on the 6th of April; and that it was probable the Indians, if they came at all, would not be here till the 1st or 10th of June. Upon inquiry he further informed, that he had despatched a single messenger, only, to the nation, and that he had not, as yet, any accounts of his arrival. That, on the 9th of April, he sent the letters he received from the War Office, to the Governor of the State, to notify him of the intended treaty.

16th. The Indians which I had heard of being on their way, arrived, and informed us, that the messenger had arrived in their nation, with the invitation from the War Office, to attend the proposed treaty, and that it was probable the Indians would be down by the 1st of June. There were about twenty, mostly connected with traders, and they brought with them seventy or eighty cattle, for sale. I inquired, particularly, of them, how their nation received the invitation, and what, for a representation, we might expect would attend; they gave but an imperfect account; they said there were bad talks in the nation circulated, mostly by agents of Spain, sent from Panton. The purport of them were, that they would meet the Georgians here, in arms, who wanted their lands, and would find means to get them by fair or foul means.

They appear, upon the whole, to be much in want of information. I recommended to Mr. Seagrove to send another messenger, to meet those who might be on the path, to inform them of my being here; and also, to direct that people might be sent back to the nation, with the requisite information.

There being no prospect of seeing any Indians in the course of five or six days, and having paid all the attention I could, to the several objects that required it of me here, I determined to go down the river to St. Mary's, with Mr. Seagrove. I leave this at five o'clock in the afternoon, with Mr. Seagrove and Captain Atkinson, a gentleman in the service of Spain, and now a resident near Amelia Island; he came to St. Mary's, and being informed of my being here, an old acquaintance of his, he came to visit me. He informed me that the Governor of East Florida, Colonel White, was daily expected to arrive; that they had not as yet received any information from their court, relative to the treaty with the United States; that the copy sent to them by Mr. Seagrove, had been forwarded to the Havana; that the merchants there were much dissatisfied with the privileges allowed, in the navigation of the Mississippi, to the citizens of the United States; that the establishment at New Orleans, or even the equivalent, would deprive them of an enormously valuable trade, which they had calculated upon engrossing.

TOWN OF ST. MARY'S, 17th.

Arrived this morning, at ten o'clock, at the town of St. Mary's, being sixty miles by water, and only thirty by land. The river St. Mary's is narrow, rarely more than eighty yards wide, very crooked, but deep, generally twenty-five feet water the whole course from Coleraine; the bottom a limestone rock, the sides perpendicular, to which vessels can any where lie close to the banks; the flat swamp has every where a natural or artificial mound or dyke, to hinder the tide from inundating it; the river is very little increased by any rain, even in what is called the rainy season, and never so as to overflow its banks. The river being so crooked and narrow, vessels must tide it up and down, their sails being seldom of any use.

18th and 19th. Amused myself these days in visiting the garrison at this place, under the command of Lieutenant Cobb, and the fort at Point Peter. The post arriving with the northern mail, I availed myself of this conveyance to write to the Secretary of War.

TOWN OF ST. MARY'S, 19th May, 1796.

SIR:

I acknowledged the receipt of your favor of the 14th ultimo, from Savannah, on the 10th of this month. I would, by this conveyance, send a duplicate, but I left my servant there with my baggage, to be sent round by water, and he has not yet arrived. I left Savannah on the 10th, and travelled through the country to Coleraine, where I arrived on the 12th.

Mr. Seagrove, has not as yet had any return from the Creeks, in answer to the invitation sent to them. There arrived at Coleraine on the 16th, twenty or thirty Indians, with some cattle; they informed us of the arrival of his messenger in the nation, and that it was probable the Indians would be down by the first of June.

The officers have made great exertions to erect the necessary fortifications and houses for barracks, and the other accommodations, at Coleraine; a regular return of which, I presume, you will receive from Colonel Gaither.

I have not heard any thing from Mr. Clymer, General Pickens, or the Georgia commissioners. I came to this place on the 17th, and shall return to-morrow. Mr. Seagrove is here; and the contractor, Mr. Johnson, is at Savannah; he is daily expected. I shall, immediately on his return, make such arrangements as the existing state of things may require. If there should be a necessity for it, before the arrival of the other commissioners, I shall look for, and appoint, the most suitable person I can find, to receive the provisions from the contractor, and issue them to the Indians; and I shall furnish him with the forms you have enclosed, for his government, and enjoin a compliance therewith.

The vessel sent round with necessaries for the commissioners, is, by this, arrived at her destined port. The distance of this, by land, is estimated at thirty, and by water at sixty miles; the river narrow and crooked, very little wind, and that unfavorable, so that she has been only able to tide it up. Mr. Price had received his orders relative to her, before I left there.

I request the favor of you to assure the President of my sincere wishes for his happiness, and to believe me, with sincere regard.

Your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

The Honorable JAMES McHENRY, *Secretary of War.*

I was this day informed that Mr. Clymer was at Savannah lately, and might be daily expected to arrive here.

21st. Mr. Moore, the messenger, sent with the invitation to the Creeks to attend the proposed treaty at Coleraine, arrived. He speaks rather doubtfully of the coming of the Creeks; yet seems to insinuate only, in my estimation, that we shall have a full meeting by the 10th of June. I asked him several questions; he answered readily, the result of which was, that sufficient pains had not been taken to induce the Indians to attend the invitation from the War Office. A solitary messenger, sent with the invitation to the agents in the nation, not pressed to promulgate it, were the means used to ensure a full representation. I requested Mr. Seagrove to give the earliest notice to the Governor, of the determination of some, or all, of the chiefs, to attend the invitation. He immediately ordered the messenger to return to Coleraine, with a request to Colonel Gaither to despatch a messenger to the Governor, with the letter he wrote for the occasion.

22d. I had intended; this day, to return to Coleraine, but being informed, on the 20th, that Mr. Clymer might be momentarily expected, I determined to wait for him. He arrived last evening, and being much fatigued, I determined to wait for him a day or so, as the object of our mission could not receive any injury by the delay.

The mail from this to Savannah being carried but once a fortnight, I, for various considerations, yesterday determined, and so wrote, to the contractor, requesting him, if he could conveniently, and at a reasonable price, cause the mail to be carried from Coleraine to Savannah once a week, that I, though not expressly authorized, would give him a draught on the proper office. The mail coming from Savannah passes within three miles of Coleraine, and it would be quite as convenient to the rider to pass within one mile.

An opportunity offering, I wrote this day to the Secretary of War:

TOWN OF ST. MARY'S, 22d May, 1796.

SIR:

Being informed, on the 20th, that Mr. Clymer might be expected to arrive in a day or two, at furthest, from Savannah, I determined to wait for him, and the Georgia commissioners. He arrived late last evening. He saw two

of the commissioners, but does not know when we may expect them to arrive at Coleraine. Mr. Seagrove has informed you of the return of his messenger from the Creeks: by him I find, that it is at least probable that we shall not have a full meeting of the Creeks till the tenth of June.

The mail being carried from this to Savannah once a fortnight, and as it may be important that you should be advised weekly of the transactions of the commissioners, during our negotiations with the Indians, and necessary that a correspondence should be kept up with the Governor of this State, as well as with some of the officers of Government at Savannah, I have taken upon myself to write to the contractor for carrying the mail, to cause it to be carried once a week, during the continuance of the negotiation *only*, if he could conveniently do it, and at a reasonable price. If he cannot, we shall avail ourselves of another resource, as often as a fit occasion shall offer. We shall set out for Coleraine to-morrow.

I am, with sincere regard and esteem, sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

JAMES MCHENRY, Esq. *Secretary of War.*

Mr. Clymer being much fatigued with his inland passage, and there being no immediate call for us at Coleraine, we determined on going for that place on the 24th.

COLERAINE, 25th May.

We, yesterday, set out from the town of St. Mary's, and arrived here this morning. We, this day, informed Col. Gaither, that, being empowered to appoint a suitable person to receive from the contractor the provisions, and to issue them to the Indians, they would, in conformity with an intimation from the Secretary of War, give a preference to an officer under his command, recommended by him. The Colonel recommended Ensign Samuel Allinson, who was appointed accordingly. Mr. Allinson attended on the commissioners, and was informed, that a commission would be made out for him in a day or two; in the mean time he would examine the forms which were sent for his government.

26th. The commissioners, after mature consideration, deemed it advisable to make the following regulations:

COLERAINE, ON ST. MARY'S, 26th May, 1796.

The commissioners for holding a treaty with the Creek nation of Indians, in order to prevent quarrels, improper behavior, or mal-practices, during the negotiation, have judged proper, in virtue of the powers and authorities vested in them, to make the following regulations:

1. The Indians are to encamp on the river bank, above the garrison, convenient to the spring and the river.
2. The superintendent is to fix his residence within the Indian encampment.
3. No citizen of the United States is to be permitted to encamp with, or near to, the Indians, except such as are under the direction of the superintendent.
4. No citizen is to be permitted to enter the Indian camp in arms.
5. No citizen is to visit the Indians, or hold conversation with them, except with a permit from the commissioners of the United States, or either of them.
6. No citizen is to be in arms in the garrison, or neighborhood of it; and, on the arrival of any visitors, who may travel with arms, they are to be informed of this order, and required to conform thereto.
7. No citizen is to be permitted to furnish, by sale or gift, any spirituous liquors to the Indians, or to have any commercial traffic with them.
8. These regulations are to be posted up at the two gates of the garrison, and at the residence of the superintendent.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS,  
GEORGE CLYMER.

The foregoing regulations were sent to Colonel Gaither with this note:

COLERAINE, ST. MARY'S, 26th May, 1796.

SIR:

I enclose to you the regulations, which the commissioners for holding a treaty with the Creek nation of Indians have judged proper to make, in virtue of the powers and authorities vested in them, in order to prevent quarrels, improper behavior, or mal-practices, during the negotiation. The commissioners request that you will take the necessary measures to cause the same to be observed.

I am, with sincere regard, sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

HENRY GAITHER, *Lt. Col. Commandant.*

The Colonel returns this answer:

FORT PICKERING, 26th May, 1796.

GENTLEMEN:

I have, with pleasure, received your regulations for my government, and that of the citizens who may think proper to attend the intended treaty at this place. Believe me, gentlemen, the line you have drawn, I will, as far as in my power, have strictly observed by all ranks of citizens, and the soldiers under my command; and shall be happy in receiving any other regulations that respect the business you have embarked in, should it be found necessary to offer them.

HENRY GAITHER, *Lt. Col. Commandant.*

*The Hon. Commissioners of the United States.*

The commissioners finding that, from the manner of appointing a contractor for supplying the Indians, or some other cause, the superintendent of Indian affairs did not deem it his duty, expressly, to provide accommodations for them, and that it would be several days before those intended by the commandant, would be in readiness, they requested Colonel Gaither to have the tents, sent round from the War Office, pitched; and they requested the superintendent to give the necessary directions to an assistant of the contractor's, to furnish such articles and supplies, as were necessary for their use.

FRIDAY, 27th May.

A commission was made out, and delivered, with the papers referred to therein, to the agent for receiving and issuing the supplies, and it was directed that it should bear date with the appointment. It is as follows:

FORT PICKERING, 25th May, 1796.

SIR:

The Secretary of the Treasury having directed a contract to be made for supplying the Indians, at the intended treaty, with provisions, the undersigned commissioners for holding a treaty with the Creek nation of Indians do hereby, in virtue of the powers vested in them, for that purpose appoint you agent for receiving and issuing articles and supplies to Indians, under the direction of James Seagrove, superintendent. You are to give receipts to the contractor for all the articles you receive from him, to serve as vouchers in the settlement of his accounts, and you are enjoined to comply with the forms herewith delivered you, in order that your accounts may exhibit a perfect view of the supplies received and issued by you.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS,  
GEORGE CLYMER.

Lieut. SAMUEL ALLINSON.

The agent informed the commissioners, that he had reflected on the appointment offered him; that he accepted the trust, expecting it to be difficult, and that it would afford him much employment and active exertions, which he did not dislike. But, as it was new to him, he should rely on them and the superintendent for their advice; and that, in case it should be found necessary to have one or more assistants, he expected the commissioners would permit him to appoint one or more, as they might judge proper. To this they assented, and directed that he should be supplied with stationary from their stores.

SATURDAY, 28th May.

The schooner William, which brought round the stores for the commissioners, &c., fell down with the tide this day, to sail for Philadelphia.

We received information that the Big Warrior and Mr. Cornell, with about two hundred Indians, would be within eight or ten miles of us this evening, there to remain for a day or two, to rest themselves. Provisions and necessaries were sent out for their support.

MONDAY, 30th May.

General Pickens and the commissioners of Georgia, arrived. We wrote to the Secretary of War, and sent our letter to the town of St. Mary's, to be delivered to Captain Simkins.

COLERAIN, the 30th of May, 1796.

SIR:

General Pickens and the commissioners of Georgia arrived here this morning, from Savannah, by water. The General did not receive the communications from the War Office till the 2d of May. We expect the arrival of a considerable number of the Indians in the course of this week. There are about two hundred in our neighborhood, who are now fed from the stores provided for the treaty at this place. We have appointed, under the recommendation of Colonel Gaither, Ensign Samuel Allinson, agent for receiving and issuing the supplies to the Indians. We have given him the forms sent on for his government, and enjoined his compliance therewith. We did, on the 26th, establish regulations for the preservation of order during the negotiation. There is not at present any thing to be apprehended, in this quarter, as likely to disturb the desired harmony at the treaty.

Some of the Spanish agents, as we are informed, have prevailed on some influential chiefs to go to Pensacola, and not to attend the invitation sent them to attend here. This, in the present state of things, was to be expected. We do not yet know how far this influence will extend, but we hope not so far as materially to affect the negotiation. We shall explain the treaty with Spain to the Indians, as soon as it shall have been ratified on their part, and the Governors enjoined to observe it. The like, in future, will be prevented.

We have the honor to be, with sincere regard, sir, your obedient servants,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS,  
GEORGE CLYMER,  
ANDREW PICKENS.

The Hon. JAMES McHENRY, *Secretary of War.*

The commissioners of Georgia visited us; we requested them to dine in our hut; informed them of the accommodations in our power to offer them; and requested that they would accept of one-half of the tents pitched for the commissioners. They made no reply, but asked for pen, ink, and paper, and at our table wrote this note, which they delivered themselves:

COLERAIN, May 30th, 1796.

GENTLEMEN:

Being on the ground appointed for the expected treaty, we have to request that your opinion be given on the following points:

We have brought with us a guard for the articles thought necessary on the part of the State. We also expect several of our fellow-citizens, who have claims, from various parts of the State. Are we to be considered as having the power of drawing rations for them, daily, as well those now here, as those who may hereafter arrive, we ourselves signing the returns? Or, what mode will be necessary for their supply?

We are, gentlemen, your most obedient servants,

JAMES HENDRICKS,

Chairman of the Board of Commissioners on the part of the State of Georgia.

*Honorable Commissioners of the United States.*

The commissioners of the United States were surprised to have an application of this nature made to them, as the gentlemen from Georgia must have been informed of their regulations, as well as of the letters to their Governor from the War Office, of the last and present year. One of us had been informed, on the 4th of May, that an attempt would be made, under some pretext, to introduce some militia in arms. But it was not supposed, after their regulations were published, that any attempt would be made, or, if made, persisted in. They, after consultation, returned this answer:

COLERAIN, 30th May, 1796.

GENTLEMEN:

We have to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of this day. The Secretary of War, in his letter of the — of February, informed the Governor of the State of Georgia, that the troops at this place are in sufficient number to protect and give respectability to the negotiation; and Colonel Gaither received orders to make, from time to time, such disposition of them as may tend to preserve order and tranquillity. We are in opinion with the war officer, as to the competency of the protection; and we doubt not, on viewing the state of things here, but that it will be yours, and that it will be a satisfaction to you to find that the gentlemen of the guard may be dismissed with safety to the object of their coming. In the meantime, Colonel Gaither will give directions for their accommodation. As to the other citizens of the description in your letter, it will be our care to provide for, without making any special arrangement for it. We have had sent round to us, from the War Office, some tents, for the accommodation of the commissioners. We requested Colonel Gaither to have them raised, and to set apart the half of them for you.

We are, with much esteem, &c.

B. HAWKINS,  
G. CLYMER,  
A. PICKENS.

*The honorable Commissioners of Georgia.*

Colonel Gaither, just after we had written this letter, delivered us one he had received from General Jackson. He requested our opinion on it. We referred him to the regulations of the 26th, as his guide. But, that he might be in possession of more light than he could, at first view, gather from the regulations, we shewed him the correspondence between the commissioners and us; and we assured him that the instructions to us were the result of much deliberation; that our regulations were strictly in conformity, and we could not consent to any deviation from them; that they were general, and intended to apply to every visiter, whatever his rank might be. We asked leave of the colonel to take a copy of the letter, which he granted, and it is as follows:

COLERAIN, *May 30, 1796.*

Sir:

In consequence of an order from the Governor of this State, I have furnished the State commissioners, appointed to attend the treaty, with a militia guard, barely sufficient to answer the purpose of protecting the articles belonging to the State from robbery. They are orderly men, and form a respectable corps. I have no wish to interfere, or to permit the men to interfere, with the discipline of your garrison. The commissioners, I am certain, are of my opinion.

We wish to learn where we shall least incommode you, so as to be near our vessel, which we are compelled to make a store house of.

I have taken the liberty to trouble you, because I have been informed that a disagreeable and untrue report has been spread, respecting the occasion of the guard's being brought here; and the few men we have are anxious, having been so long cooped up in a small vessel, to get on shore.

I am, sir, with respect, your obedient servant,

JAMES JACKSON.

Lieutenant Colonel GAITHER.

Mr. Seagrove was pointing out a small spot above your garrison. The State commissioners have seen this, and approve it. They request me to add, that, not thinking themselves authorized to call on you for a guard, and finding the goods at their risk, they were constrained to apply to the Governor for one.

31st *May*. This day, in the afternoon, we received the following letter from the commissioners of Georgia:

COLERAIN, *May 31st, 1796.*

GENTLEMEN:

We have been favored with your letter of yesterday, respecting the guard we have for the protection of the articles thought necessary to be procured for the treaty, and respecting the citizens of the State who may have claims for property taken by the Indians, and attend here for the purpose of making them.

As to the former, we are highly obliged to Colonel Gaither, for his offered protection of the State goods, by the Federal troops, but having to wait the event of the treaty, for the disposal of them, and needing assistance on our return, should the desired object fail, we cannot dismiss them. Colonel Gaither, in case that should happen, would not feel himself warranted in furnishing us with a guard, to accompany us from this place; and we should not feel ourselves discharged from responsibility for the goods, until they were deposited in Savannah, under the order of the Executive of the State, by whose command the guard was furnished for their protection. The commissioners had not, nor had the State, a right, to call on Colonel Gaither for a guard; and, if so, the state of his garrison could not have been known; incidents might arise to prevent one from being furnished; sickness, for instance, as we are informed was lately the case. To give respectability to the negotiation, as you suppose, from the observation in your letter, was not the object our few men were brought for. If the State had ordered four or five hundred men to attend the treaty, jealousies might justly have arisen; but surely fifteen or twenty men ought not to create difficulty, either with respect to numbers, or supplies. In some cases, and on some occasions, however, militia corps have been called on, as this very company (part of which we have with us,) was called on last year, with the only volunteer Corps of Savannah, to attend the meeting of the superintendent and Indians, at Baird's bluff, and Savannah. We have every wish to accommodate and harmonize; but a discharge of the guard, under the circumstances we have pointed out, we cannot submit to. We do not wish them to interfere with Colonel Gaither's garrison, nor do we consider them within the purview of his command, or needing his supply; but under the rule of citizens, attending us, as commissioners, for the protection of public property, belonging to the State of Georgia, thought necessary to accomplish the wishes of the State, at the intended treaty. We do not know what private arrangements you may have made, or what private instructions you may have received, respecting the provisions for the treaty, and the accommodation of citizens attending it; but the President's message to the Senate of the United States, and his letter to the Governor of Georgia respecting it, both declare that one half the expense shall be borne by the State of Georgia. If this be the case, assuredly the commissioners of the State ought to have equal latitude, as to drawing for any citizens attending with their claims, and so we construe the President's letter of the 20th February, that the number of citizens attending shall be regulated by the commissioners. We are commissioners, and the commissioners to whom those claims ought to be rendered, and whose province it is, we conceive, to require a discharge of them. We cannot forbear adverting to the orders, signed by Messrs. Hawkins and Clymer, and stuck at the gates of the garrison yesterday, which we conceive exceptionable in many respects, and highly derogatory to the dignity of the State we represent. We, who came here to treat with the Creek nation of Indians, for a cession of land, are not to be permitted to speak with an Indian, without the ticket or permit of one of the commissioners of the United States, or to enter the Indian camp, although the ground they encamp on, and the ground the treaty is to be held on, is within the limits, and under the actual jurisdiction of the State of Georgia. Our fellow-citizens from the westward are not to come into the vicinity of the garrison with arms, although their arms are necessary to protect them hither, to lay in their claims; and how far this neighborhood extends, is undefined. We know of no power on earth, competent to hinder a citizen of Georgia, observing the laws of his country, from exercising the locomotive faculty, within the limits of the State, in the most liberal extent. By the same rule, our citizens can be deprived from using this most valuable privilege in the neighborhood of Coleraine; or from using or keeping arms, they may be debarred these privileges, acknowledged by the constitution, within the limits of a county, and how far it might be carried, we leave to yourselves to determine.

We even consider ourselves to have been in a degree insulted, and consequently the State which we belong to. A sentinel has been placed on the bank of the river, and his orders we are not unacquainted with; they are not to prevent armed men from any vessel, but armed men from our schooner, naming the *Fair Play*, from landing in the garrison; whilst we have observed persons, who we suppose not in the army, within the limits of the garrison, with fire arms in their hands. We learned at St. Mary's, that we were to meet this treatment, but we could not believe it. We again assure you that we wish to accommodate and harmonize, all that lays in our power, without committing the dignity of the State. The object we have in view, is a great one; but, great as it is, we conceive it to be as much the interest of the United States to accomplish it, as it is the interest of the people and State of Georgia.

We are, gentlemen, your most obedient servants,

JAMES HENDRICKS,

Chairman of the Board of Commissioners, appointed by the State of Georgia, for attending a treaty with the Creek Indians.

*The honorable the commissioners of the United States, Coleraine.*

Notwithstanding the extravagant and absurd contents of this letter, and the little regard paid therein to truth, we determined to give it a decent reply.

The sentinel, on the banks of the river, had been placed there as early as the establishing the post, and not as intimated in their letter; and no such orders as those mentioned, had been given him; the orders were general. The guard was really intended by one of the commissioners, at least, for show, and to put them, in some sort, as they have been known to express themselves, on a footing with the commissioners of the United States, to prop the vanity and consequence of self-created pride, at the expense of insulting the authority of the United States.

June 1st.—The reply:

COLERAINE, 1st June, 1796.

GENTLEMEN:

Your favor, of yesterday, was put into our hands in time to be answered on that day, but we have to regret that our constant interruptions have not permitted us to give it a due consideration until this morning; but we now hope to obviate the objections you have made to some of our proceedings, in the commission, since we came to this post.

They respect the regulations we have thought it our duty to establish, in reference to the expected negotiations with the Indians, which, it seems, disagreeably affects you in two points: the guard brought round from Savannah with the stores for the treaty, and the citizens of Georgia who may attend it. But we would previously remark, that these were made on the 26th of May, and before your arrival; that they were then committed to the commanding officer, to be by him carried into execution, and not thrown into your face for the first time, by us, but two days ago.

The guard is authorized by the Governor of Georgia; but, however competent his authority to order them here, it must be superseded on this ground: militia, when put into service, are subject to the articles of war; and in the presence of the commander of a military post, liable to his orders exclusively. If circumstances have made it necessary to deny admittance to this body, it is fortunate that it is not necessary to retain them: Colonel Gaither feeling himself warranted to supply a guard to the stores, under the care of the militia, not only here, but even back to Savannah, if, by any failure in your negotiation with the Indians, it should be necessary to return them. Equal protection will, in either case, be afforded to the property, and your responsibility not the greater by the change.

The smallness of number seeming to strike you as a circumstance favorable, in this case, to a dispensation from the rule, it is sufficient for us, that, the rule being made in exact conformity to instruction, we cannot think ourselves, from any such consideration, at liberty to dispense with it. It is not our part to defend the instruction, but we can conceive it has been suggested by the experience of the past. It conforms, also, to our own sense of right, and though, in this instance, it has not an extensive operation, it is not the less useful as a principle, and as a precedent.

You will permit us, indeed, to express our surprise, that you should not, yourselves, have discovered a special interest in the observance of some such rule, considering its tendency to obviate some of the difficulties lying in the way of your own object. You are aware of the jealousies of the Creeks in all things relating to your State. Alarms have gone forth that they were to encounter the Georgia militia at the intended treaty, and with some effect, too, in lessening the otherwise very numerous representation that might have been expected at it.

Finding this, and in order to quiet all apprehension on that score, we have communicated the regulations to some of the chiefs assembled, and from the satisfaction it has apparently given, we have reason to hope good effects from it.

In this view of the matter, we cannot admit that the honor of the State has been in any wise derogated from, in our rule; but, if it must be so, in the eyes of the State, it is doubtless owing to the circumstances which it has itself produced. Neither is it wounded through the persons of its citizens individually, who may come armed to attend the treaty: for no compliance of the rule can be demanded of them, but at the moment when their arms shall have become unnecessary to them for their protection. Some citizens you have perceived with arms, within the area of the fort. We know of none; if it is so, our regulation has not been sufficiently regarded.

With regard to subsistence for attending citizens of the State, you seem to think it should be under your orders; we do not well perceive how this can be. On recurring to your own papers, you will find that it is only a portion of the expense your State is to bear, of supplying the Indians, and consequently not any part of those of the household, as it may be termed, of the commissioners of the United States; in which, that for the entertaining of those gentlemen, we conceive, is included. This results also from another consideration, that your powers are pointed at, and limited to a single article, whilst ours are various as the objects of the treaty, and equal to all the circumstances arising out of it. And we wish you to recur to the several communications made, in the last and present year, to your State. These contain the essential part of your instructions, and will shew the relative situations of the two commissioners. These communications, from the absolute conditions of your appointment and mission, we doubt not, but that you are possessed of them. To have put them into your hands, must have been a virtual acquiescence on the part of your government, in the terms they prescribe; unless you have been instructed to neglect them, in which case you must allow us to question the foundation on which your commission stands.

We must request you will excuse the freedom observable in some parts of our reply, but, above all, that, if we have differed from you in some circumstances, it is with you only as commissioners; retaining for you all possible personal respect.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.  
GEORGE CLYMER.  
AND W PICKENS.

*The Hon. Commissioners of Georgia.*

June 2.—We hoped that our reply would have induced the gentlemen to acquiesce, and that an end would be put to the controversy; but we soon discovered that two of the gentlemen determined to evade the regulations, if possible, and, by some means or other, to land the militia. Colonel James Hendricks informed us, he was well satisfied with the answer we had given, and had so said to his colleagues; but that they were determined to send us another letter. He expressed himself well satisfied with the whole conduct of the commissioners of the United States, and, particularly, when they assured him that they had the means, were well disposed, and instructed to further the accomplishment of their mission.

We received from them this letter:

COLERAINE, June 2d, 1796.

GENTLEMEN:

Your favor of yesterday has been attended to by us, with that respect that is due to the commissioners of the United States, and, although we differ from you essentially in some respects, which we shall notice. A desire of harmony between the delegations, in order to obtain, if possible, the grand object we have in view, will induce us to accommodate our personal feelings to existing circumstances, where the dignity of the State will permit it. For this purpose, we shall have no objection, if agreeable to you, to a conference on the subjects of our disagreements.

We must, however, observe, on the two principal points; and first, as to the militia guard ordered by our Executive for the protection of our stores, that, admitting all that has been said, yet, a deficiency of protection for our goods must have taken place; Colonel Gaither had no guard for them at Savannah, to have conducted them hither, and it was thought necessary to protect them from the wharf they were taken from. This guard was placed in our hands for that purpose, and our responsibility is become the greater in consequence thereof. To part with this guard, and receive another, would not lessen our responsibility, and would add to our risk, and make us censurable in the eyes of our country. We know the men we have with us, and, however strict the discipline of the garrison, we could not know the disposition or honesty of the guard we might receive, or their inducement for desertion, in case of inclination to behave dishonestly. It would be no excuse for us to say, should a loss happen, that we had changed our guard, even for the better. We should be answered, that the change was a work of our own, and that the loss, consequently, lay with us. One question will place this business in its proper light. Will the commissioners of the United States, or the commanding officer of the garrison, become responsible for the value of the articles with us? We presume not. We have already said, that we do not consider the few men with us, as called into the service of the United States, and coming under the purview of Colonel Gaither's command, and, consequently, liable to the articles of war; but as citizens of the militia of Georgia, ordered by the Executive to protect certain articles, the

property of the State, thought necessary for the accomplishment of the cession of land, desired by her from the Creek nation of Indians, avoiding the question of right, within the territory of the State, in time of peace. We have also informed you, that we do not wish them to enter the garrison in arms.

We here feel ourselves obliged to notice an allusion in your letter, which, we conceive, reflects on the character of the State we have the honor to belong to, and to represent, on the present occasion.

The substance of your observation is, that, if the honor of Georgia has been, in anywise, derogated from by your rule, in the eyes of the State itself, it is owing to the circumstances it has itself produced. This is what we cannot admit: for, whatever individual citizens, or officers, without authority, may have done, is not properly chargeable to the State of Georgia. Harrison's murders have not been sanctioned by the State of Georgia. General Clarke was removed from the Oconee by Georgians, and no excursions from the temporary boundary into the Indian hunting grounds, have been ordered since the federal constitution, by the authority of the State, except the unfortunate attempt of General Twiggs, unless in cases of actual pursuit of murderers or robbers. The case of General Twiggs was after repeated depredations, in different parts of the State. We are led to believe the conduct of the State to be as unexceptionable as that of any State, circumstanced as she has been. We, at the same time, do not pretend to say that irregularities have not been committed.

By whom, or in what manner, the report was carried into the Creek nation, that they were to encounter the Georgia militia at this place, although we are at liberty to guess, we cannot assert. It is sufficient that you must be convinced, and the Creeks ought to be so, that the report is altogether unfounded; although you say, and we can conceive it has been, injurious to the object of our mission, and which we are pleased to view as our mutual wish to accomplish. The few men brought here could not have been the groundwork of a report of that nature in the nation; and the situation of Coleraine, the season of the year, the scarcity of provisions, and the want of accommodation on the roads, would equally operate to prevent the State, if she was so inclined, from ordering, and the militia from effecting a rendezvous at this place; the authors of it can be no friends to the United States or the State of Georgia, and prove the occasion of much trouble and expense to both, should it excite disgust in the Indians to our proposals, and defeat the negotiation.

The manner in which you construe the contingent expense of the treaty, or, what you deem the household of the United States' commissioners, in some measure obviates our exception to the manner of supplying the attending citizens who have claims. We had construed the provisions necessary for the Indians, to have included all contingent expenses; we are more satisfied, therefore, on this point, although we still think that the citizens attending with claims, ought to be considered within our peculiar province, and that we should have the power of providing for them; indeed, it would be no more than just, on your own grounds. You observe that our mission is only as to one point, but, that yours extends to every point, various as all the objects of the treaty, and equal to all the circumstances which can arise out of it. Of course, all but one point must concern the United States only, and not Georgia; and yet Georgia is to stipulate for half the expense. The Cumberland negotiation does not even affect Georgia. The citizens who may attend with their claims, and which is comprehended in our mission, will not balance the expense of the Indians by any distant calculation, the provision for our small citizen guard also included.

Even as to the Indians, we cannot conceive but that the distance we are kept at, from them, by your regulations, is prejudicial to our object. It must be admitted by you, that fixed liberty, to conciliate their affections, is necessary for the completion of our mission; and, surely so much confidence may be placed in the Commissioners of the State, as to suppose that no improper conduct could take place. Whether we are, or are not included in the general regulation, it is so understood, and it is without exception.

We have written thus fully, that a free and liberal understanding may take place. We have every proper respect for the mission you bear, and for yourselves, personally, and we assure you that we have no instructions to neglect any proper conditions or communications.

We are, gentlemen, your obedient servants.

By order of the Commissioners of Georgia:

JAMES HENDRICKS, *Chairman.*

*The Hon. Commissioners of the United States.*

*June 3d, 1796.*

We were pleased to find, that the manner we had deemed the most eligible, in a controversy of this sort, had lessened the warmth manifested in their first reply. We determined to reply in the same strain.

COLERAINE, *June 3d, 1796.*

GENTLEMEN:

We have your favor of this day, respecting those articles of our regulations you before excepted to. Having already explained ourselves, we might reply, in short, that, to recede from them, would be inconsistent with our best judgment, nay, that it would not be within our power, considering ourselves but as the medium through which the sense of the United States is transmitted.

We shall, however, touch upon some of your points, which we think not conclusive in argument against us, or wherein it appears you have mistaken us.

You were to judge of the utility of a guard for the Indian stores hither; we therefore have not controverted it; our objection lies only to its existence within the garrison, or its neighborhood. You say it ought to remain, on account of your responsibility for the articles, and ask us whether, in case the guard is changed, the commissioners of the United States, or the commanding officer, here, will assume your responsibility. They will, we presume, in the sense in which responsibility is properly to be understood. That is, an accountability for the fidelity and care with which the trust is to be discharged, not involving the consequence of making good the amount of eventual loss. Your responsibility, we should suppose, to be of this kind, and no other.

Give us leave, gentlemen, to give the true construction of that passage in our last note to you, wherein you conceive an unlicensed reflection has been cast on the government of Georgia by the words, "*the circumstances it has itself produced*;" nothing was meant, but what was in relation to the guard in question. To have referred to the events you have disclosed, would have been unwarrantable, from the want of sufficient lights, with respect to the conduct of the State, as well as a breach of that decorum we ought constantly to maintain.

Our regulations concerning the manner of your intercourse with the Indians, you feel as not admitting of the freedom necessary to your negotiation with them. We can see no consequent inconvenience or injury. Be this as it may, this act of ours is in literal conformity to order.

It is deemed essential, in the words of our instructions, that, while every opportunity is offered the commissioners to obtain the land by fair negotiation, no conversation is to be permitted with the chiefs, save in your presence.

This is in agreement, too, with the invitation given to the Indians. "The talk (concerning the land) is to be open, fair, and honorable, and in the presence of the beloved men, whom the President will appoint to hold the treaty, and without whose approbation nothing is to be done."

And both these in pursuance of the directions of an act of Congress to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes.

"*Sec. 8. Provided, nevertheless, That it shall be lawful for the agent, or agents, of any State, who shall be present at any treaty held with Indians, under the authority of the United States, in the presence, and with the approbation, of the commissioner or commissioners of the United States, appointed to hold the same, to propose to, and adjust with, the Indians, the compensation to be made for their claims to lands within such State, which shall be extinguished by the treaty.*"

But, you see it is enjoined upon us, within this limitation, to afford you every means for obtaining your end; and, accordingly, you will find us ever ready to attend your calls to the conferences; and, having informed ourselves of the time proper for beginning them, we shall then make immediate communication of it to you.

A conference with us seeming to be desired by you, you will perceive the justness of the distinction we are going to make. Upon points of disagreement, when the parties would wish to preserve the evidences of the principles they have proceeded on, a conference seems the least expedient mode of interchanging sentiments and opinions. Its greatest use is, where measures are to be concerted. In any such case, we shall, with great satisfaction and cheerfulness, attend you.

B. H.  
G. C.  
A. P.

*Honorable Commissioners State of Georgia.*

Colonel Hendricks assured us that he had reluctantly signed the last note to us; that he was well satisfied with the line of conduct we were pursuing, as much good might be expected from it. The Indians would see, that any engagements entered into, under the approbation of the commissioners of the United States, would be safe for them, and would impress a confidence in the conferences which might be necessary to obtain their desired object. He had assured his colleagues that he had signed the letter as chairman only, disapproving of the contents; and that, if they were determined to persist in measures that had an inevitable tendency to thwart the objects of their mission, he gave them notice that he would not sign any such letter, and the last, from the commissioners of the United States, should close the correspondence.

4th. We visited the Indian camp, had several little conferences with them, desired they would give us such information as they could obtain, of the chiefs expected; congratulated them on their arrival, and invited the principal chiefs to dine with us to-morrow. We wrote a letter to the Secretary of War, and sent it to St. Mary's, to Captain Simkins.

5th. This being the day we could open a table for company, we requested the commissioners of Georgia to dine with us. They accepted the invitation, and sent us, with it, the following note:

SCHOONER FAIR PLAY, *June 5th, 1796.*

GENTLEMEN:

Yours of the 3d, was handed to us yesterday; we are sorry that you should have reason to conclude, that we had either mistaken or misconstrued your communications. If this has happened, it has not proceeded from intention or inclination.

Whilst we are made happy at the explanation of that part of your former letter, which we supposed reflected on the State, we cannot admit that the small guard brought with us, could have produced the jealousies of the Creeks, or the alarms which have gone forth in that nation, that they were to encounter the Georgia militia at this place. The order for this guard was not known to the men composing it, until the middle of May, the time appointed by the President, for the meeting of the Indians; and the intelligence of such a guard could barely have reached the Creek nation at this period. We cannot, therefore, conceive that any of the evils pointed out could properly be imputed to this step. You have admitted us, in your last, to be the proper judges of the utility of a guard hither.

We by no means blame you for executing positive instructions, however sensibly we may feel their operation. We shall conclude with a wish that they had been more delicate to the State of Georgia.

Situate as we are, we shall wait the information from you, of the proper time to commence the conference.

We are, with respect, your obedient servants,

JAMES JACKSON,  
JAMES SIMMS.

The letter wrote yesterday, to the Secretary of War, is as follows:

COLERAIN, *4th June, 1796.*

SIR:

We wrote to you the 30th ultimo, by Captain Simkins; he left this port on the 28th, and we sent our letter to meet him at St. Mary's, expecting that he would sail immediately for Philadelphia. We are just informed that he is still at St. Mary's, to sail to-morrow; we shall avail ourselves of an opportunity to that place, to make such further communications as have occurred, and the shortness of the time to convey them to the captain will permit.

The papers, numbered from 1 to —, inclusive, will shew the present state of the correspondence between us, and the commissioners on the part of Georgia, on an extravagant idea entertained by them. It had been intimated to one of us, early in May, that an attempt would be made to have some militia here in arms, under some colourable pretext; a like report had been circulated in the Indian nation, with views hostile to the treaty, and with effect in lessening the representation.

The representation will, we expect, be pretty numerous, and from the most influential towns; and we have reason to believe, that they come with unbounded confidence in the justice of the Federal Government, which it will be our care to preserve.

The negotiation may be expected to open publicly about the 10th.

B. H.  
G. C.  
A. P.

Honorable JAMES McHENRY, *Secretary of War.*

June 6th. We asked Colonel Hendricks, whether the commissioners had come to any opinion on the manner they would wish to live here; why it was not agreeable to them to be at the same table with us, as our accommodations were the best adapted to a liberal intercourse with the chiefs. He said he had refused, as we must have seen, to subscribe their letter as chairman, it being, with the whole of their correspondence, disagreeable to him; in his opinion, not strictly defensible, and likely to produce the reverse of what they aimed at. He said that he had freely spoken with his colleagues, and he had left them, against their wish, on board the schooner; it was uncertain whether they would come on shore at all, but he had, and should remain during the negotiation. We told him, we hoped he saw in us a disposition to accommodate him and his colleagues in every thing they could, consistently with the duty they owed the federal commission, ask of us. He said he was satisfied, and would harmonize with us in every thing. We visited the Indians, and had some conversation with them on the objects of our mission; requested them to inform us, as soon as it could be known, what was the state of their representation. They told us that, in three or four days, they could inform us, and that then they would give us a masquerade dance, and afterwards prepare to meet us with the ceremonies usual among them.

7th and 8th. Nothing material occurred; some Indians arrived each day, and arranged their encampments.

9th. Mr. Clymer, with the superintendent, went to the town of St. Mary's, to return on the 11th. We invited several of the chiefs to dine with us, who came, and brought with them in all about fifty; they apologized for the number, by saying, they were anxious to see and be with the commissioners, who came from their great and beloved friend and father, General Washington. They on this, as on every other occasion, behaved decently. They informed us, that they expected some chiefs to arrive on the 11th, and among others, Chinabee, the great Natchez warrior. That they would on that day have a meeting of all the chiefs, and determine when they would meet the commissioners.

In the evening, some of the chiefs informed us, that there were some mischievous stories in camp, circulated by bad white men, and expressed a desire that such characters should be removed. They were told of the regulations; and if they were evaded, or not sufficient to guard against improper conduct, that others should be added, and



measures taken for the certain execution of them. The Big Warrior requested that he might, on the next morning, have a private conversation with the commissioners, which should be put on their journal, and sent to the President of the United States. He was requested to breakfast with us, and bring his interpreter.

10th. Several chiefs of the Cowetas' attended, and requested a conference; they said that John Galphin had arrived at their camp, and they were desirous he should remain there for a few days, under the protection of the commissioners. That he was a very bad, unprincipled man, had often misbehaved, and been several times pardoned; that they believed him incorrigible. That he had been informed the superintendent forbid his coming, and that he must go away, in which case, he should take some young men with him. They said, John had requested them to make this application, and they hoped we would grant him our protection, as the young men who would go with him, were mischievously inclined, and had some of their friends killed by Harrison, on the frontiers of Georgia; and while they were here, they could have an eye over them. The commissioners replied, that, as the chiefs had requested it, and for the reasons suggested by them, they consented, on the condition expressly, that he should remain at their camp, where he now was, until further orders, and not come near the garrison. That they should examine into his character, with the chiefs of their land, on a fit opportunity. That, whatever might be their final decision, he should be safe here, and return safe with them. They expressed themselves well pleased. The interpreter, Timothy Barnard, was ordered to go immediately to camp, and inform John Galphin of this permission, and the conditions of it. The Big Warrior attended breakfast with us, and afterwards entered on his business; he said his business was to complain of an act injurious and insulting to him, and also to the United States, and was simply this: About three years past, the President sent a message to their land; that the chiefs met, and answered it, and sent his brother and some young lads, with the answer, accompanied by a white man, and with a white flag. That, within a few miles of this post, a party of men met them, and killed his brother, and one or two others; the white man had previously left them, and gone into the fort; he said this act was not like that of the wild and disorderly men on the frontiers, who were always ungovernable; but the deliberate act of soldiers, under the direction of an officer of the Government, upon a flag in their own land, having a letter to the garrison for the President of the United States. That, upon hearing of this, his sensations were such as he could not describe, but with difficulty he restrained his temper, and took the manly way of demanding satisfaction. He had sent three letters to the President; he had applied to his agent here, at his own house, and at Beard's Bluff; that he received some small talk from the superintendent, with assurance that his letters were sent to the President, and that the bones of his brother were buried. A few days past he discovered the falsity of the latter; the bones were now unburied, and he supposed the President had not yet seen his letters; he had, for some time, in consequence of this, been almost frantic; he could not speak to the commissioners without tears, and therefore, chose to be silent; he could not dine with them, and partake of their friendly attentions; he had yesterday taken his resolution to open his mind to them; he understood they were now the supreme authority here. He must demand satisfaction, and could wait no longer. He expected they would satisfy him in one point, by applying to the superintendent, to know what he had done, make him write it down, and have it translated to him. He hoped this matter would be left with the commissioners and himself for the present, and that the whole would be sent to the President. We told him to open his mind freely on all points relative to himself personally, or his nation, and give us a little time to make up our minds on them; that we came, as he knew, to settle all past differences, and to guard against a repetition in future, and we expected he and the other chiefs would aid us. We would have the bones of his brother buried with the honors of war, if he would consent; he was silent, took us by the hand, and went out; then said his heart was too full to speak.

In the course of the evening, three chiefs sent to the commissioners, that John Galphin had violated his permit, had been in the encampment in the store, with the factor, dined on board the vessel with one of the Georgia commissioners, was to dine there again the next day, was then drunk, had behaved ill, and was a very unfit character to be suffered to enter the garrison. We examined into this statement, found it to be true, and replied, that measures would be taken the next day, to compel him to respect their decisions.

11th. Several chiefs, who arrived yesterday, dined with the commissioners, among them, Chinabee, the great Natchez warrior. We entered into conversation with them, on the objects of our mission, found them disposed to be very friendly, and that they had unbounded confidence in the justice of the Government of the United States. They promised us to have a general meeting on the next day, and determine on the ceremonies to be used, and the state of their representation, and inform us of it in the course of that, or the succeeding day. Mr. Clymer, and the superintendent, returned in the evening.

SUNDAY, 12th.

The Indians held a council this day. The commissioners finding that some improper characters had been in camp, intermeddling in the affairs of the Indians, they requested the superintendent to check it in future. We have observed that the Indians are equally dissatisfied with persons who mention any thing for, or against, the sale of their lands, and say it is an improper and rude interference; they know our disposition on this head, and are well pleased with it.

MONDAY, 13th.

The commissioners being informed that there was some public plank in the possession of the contractor, and that the carpenters were in want of four thousand feet to finish the block house, where they now reside, directed the contractor to furnish that quantity.

*We sent the following note to the Superintendent:*

The Commissioners of the United States request the Superintendent to inform them—

1st. How many Indians there are encamped. 2d. How many chiefs; their rank, and the towns they represent; their names. 3d. How many white men are here from the nation; their names, and places of abode; their occupation in the nation, and characters, as far as he has been able to form his opinion of them. 4th. How many interpreters are present; their names and characters. They wish that Mr. Burges be directed to attend them daily as an interpreter, and, if it would be an accommodation to him, that he would accept of one of their tents, now pitched in the garrison, which shall be moved near their residence; he will, of course, breakfast and dine with them.

We are desirous, as soon as the number of chiefs can be ascertained, to make an arrangement for entertaining a given number of them every day.

*The notice of an intended answer.*

INDIAN CAMP, NEAR COLERAINE, *Monday morning, 13th June, 1796.*

GENTLEMEN:

I am this moment favored with your note, the contents of which shall have my immediate attention, and, by to-morrow morning, shall have all matters stated as you require.

With due respect, I am, your devoted humble servant,

JAMES SEAGROVE, *Superintendent Indian Affairs.*

*Commissioners of the United States, Coleraine.*

14th. Received from the Superintendent the answer promised to our note of yesterday, as follows:

INDIAN CAMP, NEAR COLERAINE, 14th June, 1796.

GENTLEMEN:

I find that, notwithstanding the very pointed orders you have issued, and my utmost endeavors to prevent, yet the Indians are frequently drunk. Not a drop of liquor is given in camp, but under my immediate inspection. The quantity so given being very small, I must conclude they are furnished in the garrison, or from the vessels in the river, perhaps from the contractor for furnishing the troops, or Mr. Hampton, the sutler, through the medium of the soldiers, who, I believe, are not restricted getting liquor with money. And, as the Indians have dollars among them, this appears the most likely source of the evil. Upwards of twenty Indians were drunk in camp last evening, all of whom came from the garrison in that state.

I hope you will adopt some mode of putting a total stop to the Indians getting liquor in or near the garrison of fort Pickering, during the treaty. The Indians having turned three men, of the name of *Innes*, out of their camps, as improper persons, I am of opinion they ought not to be allowed to remain in or near this garrison. Also, a certain Mr. McMurphey, who has been talking very improperly of Indian matters. I believe him to be sent as a spy, to do mischief. There are others in the garrison, who I shall point out to you as dangerous persons.

Both the Galphins are forbid by the Indians to leave their camp on any account. Should they dare to act contrary to this order, I hope they will be prevented entering there, or from going on board any of the vessels opposite the fort. I herewith enclose a return of the Indians now in camp with me, as also a list of traders, interpreters, and clerks.

With due respect, I remain, your devoted servant,

JS. SEAGROVE.

Honorable Commissioners of the United States.

COLERAINE, 15th June, 1796.

SIR:

We send you an extract from a letter we yesterday received from the superintendent of Indian affairs, by which you will see that the 7th article of our regulations has not been duly observed.

"I find that, notwithstanding the very pointed orders you have issued, and my utmost endeavors to prevent, yet the Indians are frequently drunk. Not a drop of liquor is given in camp, but under my immediate inspection. The quantity so given being very small, I must conclude that they are furnished in the garrison, or from the vessels in the river, perhaps from the contractor for furnishing the troops, or Mr. Hampton, the sutler, through the medium of the soldiers, who, I believe, are not restricted getting liquor with money. And, as the Indians have dollars among them, this appears the most likely source of the evil. Upwards of twenty Indians were drunk in camp last evening, all of whom came from the garrison in that state."

We deem it necessary to make this communication to you, to the end that you may take the necessary measures to put a stop to the evil complained of, and to cause our regulations to be duly observed.

We are, with due respect, sir, your obedient servants, &c.

HENRY GAITHER, *Lieut. Col. Commandant.*

COLERAINE, 15th June, 1796.

SIR:

We have had your communication of yesterday under consideration, and wrote to Colonel Gaither on the inexecution of the 7th article of our regulations, requiring that he would take the necessary measures to cause them to be duly observed. The other objects mentioned by you, are under consideration.

As the complaints of the Big Warrior, for a murder committed in this neighborhood, on his brother, have not been satisfied, and we may be called on by him, or some of the relatives, to account for the same, in the course of the pending negotiation, we wish you would give us a narrative of the whole transaction, as far as you have been able to comprehend it, stating the murder, the complaint, and the measures taken by the Government in consequence.

We are, with due respect, your obedient servants.

JAMES SEAGROVE, *Superintendent.*

The commissioners directed the superintendent to make the necessary arrangements for the reception of the Indians; and that he inform them the commissioners will be ready to receive them to-morrow in the forenoon, on the old parade; that, after the ceremonies on their part are over, the commissioners will welcome them in a short speech, introductory to their business, and end it with a salute from their cannon, a smoke of the pipe of friendship, and a glass of wine.

16th. Half after ten, all the kings, head-men, warriors, and others, to the number of near four hundred, marching under the flag of the United States, came to the commissioners, who were seated, attended by the officers of the garrison. They danced the eagle tail dance from their camp, and the four dancers at the head of the chiefs waved six times the eagle tail over the heads of the commissioners. The six of the principal kings and head-men came up and took the commissioners by the hand. They then handed their pipes to the commissioners, and held them and the fire which they brought in their hands from the camps. The commissioners lit them and smoked. There was a short interval between each dance, and wave of the eagle tail, beginning always with the commissioners first named, the same interval in the shake of hands, and the lighting of the pipe.

The commissioners then addressed them:

*Beloved men, chiefs and warriors of the Creek nation:*

BROTHERS: We are the beloved men chosen by the President of the United States, and his old counsellors, and sent to meet you here; to take you by the hand; to hear all your complaints; to settle all differences; to renew and firmly establish peace and friendship between your nation and the United States; and to form a plan of trade with you. We are glad to see you.

These three gentlemen are the beloved men of Georgia. They are sent by the good people of Georgia to take you by the hand. You have been told, in the talk sent you by order of the President, of the business they meet you on.

To-morrow we will meet you in the square appointed for the purpose, and have the President's talk interpreted to you, and the next day the beloved men of Georgia will open their minds to you.

You will now all take a drink with us, and smoke a pipe of friendship. Our warriors will now welcome you here in their way.

A signal, at the end of this, being given, the salute of sixteen guns were discharged.

The commissioners then conducted the six chiefs to their apartments, smoked a pipe of friendship with them, and entertained them and their followers with wine and spirits. The followers then returned to their encampment, and the chiefs dined with the commissioners. The chiefs were informed that, prior to the commencement of business to-morrow, the commissioners would expect to be informed of the state of the representation. The chiefs said that they had, agreeable to our former request, had a council on this subject, and would be ready to answer us. That the nation was well represented.

If being certified, to the satisfaction of the commissioners, that some improper characters were in or about the garrison, they deemed it advisable to make a regulation which would effectually check any attempts of them to meddle in the affairs under negotiation.

The commissioners for holding a treaty with the Creek nation of Indians have judged proper, in virtue of the powers and authorities vested in them, to make the following regulation, in addition to those of the 26th ultimo, for the prevention of quarrels, improper behavior, or mal-practices, during the negotiation:

If any citizen of the United States shall visit the camp of the Indians, or come into the garrison, or neighborhood thereof, being a suspicious character, or capable of improper behavior, or mal-practices, he is to be reported to the commissioners of the United States. And the commandant, upon receiving notice thereof, will take necessary measures to notify every such citizen of his being suspected, and require of him to leave the garrison in twelve hours, and not to return within the patrols of the camp, or the Indian encampment, during the negotiation.

Wrote the following letter to the Secretary of War, and forwarded it by the mail:

COLERAIN, 16th June, 1796.

Sir:

We wrote you on the 4th instant, enclosing our correspondence with the commissioners of Georgia up to that date. The next day we received the letter now sent, which closed our correspondence. The gentlemen then dined with us, and have since shown a disposition to harmonize with us.

Our negotiations with the Indians commenced this day. There were twenty-two kings, seventy-five principal chiefs, and one hundred and fifty-two warriors present. The whole number who are down, attending on the invitation sent to the nation, are four hundred and thirty-five.

In conversation with the chiefs, they have informed us that their nation is fully represented. We have, notwithstanding, required of them to hold a council expressly to determine the question of representation, and to answer us to-morrow at a public conference. The chiefs appear to be well disposed, and to have a well grounded confidence in the justice of our Government.

We have the honor to be, with sincere regard, sir, your obedient servants.

JAMES MCHENRY, Esq. *Secretary of War.*

17th June.—The commissioners of the United States, agreeably with their notification of yesterday, met the representatives of the whole Creek nation, in the square appointed for the place of negotiation. Present, the three commissioners of Georgia, James Hendricks, James Jackson, and James Simms, twenty-two kings, seventy-five principal chiefs, and one hundred and fifty-two warriors, the superintendent, Colonel Gaither, and the officers of the garrison.

The commissioners appointed Captain William Eaton secretary to the commission, for the purpose of taking down minute details of their proceedings.

Timothy Barnard, Alexander Cornell, James Burges, and Langley Bryant, were appointed interpreters during the negotiation, and were sworn faithfully to perform the duties of their appointment, according to their best skill and ability.

The commissioners explained the ceremony of swearing the interpreters to the Indians.

Mr. Hawkins then explained the return which had been made by the superintendent, stating the number of towns, of kings, of principal chiefs, and warriors, and told them the commissioners must put a question to them, respecting their representation, which they were apprised of, some days past, and requested to hold a council on. This question was then put by the commissioners:

*Question 1st.* Have you a full representation from your nation present?

*Answer,* by Fusatchee Mico, White-bird king. Yes, we are.

This chief was then appointed, in full council, to be the chief speaker.

*Question 2d.* If we proceed to negotiate a treaty with you, will it be good and binding upon your whole nation?

*Answer,* by the same. Yes. The talks of our father, General Washington, were sent into our nation; these talks are known, and we have a full representation of our nation now here, who are ready to enter upon the negotiation, which, if concluded, shall be binding on our nation.

*Commissioners.* We will then commence the business, and, that you may have a clear insight into it, we will have the talks of the President translated to you.

The interpreters were then ordered to attend particularly, and aid the one who spoke, and interpret the talk as delivered to him, sentence by sentence.

This being finished, the supplementary instruction from the War Office, relative to the mode of educating the youths of the nation, was addressed to, and interpreted to, the Indians, and the object of it explained.

The commissioners then informed the Indians, that they had finished what they had intended to say to them this day; that the three commissioners of Georgia would speak to them to-morrow; that their talk would be a long one, and it was hoped and expected, that the representatives of the Creek land would give it a patient hearing, and deliberate upon it well, before they came to a decision.

*Fusatchee Mico.* We have heard what the beloved men from General Washington have said to us, and to-morrow we will hear what the commissioners of Georgia shall have to say. After we have heard the talks of the beloved men of both parties, we will consider well on it, and give our answer.

The commissioners requested the Indians to remain in their seats, till they could give them each a glass of toddy.

Adjourned till to-morrow.

SATURDAY, 18th June.

The commissioners of Georgia having requested of us to give them our opinion of the representation on the part of the Creeks, we wrote them this note:

18th June, 1796.

GENTLEMEN:

In answer to your request, to be informed of the state of the representation on the part of the Creeks, we have to inform you, we deem it competent to all the objects under negotiation.

We think it our duty, gentlemen, to inform you, that the letter to the Governor of Georgia, and the talk addressed to the beloved men, chiefs, and warriors, of the Creek nation, contain the objects and principles on which the negotiation is to be conducted, and are considered by us as essential parts of our instructions, and directing us to the execution of our trust.

We have the honor to be, with due regard, gentlemen, your obedient servants,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS,  
GEORGE CLYMER,  
ANDREW PICKENS.

*Honorable Commissioners of Georgia.*

The commissioners of Georgia called on us, just as we were about to proceed to the square of negotiation, and submitted to our inspection the speech they had prepared to address to the Indians. We entered into conversation with them, on some points which were objectionable, to which they replied, that we might see they had referred the Indians to us, and they supposed we would do what we deemed right and proper. The gentlemen were requested to retire for a few moments, and we would give them our determination. We had told the gentlemen, that one statement of theirs was inadmissible, as not being a fact. They said, "Georgia was not present at New York, when the treaty was made." The contrary was manifest; they were always represented in the Senate, where there were a competent number for business, but, on the present occasion, their two senators were present, and voted against the ratification. We, after consideration, agreed to return this answer:

## GENTLEMEN:

As you have deemed this address proper, we are unanimously of opinion you should, without exceptions, be left to deliver it. We had expressed ourselves frequently, as being desirous that the gentlemen of Georgia would enter upon the purchase of the lands, and leave the disagreeable task of demanding satisfaction for the losses sustained, on us. We were desirous of smoothing the way for this negotiation, but they were of a different opinion, and, although we could have controlled them, we deemed it advisable to let them commence in their own way. Colonel Hendricks informed us, he was sensible of our disposition to do every thing we could for them, and requested that we would not take exceptions at their folly, which he lamented exceedingly.

The commissioners and Indians met in the square of negotiation, according to adjournment. Philip Scott was sworn as an interpreter, at the request of the commissioners of Georgia.

Mr. Hawkins addressed the Creeks:

*Kings, Chiefs, and Warriors, of the Creek nation:*

BROTHERS:

The three beloved men of Georgia are present, and are now about to address their talk to you. I request you will hear them patiently; their talks will be long; they will state all their complaints, grievances, and their claims, to you, which you will deliberate on, with coolness, as becomes old men and chiefs. And, if any difficulties arise in your minds, you will inform us, the beloved men of your great father, of them, who are sent here to assist our brethren of Georgia, and our brethren the red People, in obtaining their mutual rights.

The interpreters being ordered to attend General Jackson, he delivered the speech he had shown to the commissioners, and dwelt with peculiar emphasis on the treaties of Augusta, of Galphinton, and Shoulderbone, heretofore concluded between the Creeks and Georgia, the violation of these treaties, the claims arising out of them, on the part of Georgia, and concluded with observing, that those claims, which respected certain tracts of land, and restoration of stolen property, were still valid, and ought to be observed, notwithstanding the outrage of bad men on both sides, which he sincerely regretted. The General exhibited two schedules of the property to be restored or accounted for, amounting to 110,000 dollars, and hoped that the negotiation would terminate in mutual advantages and satisfaction of both the parties; expressed his confidence, that the beloved men, sent by our beloved great chief, the President, would use their endeavors to accomplish the desirable object.

*Mr. Hawkins:*

BROTHERS:

You have this day heard the talk of our brethren, the beloved men of Georgia. It is a long one, and contains many things; we request you will allow yourselves sufficient time to consider upon it; that you will think on the subject, with as much coolness and deliberation as if you were within your own square, at your own councils, in your nation; you are in perfect safety at this place; you may choose your ground for deliberation, and shall there be secured from all interruption; and, as I have before observed, whatever you may find in the talks delivered you this day, which requires explanation, or is dissatisfactory, we request you will refer your difficulties to us, the beloved men from the President, whose duty, and whose desire it is, arbitrating between the parties, to establish your rights.

The chiefs were then requested to keep their seats, and they should be furnished with a glass of toddy.

After consultation, they applied to Mr. Hawkins, and requested that he would have them furnished with a copy of the talk delivered them by the commissioners of Georgia, and all the papers referred to in it. They wished to have them in their own council, that they might understand every part, before they made up their minds to reply.

Mr. Hawkins promised to apply for the papers, and to send them a copy; and he immediately did so, to Mr. Simms and Colonel Hendricks, who promised them in half an hour.

The Indian representation have observed great decency and decorum, for the two days past; they are remarkably attentive to every thing said to them. During the whole time the commissioners of the United States were talking to them, they showed a degree of confidence in, and an approbation of, all that was said to them. They gave an assent to every paragraph. While the commissioners of Georgia were talking, they rarely assented; remained generally silent; when the treaty of Galphinton was mentioned, they asked who signed it. The number of signers, on their part, were named. When the commissioners exhibited the long roll of claims against them, and the particulars were enumerated, they listened till the article hogs were numbered, when they all laughed.

After they had separated, several principal chiefs dined with the commissioners, and talked to each other on parts of the speech, many of which, they said, they did not remember to have heard of before. The Big Warrior requested to know, if the commissioners could not furnish a roll of paper, somewhat longer than that exhibited by Georgia, as he could easily fill it up. Another of them asked, how their brethren of Georgia could distinguish between the loss occasioned among their hogs, whether it was by the bears or Indians. He said the Creeks had lost many hogs, and their brethren of Georgia had done them much evil; but that he had never charged them with the taking of hogs.

SUNDAY, 19th June.

This day the Indians applied for the papers promised them yesterday, and we wrote the following note:

COLERAINE, 19th June, 1796.

GENTLEMEN:

The Indians have requested us to furnish them with a copy of the talk you addressed to them yesterday, that they may be able to examine it leisurely in their councils. We have promised it to them; and we have to request of you to furnish us with an attested copy of the speech, together with the papers referred to therein, which were shown and explained to the Indians.

We are, with due respect, your obedient servants.

*Honorable Commissioners of Georgia.*

Mr. Robinson, the secretary to the commissioners, called on us and delivered the talk, certified to be a true copy, and extracts from some of the papers alluded to. He said the paper containing the claims against the Indians, was an original; that it would take three days to copy it; that the commissioners did not like to trust it in the camp; but they would show it to us, if we were desirous of perusing it. We requested we might have the examination of it at our lodgings.

We sent this note to the superintendent:

COLERAINE, 19th June.

SIR:

The commissioners of the United States enclose you a certified copy of the talk delivered yesterday, by the commissioners of Georgia to the Creeks, with extracts from the papers alluded to therein; you will deliver these to the Indians. We have applied for the amount of losses, as shown by the commissioners to the Indians, and are promised the perusal of it, there being but one original, and the clerk of the commissioners supposes it will take three days to copy it. As soon as we have examined it, we shall determine what is proper to be done relative to it.

The superintendent returned for answer:

INDIAN CAMP, NEAR COLERAINE, 19th June, 1796.

GENTLEMEN:

I am honored with your note, enclosing the speech of the commissioners of Georgia, which I shall have explained to the Creek chiefs, this afternoon. I herewith send for your opinion, a copy of a letter which I have received from the Governor of Georgia. I wish you to inform me, whether you think it sufficient for the purpose intended.

With respect, I remain, &c.

The letter being an assumption, on the part of Georgia, to pay half of the expense for the supply of provisions to the Indians, during the negotiation.

20th.—The Indians spent this day in council, in a square which they prepared for that purpose, in their own encampment. They requested that three of the interpreters should attend them, and named Timothy Barnard, Alexander Cornell, and James Burges; they were ordered accordingly.

The commissioners finding that there had been great inattention, in the person appointed to cater for them, or neglect on the part of the contractor; that their table was badly provided; at the same time, that the garrison abounded in good things, and other tables were supplied with them at the public expense, they determined to check this abuse, and to reprimand those who should appear to be the authors. They wrote to the contractor:

MR. JOHNSTON:

The man you appointed to cater for the commissioners, is either above his business, or unacquainted with his duty. Their table has been the worst provided for, of any in the garrison; the meats are generally bad, for some days past; and the vegetables, not one third enough for the number entertained by them. You are required to make the necessary regulations, not only to prevent a continuance of their treatment, but to provide every thing suitable for their table.

Mr. Johnston attended, apologised for the past, and promised amendment in future.

In the evening the commissioners received a paper from the Indians, which, they were informed, contained the answer they intended for the commissioners of Georgia. They, at the same time, received an invitation to visit the Indians the next morning at the square of negotiation, in the Indian camp.

21st.—We this morning, early, attended the Indians; they were in the square with the three interpreters. We understood they wished us to visit them, and hear them, unattended by any person, and we conformed to their desire.

Fusatchee Mico, or Bird king, informed us he was to reply to us, on the part of the Creek nation, and he began:

FATHERS, BROTHERS, AND BELOVED MEN:

I am going to speak my mind to-day, and hope you will attend to me. I am glad I have the opportunity of seeing you, the three beloved men from our Great Father, General Washington. We have another placed here by him, Mr. Seagrove; we hope you will attend.

I got a talk sent up to us in our land, sent from the President of the United States, to invite me here; here we are, a representation of the whole nation.

I say, I understood that General Washington sent three of his beloved men to see us; we came to see them; had we been invited to meet the Georgians only, there would not have been one attending.

It is very true, and we all know it, people who regard each other, will go great lengths at the call of each other; we were invited, and went a great way to see General Washington; and now, when I saw his talk in our land, we determined to come, although it is a great way, and we have had to encounter difficulties of hunger and fatigue; but we have come, and are pleased to see, as we were told we should, his beloved men. It is true, General Washington sent for us; we went to see him; when we arrived, he told us he was glad to see us face to face, he wanted this, and sent for us. You have come to the head, the main branch, and I hope our talks will be straight before you leave us. G. W. told us, it is very good for you that I sent for you; I am the head of thirteen States. G. W. told us, I sent for you, and you are come; I will have the talks such, and put them on such a foundation, as that there will be a great many breaths preserved by it. It is true, we were there; G. W. told us we were glad to see us. The man we carried as our head man, was a half-breed. He had more conversation with General Washington, and his great men, than we; but I heard, I will tell.

We were told, it was well we were there, and he would, when we went into our own land, provide for us; and have people whose business it should be, to provide for us there.

General Washington told us, he hoped, after our return, there would be a peace for everlasting, between the white people and us, notwithstanding he and we might die. He told us, at the same time, when you go back into your land, and give my talks in to your people, I will, by that time, have an eye out and obtain a man, and send him to look after you, to see your affairs righted. G. W. told us, a father will speak to his children; it is natural he should; that they should take care, and not imbrue their hands with blood, but keep peace and quietness in their land. He further said, if there should happen to be a cloudy day over us, we must look about, and see how to dispel it, that we may have a clear day to live in. It is not me who speaks; 'tis General Washington; he said, I have seen many a cloudy day in my time, but now here I am, and you see me. General Washington told me, at the same time, you see, and I see, the rivers; when they run dry, and the mountains disappear, we shall cease to talk of peace and quietness, and there will be an end of all things. He told me the lands on this side of the mountain, which are the back-bone of our country, we are now on, I mean nothing but peace and quietness as long as they shall last; but, if nature should destroy us, we must submit; he should support peace, and expected they would have no other enemy to put them to death, than the decay of nature. General Washington told us, you will mind, you will come to me as I told you; I am the chief; you must come to me; I am told you have men who pretend to be great men, in your neighborhood, and who pretend to great things; you must not listen to them, but to me; I only have the right to speak to you as the chief of their land. General Washington told us, those were those great people who would come to us after our lands, or something else, some of the Governor's perhaps, but you must not listen to any of them, but to me. This we have observed and followed; we have not listened to any. I will let you know what G. W. told me, as well as my memory serves me, and I think I do not tell an untruth. General Washington told us at that very time, I have talked to you, and told you, face to face, I look upon myself as your father, and I wish, if it were possible, that, when you go to your own land, there was a chain riveted in my and your hearts, of friendship, so strong as never to be broken. General Washington told us, you are going to your own land; any thing that disturbs you, or my people, I will interpose to remedy; and will see, if any people trespass on your rights, and take possession of your lands, that they shall be removed quite away from you, even to the sea shore. At that very time, it was told us, as M<sup>r</sup> Gillivray said, it was hard that that land on the Oconee should be taken from us; but as the people were settled on it, the river should be the boundary line. That is, that Oconee running up the same, and the north fork, being called the Little Oconee, to the source, and that the upper part should be marked six strides wide.

General Washington said, after the boundary was run and finished, if we ever saw a white man hunting with a gun, or a beaver trap, over the line, we might take the gun, strip him, and turn him over to his own side; but not to kill or hurt him.

After our return home into our own land, we expected nothing further than to carry the treaty into effect, and to prepare to come down and mark the boundary agreed upon at New York. Two days before we were to set out, one Bowles came into the nation, with a heap of lies. He told us the British king sent him; he came to bring trade to us, and to take care of our land. This brought confusion among us, and distraction in our lands; we were perplexed, and did not know what to do. However, we, the chiefs, often think of doing what we had promised, and, as soon as General Washington invited us, you may see how readily we come. These obstructions prevented the running of the line, and it remains unexecuted to this day; but we know where the line should be run, and we see people come over

on our land, and build a fort, and trespass on our rights, at the fork of Tulapocka, near the high falls, and another up at the mountains. I stand to what General Washington told us, and I expect to abide by what he and Congress did at New York with us. And I hope, in running the line, if any of the white people should be on our side, that you will have them removed. We are willing to agree with you three beloved men, to have the treaty of New York carried completely into effect, that is, every thing we promised there. This I am now telling to you, was the result of a deliberation in our land, before we left thence, and our wish is to settle every thing, and preserve peace.

I am now going to let you know my mind about the Georgians. I hope you saw what we did yesterday; it was intended for you.

When I was a child, and long before, the old people met and did their business in a few words, but now things are changed, and it takes a great many words. I have said a good deal of what my white father, General Washington, told us, face to face. I look on it I am still speaking to him, when I address myself to you. I expect your advice and assistance, as I should expect his, if he were present.

I cannot think of any thing more at present. I have put every thing before you, with the paper we sent you yesterday in answer to the Georgians. I shall wait until you can see into it, and give your advice. Our people are uneasy about the losses of horses, and bills, and property. We rely on the commissioners to despatch us as soon as they can.

The commissioners told the chiefs that they would examine the contents of the answer sent for the three beloved men of Georgia, and meet them again to-morrow.

June 22.—The commissioners of the United States being informed that the Indians were disturbed at some attempts made in their camps to obtain some land from them, by two or three white persons; and the superintendent informing them that Colonel John Jones, of Burk county, had written one or more deeds in the camp, and was in company with Philip Scott, Robert Tool, and John Galphin; that some of them were endeavoring to prevail on the Indians to sign the deed, in favor of Robert Tool; the deed intended for Tool was handed to the commissioners; it was for six miles square, and in the hand writing of John Jones.

The misdemeanor was so flagrant that they ordered immediate inquiry, and directed that the persons concerned should be brought before them in council with the Indians, to be examined.

We issued the following direction:

COLERAINE, June 22, 1796.

SIR: The commissioners of the United States have had information lodged with them against John Jones, Philip Scott, and Robert Tool, as being engaged in mal-practices, within the Indian encampment. They request that you will have the said persons brought before them, to be examined, touching the premises.

B. H.  
G. C.  
A. P.

Captain EATON.

The persons being arrested, and return made thereof, the commissioners repaired to the square of negotiation, in the Indian encampment, and informed the Indians of what they had learned, and the steps taken by them to sift the matter in their presence. They showed the deed, and requested that the chief who sent it, should inform them how he came by it, and what he knew relative to it.

*Coweta Leader* replied: I heard something of the talk yesterday, which gave some uneasiness in the camp, and I applied to Mr. Tool, who said there was nothing in it. Upon this, I went to my camp, where I was again informed of it, and the paper shown by you, being the deed for Tool, was put into my hand. I was informed that Philip Scott and John Jones went out on one side and wrote it; though John Galphin gave the paper to me, in my camp, and I directly carried it to the superintendent. The same day Mr. Jones and Philip Scott came to my camp, and applied to Abacoo Tustamitca, of the Broken-arrow old field. He will tell what he knows.

*Abacoo Tustamitca*.—Philip Scott asked me for some lands for his Indian children. I replied, he had gone now to live among the white people, and we could not give him any lands on our side of the line. If his children wanted land, let them come and live in the nation, and they shall have some. Philip Scott came this morning and applied again by himself, Mr. Jones being in sight, but at some distance from him. I answered him, you have a great number of children, and chose to stay where you are; we will not, as you have thus determined, give you any thing. If your daughters, or children, want land, send them into the nation to us: they are our blood, and we will provide for them. I then ordered Scott to be silent, to say no more about it, and go his way. Scott said he would; that it was the women, my relations, that sent the application to me; that he did not make it of himself.

*Question to the chiefs, by the commissioners*.—Did any of the chiefs make a promise of the lands, as expressed in the deed? This question must be answered, and it can do no injury to them, as it is not binding.

*Answer from the chiefs*.—No; there are no chiefs who ever did promise any. What they heard yesterday, and the uneasiness occasioned from it, determined them to send the deed to the superintendent, for the commissioners.

The 8th section of the act for regulating trade was then explained to the Indians; and the commissioners sent for Robert Tool, who, upon being examined, said, that John Jones and John Galphin came to the camp where he was; that John Galphin observed, there was land given to pay him and the traders, for many thousand pounds of leather, but that they never got any of it. The Georgians sold it; that he would get all the chiefs to sign a deed for him. Mr. Jones said he would buy the land from him, if he could get it from the Indians, or if it was his. He replied, it was not his land, and he could not get it. John Galphin said, he could get it for him, and all the chiefs should sign the deed.

The old man being of feeble mind, always intoxicated with strong drink, when he could get it; his narrative apparently candid, and corroborated by several of the chiefs, in conversation on the subject, he was acquitted. The commissioners being informed that the Indians would hold him guilty, unless they acquitted him, and that, at some future time, they would punish him, they told the chiefs that Tool was innocent of any fraud intended against them, and had been imposed on; that they acquitted him, and the chiefs must look on him as innocent. The chiefs replied, they were satisfied the old man had been made a tool of, and that he was innocent.

Colonel John Jones was then ordered to attend. The commissioners informed the colonel, that they had a very important trust delegated to them; that they were determined to execute it. That he saw the delicate situation they were placed in, by having a gentleman, who had been for some time as one of their family, and permitted to visit their camp daily, under the sanction of their name, brought before them, to answer for a misdemeanor, involving in it a breach of trust. That, for various reasons, they had determined to submit it to him to make his own statement, on which they would rely, and form their decision.

The colonel bursted into tears, and replied, he was sensible of what we had stated, and it affected him exceedingly. That he had committed a breach of trust, and a misdemeanor of the nature mentioned in the act stated to him; but declared on his honor it was without any knowledge of its being so at the time; that he was led to write the deed from a desire to be serviceable to some people who had been kind to him, without any recollection at the time, of there being the least impropriety in the act. He said he must inform the commissioners, that he had written one other deed, in favor of John Galphin, and that he had promised a like favor to Philip Scott. He was sorry it had caused uneasiness among the Indians, and been productive of any disagreeable sensation in the commissioners, to whose politeness he was much indebted since his arrival.

The commissioners told Mr. Jones that they would take his statement, as he had made it, with his apology, and that he was at liberty to depart.

Philip Scott was next called in, examined, and discharged.

The commissioners then explained to the Indians the nature of the examination, who were greatly pleased, and expressed it, with particular allusion to the effect it had on those who were examined.



This business occupying the day, in the evening we gave the gentlemen, commissioners of Georgia, the talk delivered to us for them, and showed them, at the same time, our notes of yesterday's proceeding, which we permitted them to copy, except a part of the two last paragraphs.

Upon calling in the evening on the gentlemen, we found two of them greatly enraged, at what they termed a violation of the rights of the citizens of Georgia, and an insult to the dignity of the State, by our proceedings of this day. They said much of the civil magistrate, and civil authority; to which it was replied, that the authority here was civil, and competent to all the purposes entrusted to it, without the intervention of any other aid, than what they had already under their direction. That the regulations made by them to prevent improper behavior, or mal-practices, during the negotiation, were such as they deemed proper; that they were the sole judges, and that the regulations should be enforced, without respect of persons.

In full council of all the chiefs, this application was made to the commissioners.

*Sohonoketchee of the Cowetas.*—I have a cousin here, one John Galphin; there is the Cussetah king, and several of his relations here. We want to speak a few words relative to him.

When we first arrived, John came, but he kept out till we talked to the beloved men. John understood the beloved men wanted them to keep him out, till they would have a talk with the chiefs. He wants to come in, and be about, as another Indian. We, the chiefs, solicit, that he may be permitted to come in. If you see proper, I wish you would look upon him as another Indian. I will make it my duty, and I promise it here, before all the chiefs, to look after him in future, and see that he conduct himself properly; and I will be answerable for him.

There is another talk we have to give, relative to George Galphin; we gave a large tract of land to the brothers; George sent to John to meet him here about their lands; they intended to apply to the commissioners to see justice done them, if it can be. They did not come to disturb the harmony of the meeting.

To the first point, the commissioners answer, that the President invited all the Creeks to attend this treaty; and they will not judge of improper characters among them; that the chiefs of the land, in council, must be the judges. That, although John has been represented to them as a very bad man, if the chiefs will introduce him to them, they will take him by the hand, especially, as the chiefs solicit it, and the one speaking has promised for himself, and all the others, that, in future, they will attend to his conduct.

If he behaves bad in future, they must remember they solicited us to restore him to favor.

*June 23.*—The commissioners of the United States called this morning on the commissioners of Georgia, agreeably to a notification to them, to take them to the Indian square of negotiation; but they seemed undetermined what to do. They were asked whether they preferred going this morning, and having a conversation with the chiefs, or to-morrow; after some hesitation, General Jackson left us, with observing, that he could not be ready till to-morrow. We replied, we would inform the Indians of it. Colonel Hendricks informed us he would attend this morning, and perhaps Mr. Simms with him.

The council met at Muscogee hall, in the Indian encampment. The two gentlemen above named, from Georgia, attended.

The commissioners of the United States then addressed the Indians.

#### *Kings, Chiefs, and Warriors, of the whole Creek nation:*

BROTHERS: As we have had your talk to us in answer to the beloved men of Georgia, under consideration, and have delivered it to them, we expect you will hear from them again; therefore, we shall speak nothing to you on the objects between you and them, to-day. We shall speak on the points more immediately relating to our mission.

1st. We shall speak of trade. This subject has already, in conversation, been mentioned to you; we shall now go fully into it. This trade is to be conducted according to the views of General Washington, in a mode different from that heretofore in practice in your country, on a plan entirely new; heretofore, it has been carried on by individuals, solely for their own profit; these frequently abused and defrauded the Indians. It will now be carried on by the United States, under the direction of your great and beloved father, the President of the United States. And he is desirous it should be conducted in a manner perfectly conformable to your wants and wishes, and with as little expense to you as possible. Many of you know General Washington; you have seen him face to face; and he has evidenced to you his intention to know all your wants, to hover over you as his children, and to watch over your rights.

The goods necessary to supply your wants come a great way, and must be brought in ships, and to save expense to you, must be suffered to be carried as far as possible into your country in boats. Long land carriage will be tedious and expensive. This, we have well explained to you before. We are directed by General Washington to talk freely to you, on this subject. We have thought much on it, and suppose it will be difficult at once to fix on the place or places best suited to the establishment of trading posts. But we have come to an opinion, and will give it to you. It is this: It would be best to submit to our father, General Washington, to fix on the places. He will do nothing but for your good. If one place is sufficient to supply your whole nation conveniently, he will choose but one; if you find two necessary, he will fix on two. We think the stores and post of protection should be over the line, and these are our reasons: You and your families will be on your own ground, your persons and your property will be safe. There will always be a garrison of federal troops stationed there, to preserve order and good government; they will of course protect you, as you see they do here. The officers of the United States will always command there, and your men and warriors, and hunters, may always safely come to them. The place or places need be but small, sufficient to raise bread for the traders, the garrison, and their red friends, who may visit them. They will want beef, bread, and milk, as your people will, who visit them. They will, of course, want ground for stock and for corn. But we do not wish the land should become ours. Whenever the trade shall be removed, and it shall be no longer necessary for a trading, or military post, it shall return to the Indian people, and be as one of their old towns.

The commissioners then explained the boundary lines of the United States, and of the Indians; explained the nature of the guarantee in the New York treaty; introduced arguments to show the watchfulness of the Government of the United States, to protect the red people in their rights; adverted again to trade. That, in the regulation of it, the President would direct, that every article of goods should have a stipulated value. The advance permitted to the traders, if such should be suffered in the nation, on articles purchased at the trading house, to be fixed; weights and measures might be introduced in every town; the young warriors and hunters, can then bring their leather, throw it into the scales, and at once know its value, and the value of the goods they are to receive for it; every trader will sell at the same price when they are permitted, and the distance is the same from the trading post.

The commissioners then observed: We hear that the nation has been badly supplied with goods, and those have not been well assorted. When we agree on the place, and shall have had time to make the necessary arrangements, there will always be a full and well assorted store, and at a reasonable price. The United States are determined to make no profit to themselves; they intend the trade to be carried on solely for the benefit of their red brethren. The President will appoint persons to procure of the manufacturers at the cheapest rate. The goods will be brought to the trading house, with the addition only of cost and charges, annexing thereto only so much, as that the trade will support itself. The Indians who apply at the store, will purchase at the first cost, covered as aforesaid, and as cheap as the traders. The traders must have a small profit, where they are permitted, and in proportion to the distance from the trading house. This advance will be stipulated, sufficient only to indemnify them for their trouble; and the prices at which they must sell, shall be posted up in every town.

We have spoken much on this subject, but we shall still have more to say. If we can agree on a proper place to carry on the business, we will do it; but we wish that our agreement may be temporary only, as, if it should be



found to be improper by the President of the United States, he will alter it for the best. They then adverted to the high prices of many articles, particularly that of powder; explained fully the causes. They then adverted to the establishment of schools, which had been mentioned on a former occasion. They explained fully the advantages; among others, that the sons of those present, when they became old men, and chiefs, and warriors, they could transact the affairs of the nation like the white people, without being subject to imposition from designing characters, or interpreters; that they might keep a record of their transactions in their own tongue, or in English.

CUSSETAH MICO replied: That the Indians, when educated, turned out very worthless; became mischievous and troublesome, and involve the red and white people in difficulties. That they had many melancholy examples of this sort, without an exception.

The commissioners replied: The President has heard that your young men educated in our towns turned out so; and the reason might be, that they associated too much with our bad people. They were furnished with money, out of the sight and correction of their parents, associated with the wicked who were intruders, and neglected the advice of sober good people. They associated with vicious young men, and from bad examples acquired bad habits; bad examples produce bad morals. So frequent do we experience this, that our laws are severe to correct it, and executed sometimes with rigor, even to the putting men to death for stealing their neighbors' property. But your youths, educated in their towns, would be under the eye, and receive the directions of their fathers and mothers. This subject was further enlarged upon, but received with such dislike by the Indians, that it was postponed.

The commissioners then, adverting to the boundary line, said—

**BROTHERS OF THE CREEK LAND:**

We have examined the talk which you have given to us, and believe your statement true, except in one point. It is the boundary line. This line was established at New York in the treaty there. It is the main south fork of the Oconee, called Apalachy. It was hoped that the treaty at New York would accommodate all differences; but you, it seems, were dissatisfied, as well as your brothers of Georgia, and mutual complaints have been made to the President. Georgia had given you something, and the United States gave you some valuable goods, and are to pay you fifteen hundred dollars a year. You have complained to us of two forks; we have examined and find them to be on the right side of the line. If you had come and run the line according to treaty, no difficulty or difference would have happened. The embarrassment occasioned by Bowles, we have heard of; but McGillivray carried some copies of the treaty with him to the nation, and he is to blame if he did not make you acquainted with their contents. The people of Georgia, who took possession of the lands, thought them theirs; and the President, on examining the treaty, and hearing their complaints, must have thought so too. The Georgians, who own this land, have paid taxes for it; and perhaps some of the very money raised by them, is now expended in providing necessaries which support us here. Copies of the treaty were sent into the Creek land, and some to Georgia; then, if they had not believed that the land was theirs, they would never have attempted to settle it. This subject was much dwelt on and explained, that the Georgians should be blameless. The commissioners then proceeded:

The President being surprised that this part of the treaty should be misunderstood, determined to put all his future talks on paper, and send them into the nation previously to calling them together, that the Creeks might think of them beforehand, and know the business on which they were to meet. We also were ordered to see that every thing was interpreted in a manner to answer its being understood.

You see we have five sworn interpreters. We have taken all the pains we can to ensure fairness in the negotiation; and we intend, when we have agreed on the outlines, to put it on paper, and explain the whole again.

The treaty of New York was sent to your nation in tin boxes, to ensure your getting it safe, and McGillivray was directed to promulgate it throughout all your land.

CUSSETAH MICO answered: McGillivray never collected the nation, or shewed the treaty at all; nor did the nation ever hear of this part of it till lately.

The Superintendent said he was satisfied it was within three years, that the Indians were informed of this part of the treaty, and that he communicated it then to them; that the Hallowing king shed tears on hearing it.

The commissioners then explained the boundary between Spain and the United States; took a comprehensive view of the late Indian war; its issue, and the present boundary of the United States with foreign Powers, and the boundary with the Indian tribes; pointed out the object of the United States in running their southern boundary, and called on the Indians to aid them with guides and hunters.

The commissioners then informed the Indians, that, on the next day, they would see their brothers of Georgia.

*Copy of a note sent this morning to the Commissioners of Georgia.*

Mr. Hawkins requests the commissioners of Georgia to return his notes as soon as they conveniently can, as he has not as yet had time to copy them. The commissioners of the United States expect to see the Indians this morning, at the square in the Indian encampment, at the request of the Indians, and they will call on the commissioners of Georgia to accompany them.

June 23.—The notes here mentioned, were those of the talk received from the Indians on the twenty-second.

COLERAINE, June 23, 1796.

**GENTLEMEN:**

The last correspondence we had the honor of receiving from you, on the disagreements on our first arrival between us, told us that you would inform us of the proper time to commence the conferences between the Indians and ourselves, and that you would attend our calls.

We gave our talk the next day after yours, and now call on you, agreeably to your promise, for a conference with the Creek nation, at which we may receive an answer to that talk.

We are, respectfully, your most obedient servants,

JAS. JACKSON,  
JAS. SIMMS.

By order of the Board of Commissioners:

THOS. ROBERTSON, *Secretary.*

*Honorable Commissioners United States.*

Received on the 24th, and answered.

COLERAINE, 24th June, 1796.

**GENTLEMEN:**

We did, on the day we addressed the Indians in public council, inform you, that, in our opinion, you should commence your conference on the next day. The want of a copy of your communication, caused a short delay, among the Indians, in making their reply for you, which they sent to us.

We attended them at their request, and received the reply to our address, both of which we communicated to you. Yesterday was the first day since we could meet them on business, and we called on you, in the morning, to know whether you would, on that day, meet the Indians, and being told that you would not be ready till this morning, we did, in the presence of the commissioners, who attended our conferences with the Indians, inform them that you would meet them, this morning, on the object of your mission. The Indians have a square of negotiation

in their encampment, to which they are attached, and, at their request, we shall meet them there. We have only to add that no time should now be lost in negotiating with them; that we shall meet them, every day, in council, and that your business shall be a primary object.

B. H.  
G. C.  
A. P.

*Honorable Commissioners of Georgia.*

This morning the commissioners of the United States went to the Indian square of negotiation. One of the gentlemen requested Captain Eaton to call on the commissioners of Georgia, and conduct them to the conference; this he attempted to do, and waited some time for them; but left them and came on. After waiting two hours, or more, the commissioners received this letter:

COLERAINE, June 24, 1796.

GENTLEMEN: Among a variety of circumstances, which have happened since our arrival, highly grating to our feelings, one has just happened which we are sorry for, as Captain Tinsley has been so polite as to wait on us, to assure us it was contrary to orders, and we were on the way to meet you at the conference.

We have been stopped by the picket, which refused the passage of our secretary; he had our papers, and we were compelled to return.

Although we are of opinion with Captain Tinsley, and thank him for his attention, we cannot forbear to express how much we feel, that we should be at all liable to such interruptions, in the exercise of our duty to our country.

We are, gentlemen, with great respect, your obedient servants,

JAS. JACKSON,  
JAS. SIMMS.

*Honorable Commissioners of the United States.*

We immediately returned this answer, and requested Captain Eaton to deliver it to the gentlemen:

MUSCOGEE, 24th June, 1796.

GENTLEMEN:

We have to lament that any incident should have happened, during your being here, grating to your feelings. We have never intended any thing that should be capable of that construction.

The apology of Captain Tinsley was proper. We, ourselves, called on you, yesterday, to conduct you here, and, this day, Captain Eaton did the same. We have felt, on all occasions, a disposition to accommodate you, in obtaining the objects of your mission; and, it is to be regretted, that difficulties should obtrude themselves unnecessarily.

The Indians are now in council, waiting your arrival; we have apprized them of your intention of seeing them. They appear well disposed; we have postponed entering on the business, more immediately connected with our mission, to give place to yours, as a primary object; and we shall wait one hour longer for you.

We have the honor to be, with due respect, gentlemen, your obedient servants,

B. H.  
G. C.  
A. P.

*Honorable Commissioners of Georgia.*

The commissioners of Georgia attended, and the council opened.

The commissioners of the United States, by Mr. Hawkins:

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CREEK LAND:

This paper, which I now show you, is the paper you sent us in answer to the beloved men of Georgia. We have showed it to them; you are now together, face to face. I shall read it to you, that you may know, and say, whether it is your talk, and your determination. The talk being read, paragraph by paragraph, and interpreted, is as follows:

The chiefs, here present, wish to inform the three gentlemen, commissioners, sent by the President of the United States, of what they have to say, respecting what they had told them, by the three gentlemen, commissioners from Georgia.

The chiefs, here assembled, say, that the three treaties, mentioned by the commissioners of Georgia, at Augusta, at Galphinton, and at Shoulderbone, that there was not a full representation of the nation at any of those treaties above mentioned. Therefore, the nation, in general, never looked upon any of them as binding. The chiefs, here present, say, that, at Shoulderbone treaty, there was a number of men present under arms, which frightened the Fat king of the Cussetahs, and the Tallasse king, into what was done respecting the relinquishment of any lands. That the other two treaties, at Augusta and Galphinton, were both carried on in like manner, and without a full representation of the nation. The chiefs, here assembled, say, that, in consequence of such management, they look upon no treaty binding on their nation, but the treaty held at New York; as those men that went on there, before the President of the United States, were invested with full power to make every thing that was done there binding on the whole Creek nation.

The chiefs say, that they were told, by their beloved man, McGillivray, after they got into their own land, from Congress, that no property was demanded of them, but what was taken after the peace was concluded between Great Britain and the United States. Such property that has been taken since, we, the chiefs, have done our endeavors to return. Some negroes we have returned. The white persons we have given all up. Some horses we have returned; and have returned more horses, but, the great sickness that raged among the horses in our nation, put it out of our power.

The negroes cause great disputes among us, in our land, with respect to returning them, as some are sold, and bartered, from one to another, and the property paid for them consumed, by those who got it, which makes it a difficult matter for us to obtain negroes under those circumstances; however, there is some still in our land that can be come at; and we, the chiefs, will do every thing we can to return them. The chiefs, here present, say, that, with respect to the line agreed upon, while they were at Congress, was as follows: That the line was, as they understood it while at Congress, to begin at the head of the most northward branch of the Oconee river, known to the Indians by the name of little Oconee, which heads up near Tugelo, and to come down the said stream, till it intercepts the old line run by the British, and there to cross the Altamaha, according to the old British line, and, on said line, to St. Mary's river. This is the line, the chiefs say, that was to begin high upon the Oconee; men, according to their agreement at Congress, were appointed, and prepared to run it. But, the day before they were to start, one Bowles came into their land with a deal of talks. They were convinced, since, they were all lies. Nevertheless, his talks made a great deal of confusion in their land, and was a great obstruction to their performing their promise to the President of the United States.

We, the chiefs, were told, at a general meeting of our whole nation, by our beloved man, Mr. McGillivray, that, as soon as this line, before mentioned, was run, and completed, that he was assured, by the President of the United States, and his Congress, that no more demand should be made for any Indian lands; and that he, the President,

would suffer no future encroachments to be made on the Indians' hunting ground. They say they were, likewise, told by Mr. McGillivray, that it was, likewise, agreed on, at Congress, that after those lines were run, that if they found any stock of any kind, whatsoever, on their grounds, that they were at liberty to make them their own, or, if they even met any white man hunting on their hunting grounds, that they were at liberty to strip them of all they have, but spare their lives. The chiefs say, that the burning of houses, destroying hogs and cattle, are mentioned to them; such things are done on both sides; what was done, not long ago, at the Little Oakfuskees, and many other things of the like nature, we do not mention; which we could do, with propriety, if we were to look back.

The chiefs answer, to this demand, respecting negroes, horses, hogs, cows, and other property, that the great body of land on the Altamaha, from that up the Oconee, and across over to Ogechee, all which is now settled, or at least claimed by the citizens of Georgia; that this boundary includes a great body of land relinquished by the Indians; on the land, they say, there is a great deal of timber, pine and oak, which are of great use to the white people, which, they say, they send to foreign countries, and brings them a great deal of money: on this land, they say, there is a great deal of good grass for cattle and horses, and a great deal of good feed for hogs; on this land, they say, there is a great deal of tobacco made, which, likewise, brings a great deal of goods into Georgia; all these things, they say, is productive of great advantages to their friends, the white people. This land, the chiefs of the Creek nation say, they have had no consideration for, any ways adequate to the value of it. The chiefs mention, that even the very streams of water are found valuable for mills to grind the wheat and corn that is made on those very lands; the pine trees, that are dead, are valuable for tar; all these things, they say, are lasting profits; if they have had a little goods, in one or two seasons, they are rotten, and gone to nothing.

The chiefs say, they mention the profits that arise from those lands to the citizens of the United States; they do not mention it that they wish to be paid more for it; they are, they say, poor people, and can remain so.

The chiefs say that, notwithstanding all they have been told from the President of the United States and his officers, that no encroachments should be made on their hunting grounds, that, on the west side of the Oconee, high up, that is, from fort Fidius upward, that the woods is full of cattle, hogs, and horses, some of which range near the Oakmulgees. Besides that, those woods are constantly full of white men, hunters, even going about in the night, hunting deer with fire light. They say their hunters, in consequence of such proceedings, are frightened, and drove in from their hunting grounds; every cane swamp, where they go to look for a bear, which is part of their support, is near eat out with the stocks put over by the citizens of Georgia; none of those stocks they have as yet molested. The chiefs say, they are now asked for their land, as far as the Oakmulgee river, and across, from the fork of the Oconee, and Oakmulgee rivers, to the head of St. Mary's. We are told that those lands are of no service to us, but still, we consider that, if we can hold our lands, there will always be a turkey or a deer, or, in the streams of water, a fish to be found, for our young generation, that will come after us. We are afraid that, if we part with any more of our lands, that at last the white people will not suffer us to keep as much as will be sufficient to bury our dead. The chiefs say that the white people, their friends, must, and do know, themselves, that, if they part with any more of their lands, that they will bring ruin on their children; that they are increasing in numbers, as well as the whites, and that, before long, every fork of a creek, where there is a little good land, will be of use to them, and every stream of water, where there is a fish to be found.

The chiefs say, that though there is Flint river, and the Oakmulgee river, and also that Oconee, that ought to be between the Indians' territory and the whites; yet, just before they left their towns, to come down here, there was a party of their hunters frightened, and run into their towns, from over below the Oakmulgee and Oconee, by the white horsemen from the State of Georgia, near opposite Shoulderbone. They say, how much worse would this be, if the whites had the land to the Oakmulgee bank; the stock then would be put over that river, and of course range to Flint river, which is to the borders of their nation.

The chiefs say they are told by the commissioners of Georgia, that they have a large quantity of goods, aboard of a ship, to give to the Indians, for the land they want of them. These goods, they say, are theirs; the land belongs to the Indians, and they wish to keep it, and hope the white people from these circumstances mentioned, will think they are right; and keep their goods for other purposes.

The whole being interpreted, the commissioners enjoined it on all the interpreters to be particular, as they were on oath; and put a question to the chiefs:

Is this the talk which you made in council, and sent to the beloved men, commissioners of Georgia?

*Answer.*—Yes, it was the very words we spoke.

*Question, by the Commissioners of Georgia.* Why did not you say this face to face to us, in the square, where we spoke to you?

The representatives of the nation directed that Alexander Cornell should be the principal speaker, to answer all questions which shall be made to them.

*Cornell.*—The chiefs could give no other reason, than that they choose first to sit together in council, with their interpreter, and reduce their talks to writing. But that they were ready to give it verbally, when digested, at any time, and in the square, face to face, if the commissioners choose they should do so.

*Question, by the commissioners of Georgia.*—Is this your usual custom, to carry in talks in writing, or do you always give them from the voice, in the public square?

*Answer.*—There is no rule reduced to system. When they talk among themselves, it is usual to talk face to face, and to send beads to assist the memory. But, as we had, in this instance, a talk to deliver to white people, and having our linguists all present, we chose to send our answer in writing.

*Question by Georgia commissioners.*—Have the Indians any method, in their nation, of making tar out of dead pine trees?

*Answer.*—The Indians all know these things well, and have seen it done. That, when the trees are dead, and nearly rotten, the white people take the light wood, cover it with dirt, burn it, and the tar runs out, which they spread over the ships.

*Question by commissioners United States.*—Have you any other talk, or any thing more to say, on these subjects, to the beloved men of Georgia?

*Cornell* said, he would explain himself to his friends, his father, and brothers.

The talk he had given was the general voice of the whole nation, and spoken by him at their request; he does not wish to trouble or tire the commissioners with a long talk; he had a little to say, and begged he might be heard.

The talk you have got, is the talk of the whole nation; and, if they were all here, they would all say the same. As for talking any more about the land, it is needless to talk any more. If you are determined to take the land, to drive us off, and make us poor, it must be so. If the sharp weapons of defence are to be taken from us, and as our dependence is on the white people, we must be driven from our lands, and made poor. We must, we suppose, submit.

We have been a great while sitting on public talks; we have become impatient, and want to go home. We are used to hunger, and want rest, in our own country. But we are tired, and want to go home, and wish the talks may be closed this day.

*Commissioners United States, by Mr. Hopkins:*

**BROTHERS OF THE CREEK LAND:** In one of the answers which your speaker has given, it is insinuated that the people of Georgia are capable of taking your lands. The people of Georgia cannot take your lands from you. They are guaranteed to you by the treaty of New York. Your brothers of Georgia came here to buy the land, and to offer you a valuable consideration for it; so that, if you are willing to sell, they will bargain with you for it. If you do not choose to take what they have offered, or may offer, you can say what you would take.

*Cornell.*—I have a little more to say. There was a good deal of talk at New York, and disputing; but I found the right of it out yesterday. After the treaty at New York, and all the people got home, Mr. McGillivray called the nation together, shewed them the line which Congress had described, and the whole nation agreed that it should bet he line, and that they know nothing of any other agreement, and, if there were, it was not the act of the nation.

On hearing of this line, they sent word to General Washington that it should be so, but they knew nothing of any other line, but found out yesterday that McGillivray had made a secret contract, and had kept it hidden from them.

Upon a conference between Mr. Jackson and Cornell, on the subject of certain treaties, the commissioners remarked that the Government of the United States did not acknowledge the validity of the treaties in question. The treaty of New York was valid. That Georgia, upon the Declaration of Independence, and until the ratification of the Confederation, possessed competent authority to make treaties. But then, that authority was vested in Congress; of course, any act, purporting to be a treaty, while the authority was vested in the confederation of Congress, the commissioners could not acknowledge to be valid.

The commissioners told the chiefs they were done for this day, but that they should meet them again to-morrow, early.

In the evening we received despatches from the War Office, covering some copies of "An act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace upon the frontiers." This is very important information for us; it will enable us to do away a number of difficulties, suggested by the Indians, in their private conferences with us; as well as furnish arguments, to impress that confidence of which we have given them repeated assurances, in the uprightness of federal measures.

*June 25th.*—The Indians attended early this morning, and the conference opened with a description of the act received last evening. The Indians were informed that this was a law of the land, and calculated to carry into effect some of the promises made at New York. That the treaty, there made, was the basis of the promises on the part of the President, and that this act is made, and contains the provision necessary, to carry those promises into effect.

The commissioners explained the boundary line in the first section, stated its extent, and that the act was a remedy, through the whole extent of it, for the abuses committed by the whites and Indians.

They then explained the whole act, and promised, at the request of the Indians, to give them two copies for their nation. In the course of the explanation, it was deemed necessary to give a narrative of some difficulties, which existed between the United States and their neighbors; and the delay, in consequence, in making effectual arrangements to carry all the stipulations of the Government into effect.

They then said, you see that the white people have had their difficulties, and that it required time to set matters to rights. They have now adopted measures which are likely to put all their affairs to rights, and carry all their promises into effect. You now see, our great council have done much to bring about a happy conciliation. We now must also do something. It now remains but to come to a good understanding with your brethren of Georgia, and to adjust some other matters with us for your benefit. The Georgians have claims for negroes and property taken, which they call upon you to restore to them. General Washington has sent this law to us, which we have explained; it shows that he means to take care of your rights, and those of his white children. He will place his warriors on your lands, near the line, if you consent thereto, to take care of you. He will cause justice to be done to you, and he expects you will do justice to the white people. As soon as you and the Georgians have settled your differences, we will say to the citizens of Georgia, you shall do justice to your red brothers. The President is like a father; he knows that his white and red children of Georgia and the Creeks have had a quarrel; he looks over them as his children, and will decide between them. Your complaints on both sides have been carried to him.

The commissioners then explained the misunderstanding arising from the settlements of the lands over the Little Oconee; they stated that the treaty had been sent to the white people, who saw that the Apalachy was the line; they settled accordingly; you said the Oconee was the line, and thus arose a misunderstanding; and perhaps this very misunderstanding is the cause of ill blood between you, and the murders committed in some part of that neighborhood. The people of Georgia sent complaints to the President that you were dissatisfied with the lines, and did not keep the treaty; that you withhold the negroes and property from them, taken since the treaty, and that you were taking more from them. Your father the President, when he had heard these complaints on both sides, said to us, go to Coleraine, there meet my red and white children, hear the complaints on both sides, and settle the difficulties between them. Go, said he; I will invite all my red children to meet you there, and will direct them of the beloved men of Georgia to meet you also; let them both state their complaints to you, do you hear them, and settle every thing between them, and cause the hatchet to be buried for ever. And, while you are doing this, I and my old council will be making a regulation, which shall make good what you do. Your young people are some of them mad, some of the young people of Georgia are mad also. But we are not; we are old men, sent here from all parties to reconcile differences, and what we do, must be good. War is a miserable curse; it gratifies the foolish pride and ambition of the young and thoughtless, but entails wretchedness on all who feel its influence.

Peace is a blessing; peace must be re-established, and the depredations of war forgotten; wisdom must interfere. The young and ambitious must be taught to respect the decisions of their wise and old chiefs; they must be taught to be content with their lot of peace; they must be taught to respect the law, to acquiesce in its decisions, and not to attempt to be judges in their own case. If they will not be taught this, they may be assured, red and white, that their father will extend his arm, and correct.

The commissioners then took a retrospective view of what had been said, recapitulated the most material parts, and concluded: We hope you will think seriously on these things; we have come a great way to settle your difficulties; and "we wish you would, to-morrow, come and sit down in temper, and talk over your affairs with the beloved men of Georgia; we will hear you, and arbitrate between you. Your Great Father has sent us here for that purpose." [A request from Colonel Hendricks, present.]

Fusatchee Mico replied:

We do not know what more can be said to the commissioners of Georgia. We have given a decided answer to the requisition for land. If Georgia has any other business to introduce, let them mention it, that we may know what business will come before us. If we were to talk again, it would only be the same thing over again. The talk already given is the determined voice of the whole representation, and not one of them can be dissuaded from his determination. Any proposition on the subject of land, will meet the same answer; therefore, this subject is done with; and I cannot see the propriety of further conference. I have already told you that our bounds were so contracted that we have hardly ground to hunt upon, and that the nation would not agree, at all, to part with any more land.

Mr. Simms, one of the commissioners of Georgia, replied:

The commissioners of Georgia understood the chiefs yesterday. But, as the beloved men of Washington thought it would be proper to talk again, they came here to day to hear; and, being more fully convinced of your determination not to sell your lands, we have nothing further to say on the subject. That they were under the direction of the beloved men, commissioners of the United States; if they thought proper that further talks should be made, the commissioners of Georgia are disposed to do so.

Mr. Clymer observed:

The commissioners of the United States have no individual wish, nor interest, any farther than equal justice to the parties induce it, in conformity to instructions.

Mr. Hawkins:

CHIEFS OF THE CREEKS LAND: You know, some time ago that this business, respecting your land, rested entirely with yourselves. The President sent his talk to you, and told you, if you were willing to sell your lands, say so; if not, say so. There was no compulsion.

Fusatchee Mico, replied:

We have now spoken to the commissioners on both sides; we wish to retire and consult together, and will call on you and talk again; we will retire, and return immediately.

*Mr. Hawkins.* Very well, take your own time; we will wait and attend on you, whenever it is convenient for you.

The chiefs returned in about half an hour, and made a short speech. They recapitulated what was done at New York; their understanding of the treaty, and that of the boundary, was the Little Oconee. They declared this to be the understanding of those who went to New York, and that they had communicated it to the nation, the spring after their return; and that the whole nation expected this to be the line, and no other.

The commissioners informed the Indians they would attend again to-morrow.

The commissioners and chiefs met.

June 26th, 1796.

*Alexander Cornell.*—The Indians wished to know the opinion of the commissioners, relative to the boundary debated on yesterday, and to receive their advice.

The commissioners explained the line, according to the treaty of New York; and they advised that the Indians should concur in it. The Indians enumerated many difficulties attending it, and proposed to run the line from the Currahee to a fort near the falls of the Apalachy, two days' walk below the source of the river. The commissioners said, no; they must abide by the line of New York; and if there were any settlers over that line, they should be removed back; we are not now bargaining with you; if we were, we might accommodate you. But the land now belongs to the people of Georgia; they are uneasy about it, and we must hold the line good as understood by the President.

*Chiefs.*—The claim is new to us; we heard it three years ago for the first time, and some of our chiefs shed tears, but we did not believe what was then said to us, it being directly contradictory to what all of us, who went to New York, said was the truth. We now suppose what you say must be the understanding of the President. But it is new to us, and, having never met the approbation of the chiefs, makes it hard on our parts to concede to it.

*Commissioners.*—We must abide by the instructions of the President in this affair; he understood the line as mentioned in the treaty, or he would never have had it signed, or now insist upon it.

*Chiefs.*—It has been understood by us, that the Little Oconee was the line; but we see that we have been imposed on, perhaps by our beloved man (McGillivray.)

*Commissioners.*—We expect you have been, some how, imposed upon by your chiefs; but we cannot help it; we cannot depart from the line marked out by the treaty, as understood by the President. The people of Georgia are, as well as you, dissatisfied with this treaty; they say, this is their line, and also, they ought to have the line from the Oconee and Oakmulgee, to the head of St. Mary's. The people who own these lands in the fork of the Apalachy, are dissatisfied at your claims; they hold to the treaty of New York. They have paid taxes for their property, and, perhaps, some of their money goes to pay for the beef and rice we now eat at this treaty.

*Indians.*—Our objections go to the right of the thing; we do not know we ever consented to part with them, and, believing this, we think we have a right to complain that we are not fairly dealt with. This line comes to the neighborhood of Chatahochee; these rivers have their source in the same grounds.

*Commissioners.*—We supposed the lines had been fully explained between McGillivray and Knox; and the same must be run by good men of the two parties. You will view the map, and you will see where it must be.

*Indians.*—We see and know. It is but half a day's walk from these sources to the Apalachicola; it borders too near upon our country.

*Commissioners.*—We know the distance you mention, but the treaty was not made here; it was made at New York, and ratified by the President and his old council. One of us was one of the Senate at the time. If it has not been explained, the fault was not the President's, and we cannot allow it in favor of either of the parties.

*Indians.*—We are sorry for it, and think it hard.

*Commissioners.*—We have come, to see justice done to both parties. The treaty is our guide; it is expected on one side, it must be adhered to on the other. This line is ratified by treaty, and must be considered valid, and carried into effect. You know, in all our proceedings, we have been candid; we have explained the treaty, we have explained the claims of Georgia, and we have explained the guarantee to you; this shows you the uprightness of the disposition of the Government. And we must repeat, we have no power to make any alterations of this treaty, to the injury of the people of Georgia. You and they must abide by this line, unless you and they bargain to alter it, and we approve of it.

*Indians.*—If we agree to that line, the cattle-hunters will be running into our country, and ours into yours, and peace will never be certain.

*Commissioners.*—We will again explain some parts of this law, and we can only add, that it will be carried into effect, and that no infractions of it should be committed with impunity.

*Indians.*—These lands are in the heart of our hunting grounds, which makes us strenuous to retain it. We have had, on former occasions, assurances, such as you now make. We once caught a man hunting on our grounds; we took him to the nation, and took his beaver trap from him; but a demand came for the trap, and we were obliged to give it up.

*Commissioners.*—The Indians might have given permission to the man to hunt. Of course, he ought to have had his trap returned. Under the law we have explained, you see the case would be different now.

*Indians.*—We are not satisfied; we must, and do, insist on the line as we understand it.

*Commissioners.*—We have answered you already. If we were now making the treaty, we could talk about that line; but, as the treaty is made, we cannot alter it. You see, in the first section of the law, the line that is drawn between the red and the white people. It is according to the treaty, in its whole length, and this law will have effect as extensive.

*Indians.*—That land which McGillivray defrauded us out of, we know not if he had money for it; we never received a farthing for it—we mean that in the fork; but if you will keep it, we must lose it: we cannot help it.

*Commissioners.*—You see the stipulations in the treaty for the cession of claims; if the annuity is not paid, it is still due, and will be paid, according to agreement.

*Indians.*—We do not know that any goods have been received on this account. Chenah said yes, there was some sent up by one Higgins, from the Rock Landing.

*Commissioners.*—Exclusive of the goods, fifteen hundred dollars are to be paid, which, it appears, have not been paid; but when the treaty of New York is fully complied with, the annuity will be punctually paid. And we can assure you, that the President will not suffer any fraud to be practised against you; that the treaty would be faithfully observed by, and on the part of, the United States.

*Indians.*—If the line was so high up the river as to keep cattle from crossing the river, it would be better; but to extend it to the sources and small streams of the river's head, would render it impossible to prevent cattle, hogs, &c. crossing, which would be a source of eternal bickering and disagreement; nor would it be possible for all the soldiers in the world, to prevent it, or even to remedy it. If the line could be drawn to some high bluff, where the river is not fordable, we would not object, however high it should be up the river. We wish you would let us take your map home into our nation, lay it before the whole nation, and if they agree, it shall be good.

*Commissioners.*—The objection to running the line on the small streams, applies equally to the line run across the country. The line described by treaty cannot be altered.

*Indians.*—We think you should accommodate us, by coming somewhat lower than you mention; the line will be very near the Apalachicola, and some of it will cross the waters making into that river.

*Commissioners.*—We have said all on the subject which can be said on our part. The line must remain, and every part of this treaty must be binding, until altered by another.

A *Coweta Chief Warrior*, then addressed the chiefs with great energy, violent emotions, and apparent decision. The purport was, that it was time to have a consultation among themselves, to determine for the general good, and to speak decidedly and positively to the beloved men sent by their father.

After a consultation of one or two hours, the chiefs returned, and Alexander-Cornell, their speaker, said, in English, that all had concluded, at last, that the line should be run according to the treaty at New York, and the explanation given by the commissioners; and that, whenever persons should, on the part of the President, be appointed to run the line, the chiefs would appoint one also.

The commissioners then directed him to give the reply, and conclusion of the representation, in the Indian language, which he did.

*Question by the commissioners.*—Is this the assent of the nation?

*Cornell.*—Yes. I am directed to speak the sense of the representation, and it is this: The matter in question has been laid before them, since they have been here. It was a strange and a hard matter; a thing which they had not explained to them at New York, and could not explain to the nation. It was with the utmost reluctance that they consented to give the land away; it was like pulling out their hearts, and throwing them away. But, after all, while they can say they find it must be so, that there is no other way to save the rest of the lands, their wives, and their children, and induced by considerations of safety, the representatives of the nation, present, had concurred that the line should be run, as before expressed.

We hope the white people will not be in a hurry to settle the land, till the line is run; that, if there is any stock of the white people's on the land, it must be removed; and that there shall be no further encroachments beyond the present settlement of the white people, till the line is run. That, from the fork of the Oconee and Oakmulgee, up to the mouth of Apalachy, and all up the west side of that river, there have been seen, hogs, horses, and cattle, ranging as far back as the waters of Oakmulgee, all the winter past. As that land is the property of the Indians, these must be immediately removed to the east side of the Oconee. And that will be a convincing proof to us, that the new act regulating intercourse, and to prevent encroachments, will be carried into effect.

The white people come over hunting; they hunt by night, with fire; they go even to the creeks of Oakmulgee, they encamp, and tarry days and nights on the heads of those waters; they carry off fish by loads, and when the Indian hunters come into these lands, they find the whites there, taking their deer and other game; and this they do constantly. This is a complaint, which the whole representation of the nation now present, old and young, make to you. And we require that an immediate stop should be put to this trespass on our rights. The young men, particularly, who are most interested and most injured by it, request this.

I have stated many complaints of the nation, and I am desirous to state the wishes of the Indians. It is, that it be expounded as the understanding of the nation present, that, from the middle of the Oconee, on the east side, belongs to the whites, that there they may do as they please; but that all the west side of this centre line which divides the Oconee, including creeks, and all waters, belongs to the Indians, and that the whites have no right to go there. That, if any cattle, or other property of the whites, be found on the west side of the line, the Indians will deem it a right to consider it theirs.

I am now to address to you a talk from our young men who are present:

The young people have seen, with anxiety, the situation in which the old people have been placed, for several days past: that it was impossible for them to settle the matter in question, without some sacrifice of this sort. They have therefore consented to it, and, at the same time, deeming it immensely valuable to them as hunting ground, being among the best which they possess, they, notwithstanding, make the same reserve respecting the creeks, the ground bordering on them, and that the line shall be down the middle of the Oconee and Talapocka, as the old men had made.

Here you are, the three beloved men, from our friend and father, General Washington, come to talk to the Indians. There are present, also, beloved men from all the Indian tribes; some young men, and some not yet grown up. They have all heard this agreement, and we mean to abide by it; and we all hope the white people will do so likewise. That it shall be perpetual; even when we, who are present, shall be dead and gone, it shall be a standing law to the generations who shall succeed us, on both sides.

This is all which we have to say to-day. We hope you will make a finishing business to-morrow. The people have been here a long while, and are becoming impatient to go home. That, after the talks of to-morrow shall be concluded, we expect the next thing will be preparing to go home.

The commissioners, by Mr. Hawkins, explained the treaty of New York, relative to the boundary; informed the Indians that the line was to be drawn along the centre of the river, and, that their request, relative to this point, was already provided for. As to trespasses on their rights, the law, lately explained, put this on the proper footing for the present, and its operations would most likely produce all they wished.

I must now mention two other things, the one of the utmost importance to you; it is the fixing proper sites for trading posts, and posts of protection; the other, the subject of retaliation. The first, we think, you should leave to the President's discretion, to be exercised for your benefit. I will show you this to-morrow, in the sketch of a treaty we mean to be the subject of that day's conversation.

As to the subject of retaliation, we have already spoken our minds freely to the friends and chiefs of the towns more immediately interested; we shall, notwithstanding, give, at the usual place, our lodgings, some further explanations. We have nothing further to say this day, but we are well pleased with the good sense of our red brethren, and their solicitude to provide for the means of perpetual peace and friendship with their white brethren.

MONDAY, 27th June.

This morning the friends and chiefs of the towns who had lost the Indians, lately murdered on the frontiers of Georgia, paid us a visit. They informed us of every thing appertaining to this transaction, within their reach; their having suspended, on the letter of Mr. Seagrove, the mode usual among them on such occasions, and that now they chose to come privately to talk with us, to know whether they might expect that the murderers would be punished. They understood that the purport of Mr. Seagrove's letter to them was, an assurance that they might here see one of the culprits executed, and that, for this purpose, many of the relations of the deceased came expressly to see this execution.

The commissioners replied, they were pleased with the mode proposed to treat this subject, by the Indians, in private. They then entered fully into the subject; stated the length of the line on the frontiers, as detailed in the first section of the act explained to the Indians. That blood had been spilt by bad people on both sides, the whole length of it. That, if the account was fairly settled for the last three years, the Indians had certainly killed two for one; that, even here, in this neighborhood, the murders at Trader's Hill, and near the Burnt Fort, were not yet accounted for, and they were unprovoked.

That they saw in the invitation, sent by the President, how he, and all the good people, were grieved at the late murders in Georgia; that he called on the Governor of Georgia to cause the laws to be put in execution against the murderers. They were then shewn the steps taken by the Governor and the Legislature of Georgia.

The commissioners then stated, in as striking a point of view as they could, the injustice of the Indian mode of retaliation. That, on the whole line of frontier, there were some people friendly to the Indians; that these people gave notice to the officers of Government of all those who violated Indian rights; that it would be unfortunate, indeed, that any of those friendly to them, should suffer, under their idea of retaliation. They then stated that the business must stop somewhere. If they shed innocent blood, the friends of such would demand satisfaction. The rule among us, explained, in similar cases, our abhorrence of the punishment of the innocent.

They seemed somewhat to give in to our idea: some of them reprobated, in strong terms, a contrary doctrine, and urged that the wicked only should suffer. We subscribed to this doctrine. Whereupon, they urged that these people under arrest should not be included in our terms of expressing the article of amnesty in the proposed treaty. They then left us, with a declaration, that they should see us again on this subject; that they were not yet satisfied; but they must try to reconcile the difference between us on this point, as well as they could.

The commissioners then met the Indians in their own encampment, at the place of negotiation. They explained the draught proposed for the treaty between the parties, and, after having had it read, paragraph by paragraph, and



translated. the Indians shewed some uneasiness at the wording of the articles relative to trading or military posts; thought that the whole savoured of an encroachment on their lands. They named Wallars, an unfit place, twelve miles below Beard's bluff, on the south of the Altamaha. They seemed unwilling to be suspected of wanting confidence in the Government of the United States, yet could not bring themselves to cede any fit place for an establishment. Upon this, we left them to their own reflections, and returned to our place of residence. After we had left them, they said they were apprehensive they had done wrong, and that we were angry with them, but they could not help it, and they would consult, and see if they could do better to-morrow.

TUESDAY, 28th June.

This morning spent in conversation with several influential chiefs, on the subject of retaliation, and restitution of property. The chiefs promised to fulfil these two articles, as explained, as far as was in their power. They said they had already delivered much property, and would still persevere; but there were many difficulties. That there was not much in the nation, nor ever had been, nearly to the amount contemplated by the pretended claims of the commissioners of Georgia. They said, after they should have carried their present stipulations as completely into effect as they could, they did not expect there would be four thousand dollars behind hand, perhaps not the half of that. That, on the subject of retaliation, they could not clearly understand us, and of course were fearful some embarrassments would result from it. That their long established habits could not easily be done away, although the contrary doctrine, urged by us, was, to some of them, highly acceptable. They said, they would stipulate for the present, and until they heard from the President, about running the line; at that time, they hoped to receive his advice; in the mean time, they would follow ours; and they requested that some man might be sent into their nation to explain fully these points, in their towns. That such a man, coming from the President, should be treated as if he were the President himself.

The commissioners then went to the square of negotiation, and the Indians all assembled immediately.

Fusatche Mico addressed the Indians:

The Big king of the Cussetahs reverted to the unfinished business of yesterday; hoped it would be settled to-day. He reverted to the place by them proposed yesterday, as that was not satisfactory to the white people. They had examined fully among themselves, and would now, without reserve, go the utmost extent of their powers. They had concluded on a place about one or two miles above Beard's bluff; it was the first bluff on the south side of the river, above that station. This, or any place below, you may take, and we will freely give it up, on the terms you propose. As soon as our talks go up to the President, we will mutually agree on some other place.

We present, know, General Washington, and his beloved men present, and Major Seagrove, mean nothing but to do rightly by the Indians. But this is not known to all the Indians; they cannot conceive it so, and have some fears and jealousies. We have fixed on the place we mention. But, still, we will leave it to General Washington, and the people whom he appoints, when the talks of the President come into our land.

The upper line on the Apalachy is fixed on: when the President sends word to run that, proper people, on our part, will be present, to assist in doing it. And if it should be deemed proper, by the President, to fix a post for his warriors on our side of the line, up any where there, it shall be then fixed on; that this was the wish and sentiment of all present. That, at the time aforesaid, it should be in the discretion of the President to choose the necessary post for his warriors, to be fixed on; and the people attending from their nation should concur in it.

Fusatche Mico said: I have taken the necessary time to investigate the matter clearly, and make it understood by all; and I have now come to a conclusion. As soon as I saw the establishment of forts made by Clarke, broken up by Washington's warriors, it was a satisfactory demonstration, that General Washington meant nothing but their good; and consequently, we have all determined to confide in him. He then mentioned the pains taken by him and others, upon hearing of Major Seagrove's intended visit to the nation, to meet and conduct him safe, and his constant advice to his people, to listen to the talks of the agent, as they were the words of Washington himself. The young men following this advice, restored peace in their land. We have now done; you have your choice, on the terms mentioned, of such posts as Washington wants; we will now go upon trade, and other points, settle the whole, as we are impatient to be going home.

Mr. Hawkins expressed the satisfaction of the commissioners at their decision, and assured them it should be adhered to; and as they relied on the President for their protection, and for the protection of their lands; as they had confidence in him, and were willing he should judge of the places suitable for the protection of their rights; and as, to use an expression of theirs, they deposited their safety, and the tenure of their lands, in the hands of General Washington, the commissioners pledged the faith of the Government, that both should be secured.

The line of boundary, between us and Spain, was then explained; the extension of the guarantee as stipulated in the treaty of New York. The chiefs were then required, that when this line was to be run, that they would furnish two chiefs, and twenty hunters, to act as guides and hunters. After considerable pains in explaining this, the chiefs agreed.

The article for the restoration of property, according to the New York treaty, was then introduced and explained, and its extension, according to the new article. These points were urged as indispensable, and that they must be attended to, and carried into effect.

The article of amnesty was then introduced, conformable with the stipulations concerted with the chiefs.

The commissioners then, in token of the friendship of the United States, and in testimony of their approbation of the conduct of the Indians, during the negotiation, and for the considerations mentioned in the treaty, gave the Indians goods, to the value of six thousand dollars; and promised, moreover, two blacksmiths, one for the Upper, and one for the Lower Creeks.

Mr. Hawkins, then told the Indians, the commissioners would recapitulate what was agreed on; and the next day they would introduce the whole in form of a treaty, have the same explained, and if approved, it should then be signed; one copy given to them, and one sent to the President; that if he and his old counsellors said it was good, it should be binding on all parties:

1st. The treaty of New York, to be carried into effect, with the exceptions in this treaty.

2d. The line to be run from the Currahee, to the source of the main south branch of the Oconee, called Apalachy, at the discretion of the President.

3d. Trading posts, at the discretion of the President, any where on the Oconee, or Altamaha, as soon as he deems it advisable to run the upper line; in the mean time, and as long as there may be occasion for the same, the place above Beard's Bluff, is given.

4th. The line between Spain and the United States, to be run as mentioned. Hopewell and Holston treaties, valid.

5th. Restoration of property, under the treaty of New York, and since taken, to be faithfully made.

6th. The United States, as by the New York treaty, guaranty to the Indians, all their lands, within the boundaries of the said States.

7th. General oblivion of the past, and amnesty extended to every person, except those under arrest, now in the State of Georgia.

8th. The present of goods, to the value of six thousand dollars, to be now given.

9th and last. The two smiths to be sent to the nation.

These points being all recapitulated, Mr. Hawkins added: The commissioners now hope, as there appears a fair prospect of accommodation, that the old men on both sides would observe moderation; that they would adhere strictly to the stipulations, and teach their children to keep this treaty forever.

CUSSETAH MICO.—I have a short request. I wish to know whether the stipulation respecting the annuity, be still valid?

Answer.—Yes, as soon as the treaty is carried into complete effect.

I must also add, we are much in want of hoes, saws, drawing-knives, and such things.

Answer by the commissioners.—You can have your annuity laid out in these articles.



The commissioners then informed the Indians, that they should prepare two originals of the treaty on parchment, and attend here to-morrow, at 12 o'clock, to have them signed.

We received a paper, signed by the commissioners of Georgia, dated this day, purporting to be a protest against certain proceedings, affecting the object of the State of Georgia.

After the draught of the treaty was read, explained, and amended, and approved by the Indians and commissioners, Mr. Seagrove requested of the commissioners, to take such measures as they deemed advisable, on the subject of his request of the 26th, marked A. They, in conformity therewith, determined, that the examination should be in full council of all the chiefs, and that it should be now had.

The message from the superintendent, dated St. Mary's, in Georgia, 6th April, 1796, marked B, addressed to the chiefs, was then read by Mr. Hawkins, by paragraphs, and interpreted to the Indians. After this was finished, the commissioners put the following questions, and received the answers as recorded.

1st. CHIEFS OF THE CREEK LAND: Is this the talk interpreted to you by Mr. Seagrove, agent in your land?

*Answer by the chiefs.*—Yes, it is the same, word for word.

2d. *By the commissioners.*—Was there any other talk sent you, before or since this talk was interpreted to you, relative to the objects of it?

*Answer.*—No.

3d. *By the commissioners.*—Has Mr. Seagrove, or any of his agents, at any time, advised you against selling your lands to the people of Georgia?

*Answer.*—No. No white man, or any other man, employed by Mr. Seagrove, ever advised any such thing; we advised among ourselves, and determined not to sell them any lands.

The commissioners then requested Mr. Thomas King, to administer an oath to the agents and interpreters, to answer such questions as should be asked of them, which he did.

The persons sworn and interrogated, were Timothy Barnard, James Burges, and Alexander Cornell, Richard Bailey, and Richard Thomas.

*Question by the commissioners.*—You have heard the message read. Is this the message received from Mr. Seagrove, sent to the Creek nation?

*Answer.*—Yes.

2d. *Question by the commissioners.*—Have you, or any of you, any knowledge of any talks from Mr. Seagrove, not to part with their land?

*Answer.*—No: we have not heard of any such.

29th June.—The commissioners this day met the Indians, in the square of negotiation, at 12 o'clock. Present James Seagrove, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, C. N. Henry Gaither, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant; Constant Freeman, A. W. D. Major of artilleryists and engineers, Samuel Tinsley, Captain 3d sub legion; Samuel Allinson, Ensign 2d sub legion; John W. Thompson, Ensign 1st U. S. sub legion; George Gillaspie, Surgeon L. U. S. Timothy Barnard, D. A. and sworn Interpreter; James Burges, D. A. and sworn interpreter; James Jourdan, Richard Thomas, Alexander Cornell, sworn interpreters; William Eaton, Captain 4th U. S. sub legion, commandant at Coleraine.

The commissioners then exhibited the two draughts of the Treaty, had them interpreted, article by article, as follows:

*A treaty of peace and friendship, made and concluded between the President of the United States of America, on the one part, and on behalf of the said States, and the undersigned kings, chiefs, and warriors, of the Creek nation of Indians, on the part of the said nation.*

The parties being desirous of establishing permanent peace and friendship between the United States and the said Creek nation, and the citizens and members thereof, the President of the United States, by Benjamin Hawkins, George Clymer, and Andrew Pickens, commissioners, whom he hath constituted with powers for those purposes, by, and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and the Creek nation of Indians, by the undersigned kings, chiefs, and warriors, representing the whole Creek nation, have agreed to the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. The treaty entered into at New York between the parties, on the 7th day of August, 1790, is, and shall remain, obligatory on the contracting parties, according to the terms of it, except as herein provided for.

ART. 2. The boundary line from the Currahee mountain to the head or source of the main south branch of the Oconee river, called by the white people Apalachy, and by the Indians Tulapocka, and down the middle of the same, shall be clearly ascertained and marked, at such time, and in such manner, as the President shall direct; and the Indians will, on being informed of the determination of the President, send as many of their old chiefs as he may require, to see the line ascertained and marked.

ART. 3. The President of the United States of America shall have full powers, whenever he may deem it advisable, to establish a trading or military post on the south side of the Altamaha, on the bluff about one mile above Beard's bluff, or any where from thence, down the river, on the lands of the Indians; to garrison the same with any part of the military force of the United States, to protect the post, and to prevent the violations of any of the provisions or regulations subsisting between the parties; and the Indians do hereby annex to the post aforesaid, a tract of land, of five miles square, bordering one side on the river; which post, and the lands annexed thereto, are hereby ceded to, and shall be to the use and under the Government of, the United States of America.

ART. 4. As soon as the President of the United States has determined on the time and manner of running the line from the Currahee mountain to the head or source of the main south branch of the Oconee, and notified the chiefs of the Creek land of the same, a suitable number of persons, on their part, shall attend, to see the same completed; and if the President should deem it proper then to fix on any place or places adjoining the river, and on the Indian lands, for military or trading posts, the Creeks who attend there will concur in fixing the same, according to the wishes of the President; and to each post the Indians shall annex a tract of land, of five miles square, bordering one side on the river, and the said lands shall be to the use and under the Government of America: *Provided, always,* That, whenever any of the trading or military posts mentioned in this treaty shall, in the opinion of the President of the United States of America, be no longer necessary for the purposes intended by this cession, the same shall revert to, and become a part of, the Indian lands.

ART. 5. Whenever the President of the United States, and the King of Spain, may deem it advisable to mark the boundaries which separate their territories, the President shall give notice thereof to the Creek chiefs, who will furnish two principal chiefs, and twenty hunters, to accompany the persons employed on this business, as hunters and guides from the Choctaw country to the head of St. Mary's. The chiefs shall receive, each, half a dollar per day, and the hunters one quarter of a dollar, each, per day, and ammunition, and a reasonable value, for the meat delivered by them for the use of the persons on this service.

ART. 6. The treaties of Hopewell, between the United States and the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and at Holston, between the Cherokees and the United States, mark the boundary of those tribes of Indians; and the Creek nation do hereby relinquish all claims to any part of the territory inhabited, or claimed, by the citizens of the United States, in conformity with the said treaties.

ART. 7. The Creek nation shall deliver, as soon as practicable, to the superintendent of Indian affairs, at such place as he may direct, all citizens of the United States, white inhabitants and negroes, who are now prisoners in any part of said nation, agreeable to the treaty of New York; and, also, all citizens, white inhabitants, negroes, and property, taken since the signing of the treaty; and if any such prisoners, negroes, or property, should not be delivered on or before the first day of January next, the Governor of Georgia may empower three persons to repair to the said nation, in order to claim and receive such prisoners, negroes, and property, under the direction of the President of the United States.

ART. 8. In consideration of the friendly disposition of the Creek nation towards the Government of the United States, evidenced by the stipulations in the present treaty, and particularly the leaving it in the discretion of the

President, to establish trading or military posts on their lands, the commissioners of the United States, on behalf of the said States, give to the said nation, goods to the value of six thousand dollars, and stipulate to send to the Indian nation two blacksmiths, and strikers, to be employed for the Upper and Lower Creeks, with the necessary tools.

ART. 9. All animosities, for past grievances, shall henceforth cease, and the contracting parties will carry the foregoing treaty into full execution, with all good faith and sincerity: *Provided, nevertheless*, That persons now under arrest in the State of Georgia, for a violation of the treaty at New York, are not to be included in this amnesty, but are to abide the decision of law.

ART. 10. This treaty shall take effect, and be obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall have been ratified by the President of the United States, by, and with, the advice and consent of the Senate.

Done at Coleraine, the 29th June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six.

The commissioners then addressed the chiefs:

You have assented to this treaty, article by article; we shall now sign it with our hands, and you will do the same.

They replied they would do so.

The remainder of the day was then spent in signing the treaty.

June 30th.—The principal chiefs called, and had a long conversation with the commissioners relative to the stipulations in the treaty. They dwelt much on the article relative to the amnesty; they said they were not quite satisfied of the justice of the act. That the murderers in Georgia would never be punished there, and they had no other reliance than on the justice of the President. We replied, this part of the treaty was well explained, and if they were yet dissatisfied, we could not help it; we had said every thing on the subject that was necessary; that this murdering business must stop somewhere, and we had agreed it should be now. The Government of the United States were at the expense of protecting their rights, and they must be contented and grateful. They said they would do what they could, and they would stipulate solemnly not to do any thing improper till they heard from the President; they hoped this would be in the fourth moon; their young men should remain quiet till then; and afterwards, they should rely on what the President should say to them. In the meantime, they hoped, as soon as the President saw what we had now done, that he would send a man from himself into their towns, to speak one voice through the whole land, and explain every thing exactly as it is now settled.

They said they had had some conversation in council since they settled the article about the posts, and the more they reflected on this, the better they liked what they had agreed to. The hunters said there were some very good places, which they would point out to us before we left them.

The chiefs said, as General Washington would have the choice of the places bordering on the river, for the trade and his warriors, the Indians had one idea on this part of the treaty, which they would now express. They wished General Washington to know, that the eyes of the whole nation were upon him; that they did not want their land marked, but he might mark the cattle, horses, and hogs, belonging to the garrisons, inform the Indians of his marks, and they would be sure to respect them; and if they strayed off at any time, the Indians would be sure to bring them back, if they saw them.

They then concluded, by saying, we have done much to settle the affairs of the nation exactly as the commissioners wished them, relative to the line with Spain, the claims covered by the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokee treaties, the line from the Currahee to the main south fork of the Oconee, and permitting General Washington to fix the posts for trade and his warriors. They should now go home, and do what they could to explain the same to their town's people, before a talk should be sent from the President, that when this went through the land all would be straight.

That, if a man came directly from the President, they would meet him, and go through the whole nation with him, and treat him as if he was the President himself.

The commissioners requested the superintendent to deliver the goods, as soon as possible, to the Indians, and despatch them home.

The Indian chiefs again visited the commissioners, to deliver a message from the children and near relations of the persons murdered on the Oconee, &c. They mentioned the distressed situation of six young children, and some others, whose dependence for support were on those who were killed; that, beside this loss, that some property was taken at the time, to which they had a just claim; that they now applied for that property, the whole of which was not much, but, little as it was, it was of value to the relatives. If the murderers could be punished, this loss would be deemed of still less value, and they should never have mentioned it. But they hoped, as the commissioners came to see justice done, they would order this payment, and order the chiefs to carry it, and deliver it, in their name, to the relatives. The commissioners replied: We told you, some time past, in a private conference, we would do this for those who waited, and relied on the President to see justice done to them; but those who took satisfaction according to the Indian mode, should not be included in our promise.

The commissioners ordered that the superintendent should take order to pay for the property taken at the time the murders were committed, in agreement with their promise.

COLERAINE, 1st July, 1796.

Sir:

We enclose to you, a copy of the treaty, which we entered into the 29th of June, with the Creeks. They came here with the determination, not to part with any of their lands, and this determination was the result of a deliberation of the whole nation, before the representatives left it. We were not apprized of this, till some time after their answer was given to the commissioners of Georgia. The conduct of this State, is viewed by the Indians, as inimical to them; they complain of unfairness in all their intercourse with them; of the recent murders and promise to punish the murderers, as being of a piece with former conduct. They have no reliance on the promises of the Governor, to do them justice, and expect it only from the interposition of the Government of the United States, or the bravery of their young warriors.

Finding that the expectations of the commissioners of Georgia were at an end, we entered on the other objects of our mission, and have assiduously employed ourselves in their attainment.

We have taken unusual pains to explain every thing, and we believe nothing is done, but what was well understood by all the chiefs.

We find, in the present temper of the citizens of this country, that it is indispensably necessary, that the posts and garrisons should be out of the jurisdiction of the State, and solely under that of the United States. Without obtaining this, we saw no prospect of peace on the frontiers; and the jealousy of the Creeks, is all alive on the least mention of an acquisition of land from them. We have freely conversed with the chiefs on the subject, who agree they understand thoroughly the object of the President, and they are pleased with it; that their whole nation will be pleased also, as soon as they shall have time to explain the subject to them. This article is strictly in conformity with what their powers enable them to stipulate from their own statement. Since the signing of the treaty, several of the chiefs have urged that the President should cause the line to be run, as soon as possible, and make choice of the places for the posts. They request, that the lands around the posts may not be marked; and that a mark be put on the stock; which, when they know, they will respect, if any of them should stray off from the garrison.

We have promised them, they should hear from the President in four months.

They have had repeated conversations with us, on the murder of their people by Harrison and others. The friends of the deceased came here, expecting that they should see some of the murderers executed; and they were not a little vexed at the disappointment. The principal chiefs consulted with us privately, that they might know what to do and to say to the relations of the murdered. They told us yesterday, that they should expect the advice of the President on this subject, when he sent a man to run the line; and they would in the mean time follow our

advice, and then they would follow his. They urge, that they may not be deceived, and that the guilty may be punished agreeable to what they understand the promise to be of the Governor of Georgia, to the President. They solicit us to pay for the property lost at the time, and direct them to take charge of it, and deliver it to the friends of the deceased. We have promised it.

The line with Spain, we explained fully, and they acquiesced; yet some further explanations will be necessary, to remove the jealousy attached to every act, relative to their boundary. They have asked that this explanation may be sent from the President, with the plan of trade; and that, after he has seen what is done here, that he will have the whole explained in their land.

We have preferred, instead of an increase of the annuity, as contemplated in our instructions, to give the sum mentioned in the treaty. The situation of the chiefs required some attention in this way; yet they were desirous, that we, during the negotiation, should keep every thing of this sort out of view, until they had fully comprehended us, and were ready, having agreed upon the principal points under negotiation, to put them on paper.

We examined into the state of the goods, how appropriated for presents, under the direction of the superintendent, and directed some to be purchased, which were here for sale, at a reasonable price, and suited to the market.

When we mentioned the sum, the chiefs expressed themselves satisfied. We had another motive in this business for satisfying the Indians with the small sum contemplated in the treaty. We were not certain that the chiefs can restore all the property taken from the citizens, according to the stipulations in the treaty, and eventually it may be deemed advisable, in the General Government, to pay up the deficiency, rather than incur the resentment of the Creeks, which they would do, by insisting on a cession of lands.

We send, herewith, a paper, purporting to be a protest on the part of the commissioners of Georgia. It is perfectly in style with all their proceedings here. We shall have occasion to comment on some parts of it, in a letter we shall write to the Governor, to inform him of the pacific disposition of the Indians.

B. H.  
G. C.  
A. P.

The Honorable JAMES McHENRY, *Secretary of War.*

Not having leisure to attend immediately to the protest from the commissioners of Georgia, we determined to send a letter to the Governor, and afterwards to send a comment, as soon as we could attend to it.

COLERAINE, 1st July, 1796.

SIR:

Having terminated our mission here, by concluding a treaty of peace and friendship with the Creek nation, we feel it a duty we owe to your Excellency, to make this communication to you, to inform you of the pacific disposition of the Creeks. They have, among other things, stipulated with us, to carry the treaty of New York completely into effect, and to aid in running the line from the source of the main south fork of the Oconee, to the Currahee mountain, at such time and in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct.

The expectations formed by your State, relative to the purchase of certain lands guarantied to the Indians, are frustrated. The representation of the Creek nation came instructed by the whole nation not to part with the lands. We were not apprized of this till our negotiation had been extended to all the objects connected immediately with our mission. We, on being informed of it, thought it our duty to examine whether any improper interference had been used to produce this determination of the nation; and we are of opinion, after the necessary inquiry, that there was not any such interference on the part of any of the citizens of the United States.

From the long, repeated, and friendly conversation we have had with the chiefs, we have been able to draw from them some information, which we owe to our situation to give freely to you. It is, that it will require some time, and a considerable degree of prudence, to impress on the Indians, a confidence in the uprightness of the views of your Government, and in the friendly and peaceable intentions of its citizens, who inhabit the frontiers. And until such confidence is established, we are of opinion that all attempts to acquire land from them, by fair and open purchase, will be ineffectual.

With our best wishes for the prosperity of the State of Georgia, we have the honor to be, sir, your obed<sup>t</sup> serv<sup>ts</sup>.

B. H.  
G. C.  
A. P.

His Excellency JARED IRWIN, *Governor of Georgia.*

July 2nd.—Requested the superintendent to send off the Indians, as soon as possible, and to cause a return to be made, immediately, of the stores remaining unexpended. That measures might be taken, as circumstances might require, sent him this note:

COLERAINE, 2nd July, 1796.

SIR:

The commissioners of the United States have passed an order that you should pay to the heirs of the son of Mrs. Cornell, who was killed in the neighborhood of this garrison, with a flag bringing despatches for the garrison, and the superintendent, and some others lately on the Oconee, by persons excepted out of the general amnesty, the value of the articles lost at the time those Indians were killed. But, that this order is not to be extended to any persons, for whom satisfaction, according to the mode of the Indians, has been obtained.

July 3rd.—The Indians were this day receiving their presents. Mr. Hawkins, with some of the gentlemen, visited Trader's Hill, and the lands still higher up, as far as the Corn-house, and the neighborhood of it. They discovered, on the Indian lands, some provisions carefully packed with skins; at first it was judged to be venison, but, from the quantity, probably one thousand pounds, it was supposed to be beef. After return, on inquiry, it was discovered that it was beef the Indians had, notwithstanding the precautions to prevent their being alarmed, deemed it necessary to prepare against the possibility of such a contingency. They, early after their arrival, drew beef, prepared it in their way, by drying it near a fire, and deposited it in places where they could have recourse to it, in case of necessity. On mentioning this to them, one of the chiefs said, the nation had occasion, in times past, to suspect every thing for the worst in any transactions with their neighbors, and, in consequence, their apprehensions were always on the watch. Those who had visited General Washington, and talked with him, face to face, would rely on him, and any promise he made; but, as there were but a few of them, the others still had doubts. That the manner this treaty had been conducted had impressed all who came, with a degree of confidence, unknown among them, in the justice of the Government.

4th July.—The Cowetas and Cussetahs visited us, to take leave.

They requested that the President would cause the troops, at fort Fidius, to be removed as soon as possible. That, after gaining the best information they could, from the hunters, who were present, they now came to recommend one place.

There is a high bluff, a little below fort Fidius, perhaps about one mile below, on their lands. Two miles below this bluff, there is a creek, called Itchee-wam-otchee, and, about three miles above the bluff, there is another creek, called Thlock-laoso, or fishing creek, very valuable, always, for fish, particularly for shad, in the spring. The lands between the creeks is high and good, and, bordering on the creeks, covered with cane, and fine for stock. This is the fittest place for a military post, according to the information which they have obtained.

The chiefs request, that, if this spot is selected by the President, the troops of the garrison, and those connected therewith, only, should be permitted to take fish out of the waters belonging to the Indians.

There is another bluff, about one day's ride, or twenty-five miles, still higher up the river, and the same distance below the mouth of the Apalachy, or Tulapocka, where the old Oakfuskee path crosses the Oconee. They mention this, but cannot recommend it; it is not so high as the other, nor the lands so valuable; however, it is the best they now have any information of, and they thought they would inform us of it.

5th July.—We directed that the remains of the stores, sent round from the War Office, for the use of the commissioners, and their furniture, should be returned to Mr. Price, and held subject to the order of the Secretary of War. The officers having been very attentive to us, during the negotiation, and having had their little stores exhausted by the unusual number of visitors, the climate being unfavorable to health, and the autumn commencing, we requested them to accept the small remains of our port wine.

We requested Mr. Seagrove to have a return of all the stores in the department of the contractor, inventoried, the corn measured, and hold the same in security till further orders, which he would probably receive from Mr. Habersham.

6th July.—Bid adieu to Coleraine, at five o'clock in the morning; came 33 miles to breakfast; where we saw, on the Spanish side of the St. Mary's, at a place called Marbery's, a bed of strawberries, in bloom, and full bearing, many of them quite ripe. Arrived at St. Mary's at 7 in the morning; we came in a boat and oars. We left our boat there to accommodate Mr. Clymer, and came round to Savannah, on the 10th.

11th July.—Saw Mr. John Habersham, gave him a statement of our recommendation, relative to the stores; and, after consultation, it was deemed advisable to send immediately for the corn, and other articles, to this place, and to convert the whole into cash, as this State is amenable for half the expense. The corn, particularly, requiring to be immediately carried to market, as the weasels were likely to injure it much.

COLERAINE, 1st July, 1796.

SIR:

The day before the commissioners, on the part of the State of Georgia, left us, they sent in a paper, purporting to be a protest against certain proceedings had in relation to the wishes of the State of Georgia, to acquire certain lands from the Creeks, at the treaty concluded the 29th ultimo, at this place.

We read it with that attention due to men in their situation; and, we can attest, extravagant as the protest is, that it is of a piece with their whole conduct, during their residence at this place. The best answer to it, probably, would be drawn from the paper itself, by every reflecting mind, after a candid perusal of its contents. We feel, notwithstanding, a desire to remove some impressions, which are intended to be produced by it, and this is the object we have, in giving your Excellency the trouble of reading our comment. It would be sufficient for us to refer you to our letter of this date, the facts therein being incontrovertible; all the expressions in the protest would, of course, have their just weight and no more, but we must enter somewhat into detail.

Your commissioners, frequently speaking of our ruling and arbitrary conduct, forgot that it is only applicable to themselves. It may be necessary to observe, that they have altogether mistaken the nature of their authority, and have assumed a high diplomatic character. This we must suppose, or, otherwise, that they had willingly slighted the terms and conditions of their appointment. Such high self-created pretensions not being yielded to, on our part, is, no doubt, the real ground of the discontent apparent throughout the whole of their performance.

The regulations, mentioned under the first head, are literally in conformity to instructions suggested, we can conceive, by the experience of the past, and they conform exactly to our sense of right. We were surprised that the commissioners of Georgia did not, themselves, discover a special interest, in the observance of some such regulations, considering their tendency to obviate some of the difficulties lying in the way of their own object, had it been attainable in this treaty, as they are now aware of the jealousies of the Creeks in all things relating to this State.

The comment on these regulations in the protest, we do not pretend to understand.

2d. In answer to this, which we hope (though against appearances) not to be designedly misrepresented, we have to state, that the commissioners of the United States did, on the 17th of June, and the commissioners of Georgia, on the 18th, address the chiefs, at the square of negotiation, in the garrison; that, after the latter, the commissioners of the United States said to the Indians: "You have this day heard the talk of our brethren, the beloved men of Georgia; it is a long one, and contains many things. We request you will allow yourselves sufficient time to consider upon it; that you will consider upon the subject with as much coolness and deliberation as if you were within your own square, at your own councils, in your nation. You are in perfect safety at this place; you may choose your ground for deliberation, and shall there be secure from all interruption."

"The chiefs, after consultation applied to Mr. Hawkins, and requested that he would have them furnished with a copy of the talk delivered them by the commissioners of Georgia, and all the papers referred to therein; they wished to have them in their own councils, that they might understand every part, before they made up their minds to reply. Mr. Hawkins applied to Mr. Simms, and Colonel Hendricks, who promised them in half an hour."

"19th June.—This day the Indians applied for the papers promised them yesterday, and we wrote to the commissioners of Georgia: 'The Indians have requested us to furnish them with a copy of the talk you addressed to them yesterday, that they may be able to examine it leisurely in their councils; we have promised it, and we have to request of you to furnish us an authentic copy of the speech, together with the papers referred to therein, which were shewn and explained to the Indians.'

"Mr. Robertson, the Secretary to the commissioners, called on us and delivered the talk, certified to be a true copy, and extracts from some of the papers alluded to. He said the paper containing the claims against the Indians, was an original, that it would take three days to copy it, that the commissioners did not like to trust it in the camp, but they would show it to us, if we were desirous of perusing it. We requested we might have the examination of it at our lodgings.

"20th June.—The Indians spent this day in council, in a square which they prepared for that purpose, in their own encampment. They requested that three of the interpreters should attend them, and named Timothy Barnard, Alexander Cornell, and James Burges; they were ordered accordingly.

"The result of this consultation being delivered to us, we gave it to the commissioners of Georgia.

"23d June.—Extract from a note to the commissioners of Georgia: 'The commissioners of the United States expect to see the Indians this morning at their square in the Indian encampment, at the request of the Indians, and they will call on the commissioners of Georgia to accompany them.'

"24th June.—One of the commissioners of the United States requested Captain Eaton to wait on the commissioners of Georgia, and conduct them to the Indian square of negotiation.

"Extract from a letter from the commissioners of Georgia, relative to the stoppage of their Secretary: 'A circumstance, grating to our feelings, &c. which we are sorry for, as Captain Tinsley has been so polite as to wait on us, to assure us it was contrary to orders. Although we are of opinion with Captain Tinsley, and thank him for his attention, we cannot forbear to express, &c.'

"The commissioners of Georgia attended, and the council opened.

"The commissioners of the United States, by Mr. Hawkins:

"Representatives of the Creek Land:

"This paper, which I now shew you, is the paper you sent us, in answer to the beloved men of Georgia; we have shewn it to them; you are now together face to face; I shall read it to you, that you may know whether it is your talk, and your determination. The talk being read, paragraph by paragraph, and interpreted, the commissioners enjoined it on all the interpreters to be particular, as they were on oath; and they put a question to the chiefs:

"Question. Is this the talk which you made in council, and sent to the beloved men, commissioners of Georgia?

"Answer. Yes; it is the very words we spoke.

“ *Question* by the commissioners of Georgia. Why did not you say this, face to face, to us, in the square, when we spoke to you?”

“ *Answer.* The chiefs could give no other reason than that they chose first to sit down together in council, with their interpreters, and reduce this talk to writing; but that they were ready to give it verbally, when digested, at any time, and in the square, face to face, if the commissioners chose they should do so.

“ *Question* by the commissioners of Georgia. Is this your usual custom, to carry on talks in writing; or do you always give them from the voice, in the public square?”

“ *Answer.* There are no rules reduced to system; when they talk among themselves, it is usual to talk face to face, and to send beads to assist the memory; but, as we had, in this instance, a talk to deliver to white people, and having our linguisters all present, we chose to send our answer in writing.”

As to the charge of evasive conduct, we might rely on the conclusion of the charge for an acquittal, although, perhaps, it was not intended. We did offer our services, and continued them. But we had no wish that the Creeks should part with their lands, *without their own consent.* By the manner of stating this charge, one would suppose that the gentlemen of Georgia had such a wish. We told the commissioners of Georgia we were instructed, had the means, and were well disposed to further the objects of their mission. We did, at one time, expect they would come forward and make a serious offer, and that we, with the funds at our discretion, should be able to obtain the object they had in view, by demonstrating to the Creeks that the sum was an equivalent for the lands; and, as this accommodation might have a tendency to remove all misunderstanding between the parties, that it would be for their interest to part with them.

3d and 4th. We refer to the superintendent to answer for himself.

5th. Needs no comment.

6th. This, unintelligible to us. The commissioners of the United States are of opinion, that, under the old Confederation, the authority to make treaties was vested in Congress; and, as to the construction relative to the treaty of New York, we gave the words of the treaty, and the same are again inserted in the treaty we have recently concluded.

7th. The gentlemen commissioners set out with an assumption of powers unwarranted, and close their mission in like form. Being unwilling to pay a debt contracted at the request of the State, they protest against the “ payment, or liability of payment, of the State of Georgia.” They charge, that “ the answer of the Indians, one party thereto, if so it can be called, has been dictated to them in secret council, by undue influence.” This, the gentlemen, in the same sentence, deny themselves. They say: “ The plea of the chiefs, openly declared by Alexander Cornell and the Bird-tail king, their speakers, now being that they refused to giving up the land, was *fully determined on* in the nation, and that the chiefs came instructed to abide by that determination.”

To this declaration we may add, from our diary of the 25th, the following:

“ The commissioners then took a retrospective view of what had been said, recapitulated the most material parts, and concluded: we hope you will think seriously on these things; we have come a long way to settle your difficulties, and we wish you would, to-morrow, come and sit down in temper, and talk over your affairs with the beloved men of Georgia; we will hear you, and arbitrate between you; your Great Father has sent us here for that purpose.

“ Fusatchee Mico replied: We do not know what more can be said to the commissioners of Georgia. We have given a decided answer to the requisitions for land. If Georgia has any other business to introduce, let them mention it, that we may know what business will come before us. If we were to talk again, it would be the same thing over again. The talk already given is the determined voice of the whole representation, and not one of them can be dissuaded from his determination; any proposition on the subject of land will meet the same answer, therefore this subject is done with, and I cannot see the propriety of further conference. I have already told you that our lands were so contracted, that we have hardly ground to hunt upon, and the nation would not agree at all to part with any more land.”

We deem it unnecessary to say any more on this subject, but, to conclude, that it is remarkable, throughout the protest, that every sentence is at war with some other, and, that the conclusions drawn, always destroy the premises.

With our best wishes for the prosperity of the State of Georgia,

We have the honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient servants,  
BENJAMIN HAWKINS.  
GEO. CLYMER.  
AND W. PICKENS.

His Excellency JARED IRWIN, *Governor of the State of Georgia.*

#### THE PROTEST.

COLERAINE, 28th June, 1796.

We, the undersigned commissioners of the State of Georgia, appointed, on the part of the State, to attend a treaty with the Creek Indians, now held at this place, under the authority of the United States, in pursuance of the trust reposed in us, think it our indispensable duty, which we owe to our country, to protest, and we do hereby protest, against the commissioners of the United States, and their Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for certain proceedings affecting the object of the State of Georgia, the relinquishment of the Indian claims to certain lands contemplated in an act of this State, entitled An act for appropriating part of the unlocated territory of this State, for payment of the late State troops, and for other purposes therein mentioned, passed the 28th December, 1794, as the causes of the failure thereof, as follows:

*First.* We protest against certain regulations of the commissioners of the United States, signed Benjamin Hawkins and George Clymer, posted up at the gates of the garrison of Coleraine, and dated the 26th day of May last; and which regulations are in the words following, to wit:

“ The commissioners for holding a treaty with the Creek nation of Indians, in order to prevent quarrels, improper behavior, or mal-practices, during the negotiation, have judged it proper, in virtue of the powers and authorities vested in them, to make the following regulations:

1st. The Indians are to be encamped on the river bank, above the garrison, convenient to the spring and river.

2d. The superintendent is to fix his residence within the Indian encampment.

3d. No citizen of the United States is to be permitted to encamp with, or near, the Indians, except such as are under the direction of the superintendent.

4th. No citizen is to be permitted to enter the Indian camp in arms.

5th. No citizen is to visit the Indians, or hold any conversation with them, except with a permit from the commissioners of the United States, or either of them.

6th. No citizen is to be in arms in the garrison, or neighborhood of it; and on the arrival of any visitors, who may travel with arms, they are to be informed of this order, and requested to conform thereto.

7th. No citizen is to be permitted to sell, or furnish by gift, spirituous liquors to the Indians, or to have any commercial traffic with them.

8th. These regulations are to be posted up at the two gates of the garrison, and at the residence of the superintendent.”

By which regulations the commissioners of the State have been debarred from conciliating the affections of the Indians, and, consequently, effecting the object of their mission. The civil and actual jurisdictional rights of the State have been infringed, and her consequence, in the eyes of the Indians, much lessened; who will be taught, by the conduct which we have experienced, being liable to stoppage by the sentinels, without passports from the Federal

commissioners, on our ground, and within the actual limits of the sovereignty of Georgia, from entering their encampment, that the citizens of the State, however high their commission, are inferior in consequence and rights to themselves, and may be insulted with impunity.

*Secondly.* We protest against the manner of conducting the said treaty, the same being ordered by the President to be at Coleraine, and to be conducted in a fair, open, and honorable manner; and so the talk, or invitation of the President, and the talk of Georgia, were given in a square, or bower, erected in the garrison for that purpose. Since which, without any known reason to the commissioners of the State, the place has been altered to Muscogee, the residence of the superintendent, where the talk of the Indians, in answer to the talk delivered by us, was manufactured, and where the commissioners of Georgia, owing to the regulations before protested against, had no access. The said pretended answer, or talk of the Indians, not being delivered in the usual open manner, in the square, face to face, before the commissioners of Georgia and the United States, but penned in their camp, by certain agents, or interpreters, under the command of the superintendent; and transmitted, not directly, but through the channel of the commissioners of the United States, to us, without being certified by them, or by any attesting witnesses, chief agent, or interpreter. And for this, also; that, in attempting to attend one of the conferences, to which the commissioners of the United States had invited the commissioners of Georgia, we were insulted, by the stoppage of our secretary by the sentinel of the garrison picket. And he having our papers, we were compelled to return, in obedience to the regulations aforementioned.

We further protest against the commissioners for not permitting us to propose questions, or deliver sentiments, during the negotiation, on the subject of our particular mission, without being under their control, and over-ruling arbitrary interference. We further protest against the said commissioners, for evasive conduct towards the State, and her commissioners, in offering their services to procure the land, at one period, and openly declaring, at another, in open council, that it was not the wish of the commissioners of the United States, that the Creeks should part with their lands without their own desire.

*Thirdly.* We protest against the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for not counteracting certain reports introduced into the Creek nation, that the Georgia militia were to encounter the Indians at this place, and certain talks sent there, persuading the Indians not to relinquish their claims to the lands contemplated to be purchased by the State, in the invitation of the President, and the act aforementioned.

*Fourthly.* We protest against the time and place appointed for holding the treaty, both of which we understand were recommended by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, on account of the scarcity of provisions at such a season, and the poverty of the surrounding country; the supplies of the former swelling the expense to an enormous amount, and the latter being, although the property of the Superintendent, inconveniently situated, in every respect, but more particularly for our fellow-citizens to attend, who have suffered from Indian depredations.

*Fifthly.* We protest against any cession of land within the territorial limits of the State of Georgia, by the Creek Indians, to the United States, whether for the purposes of posts, trading houses, or otherwise, without the consent of the State of Georgia, as contrary to the eighth section of the first article of the United States' constitution, which declares, "The Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings." Such cessions, for trading houses and garrisons, being now applied for by the commissioners of the United States, with land adjacent, for stock, and to raise corn, within the territorial limits of the State of Georgia, and which, at a future day, may militate with the rights of the State, and be pronounced binding on her, being now to be concluded on at a public treaty, and perhaps may be ratified by the treaty-making power of the United States.

*Sixthly.* We protest against the decision of the commissioners of the United States, given in open council, to the chiefs of the Creek nation, that the treaties of Augusta, Galphinton, and Shoulderbone, held in the years 1783, 1785, and 1786, whilst Georgia was a free, sovereign, and independent State, unconnected with the treaty-making power of the United States, under the present constitution, were invalid; of course, that cession of the Tallassee country was void.

There was no Federal compact against such cession by treaty, between individual States and Indian tribes, at the time it was made; and if the United States have the right to take a retrospective view, and lop off cessions of part of a State, made before their authority existed, the United States may make different cessions, until they lop off a whole State; and, if one State, they may sever several States—the whole having been formed by cessions at different periods. A melancholy prospect, and more melancholy tie to the Union, for the frontier State of Georgia.

We further protest against the construction of the said commissioners, as to the property the Indians are made liable for, under the said treaty of New York; which construction confines the demand for property plundered from our citizens, to a very humble limit, even as respects negroes, the only article, agreeably to their construction, contemplated thereby.

*Seventhly and lastly.* We, therefore, protest against the payment, or liability of payment, of any share of the enormous and unnecessary expense attending the present treaty, by the State of Georgia; which, so far from being conducted in a fair, open, and honorable manner, the answer of the Indians, one party thereunto, if so it can be called, has been dictated to them in secret council, by undue influence, and cannot be considered their answer; and for that the State of Georgia has not had a fair and open opportunity to contract for the lands. The plea of the chiefs, openly declared by Alexander Cornell, and the Bird-tail king, their speakers, now being, that the refusal to giving up the land was fully determined on in the nation, and that the chiefs came instructed to abide by that determination; which, if true, is a fraud on the State, and a trick, unworthy the dignity and honor of the United States, transacted through their Superintendent, to fling one-half of the expense of a treaty, to serve their own purposes, on an individual State, which would possibly reap no benefit thereby; and we do, in consequence, protest against any payment, or liability of payment, by the State of Georgia, as aforesaid, for, or on account of, the same, unless it may be such necessities as the commissioners of Georgia, or their guard, or household, may have drawn, and for which only the State ought to be accountable.

JAMES HENDRICKS.  
JAMES JACKSON.  
JAMES SIMMS.

By order of the Board of Commissioners:

THOMAS ROBERTSON, *Secretary.*

*The talk of the Commissioners of Georgia to the Kings, Head-men, and Warriors, of the Creek nation.*

BROTHERS:

The hatchet has been frequently lifted, as well by your mad people, as by the mad people of Georgia. We are now met, under the eye of the great beloved man, General Washington, who has sent his beloved men, the commissioners of the United States, here, to settle all disputes between us and you.

It is true, that many of our people have been killed by your mad people, and it is also true, that many of your people have been killed by our mad people. We are sorry for it, because we were all formed by the same Great Spirit, and ought to live as brethren of the same great family. Yet, when we recollect that we have mad people on each side, we should make allowances for each other; and when we are assured that the conduct of those mad men has not been countenanced by the beloved men, we ought to forget and forgive the blood which has been spilled.



As to the murders on the Oconee, committed by Harrison, and Vessels, and others, the good citizens of Georgia were as much displeas'd at them as you were. It gave the beloved men of Georgia, when they met in council, much pain, and they told the great beloved man, General Washington, so.\* They had Harrison, Vessels, and others, taken and bound over to take their trials. Vessels is dead, the breath of life is gone from him; but Harrison and the others are yet to be tried, and, if found guilty, must die the same death as if they had killed white men; so that you see it was not the fault, or the wish of Georgia, that Harrison should spill your blood. We were in hopes to have satisfied you by this, and that, as you promised General Washington you would not retaliate, until you heard from him; but, to our sorrow, some of your people came down, and killed and wounded several innocent persons, who were as angry at what Harrison had done as you were.

**BROTHERS:** You heard yesterday what the great beloved man General Washington told you, in the talk the commissioners delivered; that you had not complied with the stipulations you had entered into at New York, in all parts; that the prisoners, and property, such as negroes, horses, cattle, &c. were not restored; many of the chiefs now here, were at New York, and promised to do this. You promised to return this property at three different treaties before you went to New York. 1st. At Augusta. 2d. At Galphinton. And 3d, at the treaty of Shoulderbone, where many of your principal chiefs who now hear us, also were. You there promised not only to return all negroes and other property, but to pay all debts due to traders. Very few of the negroes, however, and little of other property, has been returned, notwithstanding those repeated promises, and particularly that you made the President. Many of the owners of the negroes, horses, and other property, are now here, waiting to see if you have them ready. To give them all up, agreeable to your contract with the great beloved man, is necessary and just, or to pay us for them. If Georgia is to be bound by the treaty you made at New York, you ought to be so too; you made it, and you ought to see it fully performed. We white men have no right to take your skins, and give you nothing for them; and you red men have no right to take our negroes and horses, and not pay us for them. We are here, ready to receive the negroes and horses, with the other property you have taken from us; or, if you have not got them to deliver, we are ready to receive payment for them. We call upon the beloved men sent here by the great beloved man, General Washington, to see this done. He sent them here to settle all disputes between us. They are sent here to do justice to you, and they are also sent to do justice to us. Here is a list of property taken by you from us, previous to the treaty you entered into at New York, and we have other demands since that time for property taken, which we will speak of by-and-bye. This list proves that you took, before that time, eighty-nine negroes from us, eight hundred and twenty-five horses, eleven hundred and fifty-nine head of cattle, four hundred and ninety-five hogs, besides other property, and that you burnt one hundred and fifteen houses. The value of this property, if you are prepared to pay for it, is upwards of seventy thousand dollars. Very little of all this property has been returned. We hope now it will be settled, as we are come together under the eye of the great beloved man, to put an end to all disputes.

**BROTHERS:** We have something further, of great importance to you and to us, and which the great beloved man has told you was one principal reason for calling you here. Our beloved men, and particularly our beloved man Governor Irwin, whom many of you know to be a good man, and no enemy to the red men, sent us here to talk with you, and to tell you truths. Listen, and we will tell them to you.

Although General Clarke, and the people with him, were removed from the Oconee fork by our people, under General Irwin, because they went there without your consent, or the orders of the beloved men, yet they bid us to tell you that they want this land; that they wish to deal fairly with you, and to pay you for it; and they think you ought to part with it on that consideration. The people of this State are very thick settled, and, on the Oconee, they are in such numbers, that they have not land enough to maintain their families. They are like a river, so very full that its banks cannot contain it, so that it overflows the neighboring grounds. They must go somewhere to settle. They cannot return back from whence their fathers came, because the people are full there, and there is no land to be had; if they were to return, their families must starve. They have looked over the Oconee, and find that, between that river and the Oakmulgee, there is a slip of land up to the heads of those rivers, which affords you but little game, and which they, therefore, think, without hurting yourselves much, you may part with to them, at a fair price. We wish to pay you for it, and are desirous of obtaining it, because it will heal all old differences, and rivet the chain of friendship between us so firmly, that it will last for ages, and prevent the spilling of our and your blood, and the blood of our and your children after us. We think, if you deliberate and consider of this matter properly, and how your fathers got possession of the ground you now live and hunt on, you ought to agree with our proposals, and let us have the little slip of land we ask for. We are told that your fathers came from a great distance where the sun sets, a great while ago, because they wanted land, and that they settled the lands you now claim, although other nations then lived and hunted there, who had lands to spare. Now, if we consider this point, we must say it was right to do so: for the earth is a great nursing mother, and supplies food for all mankind. Now, when one nation has fewer people and more land than another nation, which has a great many people, and not land enough for them to live on, the earth being the nursing mother for all, white men or red men, the nation which has fewest people, and most land, ought to part with a little of it to the other nation, at a reasonable price. Now, this is our case. We have not land enough to raise corn for all our people. No red man would refuse a white man something to eat, if he came hungry to his cabin; and yet a refusal of this land will be like a denial of bread to many hungry families, who want to raise corn on it to feed themselves. Your hunts, we are told, are not very profitable on this land, and that it is fit for the purpose we want it, to raise corn for our hungry people.

**BROTHERS:** We have brought you a large parcel of goods, in the vessel which lays yonder, of great value, which we will deliver the commissioners for you, if we can agree about the land. They will comfort your wives and children, and will be of more value to you than the profits of many years' hunt on the lands we wish to get from you.

**BROTHERS:** The beloved men here present, know more of the will of the big beloved man, General Washington, than we do; but we believe he would not have sent them here, or for you to come down, if he had not thought that your relinquishing your claims to this land, to the State of Georgia, is necessary and proper to promote peace, and prevent the spilling of blood. We advise you to consult the beloved men on this subject.

As we have come here under the eye of the great beloved man, to settle all disputes, as we before mentioned, we now inform you, that we have a large claim against you for negroes, horses, and the other property taken, and mischiefs committed by you since the treaty you made at New York. Here is a list of what has been taken, and here are vouchers, proofs, to the amount of near forty thousand dollars. As we are now to settle every thing, by desire of the great man, we also call on his commissioners to see the property returned, or compensation made us for it, and also to see that the debts due our citizens in the nation are secured.

**BROTHERS:** The beloved man, General Washington, has mentioned to you, that the boundary line settled at New York, did not please the State of Georgia; it is true, it did not please us. You recollect, that, by the treaty of Galphinton, the kings, chiefs, and warriors, of your nation, then present, and some of you were there, made a relinquishment of all that tract of country, beginning at the forks of the Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers, thence, in a southwest direction, until it should intersect the most southern part of the stream called St. Mary's river, including all the islands and water courses of the said stream; thence down the said river to the old line. This relinquishment of claims was confirmed by the treaty held at Shoulderbone, where many more kings and chiefs of your nation attended, and several of them we now see present; those treaties we have here. † Some of your nation, however, complained of grievances, and the great beloved man, General Washington, sent three of his principal beloved men to this State, General Lincoln, Colonel Humphreys, and Mr. Cyrus Griffin, who came here to the Rock Landing, and examined into those treaties; and when they returned, they told General Washington that the treaties and relinquishment of the land were fair. We have their talk to him here, ‡ and they say that it was done with good faith between the people of Georgia and the Creek nation. Some of your people being still displeas'd, you, many of you, went to New York, and there a treaty was held between the great beloved man and you; but no

\* See extract, No. 1.

† See extract, No. 2 &amp; 3.

‡ See extract, No. 4.



commissioners of Georgia were present, and this land was left out of the boundary line, without the consent of the State. We submitted to it, because the big beloved man had done it, and we were loath to shed blood; but we have not parted with our claim; we always thought we had a good claim, and we think so still. It was at that treaty, and many of you now here were there, that you promised to restore all our negroes and property, with the prisoners you had taken, belonging to our people; you have not returned them, as the President has told you. Now, even on your own ground, until you comply with this treaty, this land must be considered as ours. You cannot expect us to be bound by the treaty of New York, which you made, when you do not comply with it yourselves. But we claim this land under the respective former treaties which you made with us.

! BRETHREN: We long to have the path open, and the chain bright between us; to obtain this, it is necessary that you should give our talks due consideration, and not rashly determine. We have mad men as well as you, and we wish to settle all things amicably, that our mad men, on both sides, may be restrained from doing mischief. We fear this may be the case, if matters are not now settled. We wish you to consult the beloved men, sent here by Gen. Washington, on all the points we have talked on. We look to them to see justice done between us, as the representatives of the President, who is the chief father of us and you.

I do certify, that the foregoing and annexed sheets, are a true copy of the talk delivered by the commissioners of Georgia to the Creek Indians, at Coleraine, the 18th June, 1796.

THOMAS ROBERTSON, *Secretary.*

*Extracts alluded to in the Talk.*

No. 1.

*Resolved unanimously,* That his Excellency the Governor be earnestly requested to assure the President of the United States, that the Legislature of the State of Georgia has viewed with regret and indignation the conduct of Benjamin Harrison, and other citizens of the United States, who attacked a party of Indians on the Oconee, on the 28th of October last; that it is the wish and desire of the State of Georgia, that Harrison, and the others charged, may be brought to a fair and speedy trial, agreeably to the existing laws.

*Resolved unanimously,* That his Excellency be further requested to take such steps, in consultation with the law officers of the State, as will be most effectual to carry the foregoing resolution into full operation.

No. 2.

*Extract from the treaty of Galphinton.*

The said Indians shall restore all the negroes, horses, and other property, that are, or may be among them, belonging to any citizens of this State.

The present temporary line, reserved to the Indians for their hunting ground, shall be agreeable to a treaty held at Augusta, in the year 1783, and that a new temporary line shall begin at the forks of the Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers; thence, in a southwest direction, until it shall intersect the most southern part of the stream called St. Mary's river, including all the islands and waters of the said stream; thence, down the said river, to the said line.

[Signed by the Tallassee, and several other kings, on the part of the Indians.]

No. 3.

*Extract from the Shoulderbone treaty.*

All negroes, horses, cattle, and other property now in the nation, and which were taken from the inhabitants of Georgia, shall be restored to such person or persons as his honor the Governor or the commissioners shall direct.

The present temporary lines reserved for the Indians, for their hunting grounds, shall be agreeable to the treaties held at Augusta and Galphinton, the former bearing date the first day of November, 1783, and the latter the twelfth day of November, 1785, every part of which is hereby confirmed.

[Signed, on the part of the Indians, by the Bird Tail king, the Cussetah king, and seventeen other kings.]

No. 4.

*Extract from General Lincoln's, Colonel Humphreys', and Mr. Cyrus Griffin's report to the President.*

The commissioners beg leave further to report, that, after the most accurate investigation in their power to make, after consulting the best documents, and having recourse to creditable depositions, they are unable to discover, but that the treaty of Augusta, in the year 1783, the treaty of Galphinton, in the year 1785, and the treaty of Shoulderbone, in the year 1786, were all of them conducted with as full and authorized representation, with as much substantial form, and apparent good faith and understanding of the business, as Indian treaties have usually been conducted.

I do hereby certify, that the foregoing extracts are true copies from the certified copies from the Executive.

THOMAS ROBERTSON, *Secretary, C. G.*

*Proceedings at the Treaty with the Seven Nations.*

At a Treaty held at the city of New York, with the nations or tribes of Indians, denominating themselves the Seven Nations of Canada:

Abraham Ogden, commissioner appointed under the authority of the United States to hold the treaty; Ohnawio, alias Good Stream, Tehologwanegen, alias Thomas Williams, two chiefs of the Caghawagas, Oteatohatongwan, alias Colonel Lewis Cooke, a chief of the St. Regis Indians, and William Gray, deputies, authorized to represent these Seven nations or tribes of Indians at the treaty, and Mr. Gray, serving also as interpreter; Egbert Benson, Richard Varick, and James Watson, agents for the State of New York; William Constable and Daniel McCormick, purchasers under Alexander Macomb.

The agents for the State having, in the presence, and with the approbation of the commissioner, proposed to the deputies of the Indians, the compensation hereinafter mentioned, for the extinguishment of their claim to all lands within the State, and the said deputies being willing to accept the same, it is thereupon granted, agreed, and concluded, between the said deputies and the said agents, as follows:

The said deputies do, for and in the name of the said Seven nations, or tribes of Indians, cede, release, and quit claim, to the people of the State of New York, forever, all the claim, right, or title, of them, the said Seven Nations or tribes of Indians, to lands within the said State: *Provided, nevertheless,* That the tract equal to six miles square, reserved in the sale made by the commissioners of the Land Office of the said State, to Alexander Macomb, to be applied to the use of the Indians of the village of St. Regis, shall still remain so reserved. The said agents do, for and in the name of the people of the State of New York, grant to the said Seven nations or tribes of Indians, that the people of the State of New York shall pay to them, at the mouth of the river Chazy, on Lake Champlain, on the third Monday in August next, the sum of one thousand two hundred

and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence, and the further sum of two hundred and thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence, lawful money of the said State; and on the third Monday in August, yearly, forever, thereafter, the like sum of two hundred and thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence: *Provided, nevertheless*, That the people of the State of New York shall not be held to pay the said sums, unless in respect to the two sums to be paid on the third Monday in August next, at least twenty, and in respect to the said yearly sum to be paid thereafter, at least five of the principal men of the said Seven Nations or tribes of Indians shall attend as deputies to receive and to give receipts for the same. The said deputies having suggested that the Indians of the village of St. Regis have built a mill on Salmon river, and another on Grass river, and the meadows on Grass river are necessary to them for hay: In order, therefore, to secure to the Indians of the said village the use of the said mills and meadows, in case they should hereafter appear not to be included within the above tract, so to remain reserved: It is, therefore, also agreed and concluded between the said deputies, the said agents, and the said William Constable and Daniel McCormick, for themselves and their associates, purchasers under the said Alexander Macomb, of the adjacent lands, that there shall be reserved, to be applied to the use of the Indians of the said village of St. Regis, in like manner as the said tract is to remain reserved, a tract of one mile square at each of the said mills, and the meadows on both sides of the said Grass river, from the said mill thereon, to its confluence with the river St. Lawrence.

In testimony whereof, the said commissioner, the said deputies, the said agents, and the said William Constable and Daniel McCormick, have hereunto, and to two other acts of the same tenor and date, one to remain with the United States, another to remain with the State of New York, and another to remain with the said Seven nations or tribes of Indians, set their hands and seals, in the city of New York, the thirty-first day of May, in the twentieth year of the independence of the United States, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six.

[Signed as aforementioned.]

At a Treaty held at the city of New York, by the United States, with the nations or tribes of Indians denominating themselves the Seven Nations of Canada:

Abraham Ogden, commissioner for the United States, appointed to hold the treaty;  
 Ohnawio, alias Good Stream, a chief of the Caghnawagas;  
 Oteatohatongwan, alias Colonel Lewis Cook, a chief of the St. Regis Indians;  
 Teholagwanegen, alias Thomas Williams, a chief of the Caghnawagas; and  
 William Gray, deputies authorized to represent these nations or tribes at the treaty; and Mr. Gray also serving as interpreter:  
 Egbert Benson,  
 Richard Varick, and } Agents for the State of New York.  
 James Watson,

23d May, 1796.

The deputy, Thomas Williams, being confined to his lodging in this city, by sickness, was unable to be present. The other three deputies proposed, nevertheless, to proceed to the business of the treaty. The commissioner thereupon informed them, generally, that he was appointed to hold the treaty; that the sole object of it was to enable the State of New York to extinguish, by purchase, the claim or right of these nations or tribes of Indians to lands within the limits of the State, and that, agreeably to his instructions from the President, he would take care that the negotiation for that purpose, between the agents for the State, and the deputies for the Indians, should be conducted with candor and fairness.

Mr. Gray then read and delivered the following speech, as from the deputies, written in English:

A talk from the Seven Nations of Indians, residing in the State of New York, and Upper and Lower Canada, to the commissioners of the United States and State of New York, concerning a claim of lands in the State of New York:

BROTHERS: We are sent from our nations to you, and fully empowered by them to treat with you, concerning our lands, or any other occasion that might be attended with good meaning, or cause to brighten and strengthen the chain of friendship betwixt you and us. This power was given us now present, Colonel Lewis Cook, Ohnawio, Good Stream, Teholawanegen, Thomas Williams, and William Gray, our interpreter, at Caghnawaga, the place where our great council fire is held, and where our nations were all assembled, and in full council, and there, to convince you, brothers, and in order that our business might be attended to with care and speed, they gave us their full power to act in behalf of our nations, and that, whatsoever should be agreed upon betwixt you and us, the same should ever hereafter be indisputable, and stand for just to us or any of us. This power was given to us on paper, and signed by all our principal chiefs, and the same paper lodged in the hands of our great brother George Washington, the President, one we had too much confidence in to believe that he would have misplaced a paper of that consequence; however, it does not alter our power; as we have before mentioned, we are sent to you for the purpose of having a final settlement with you, before we return to them: and, brothers, our chiefs' last charges, when we parted with them, at the great council at Caghnawaga, was, to reason the case with our brothers, and to act with judgment: for that, whatsoever was agreed on at this meeting, through us, should stand for just to the whole of our nations.

BROTHERS: At our meeting last fall, at fort George, you, after some conversation, desired us to point out the land we claimed in this State, and accordingly we did.

BROTHERS: You then brought in several objections against our claim, but we could not find either of them to be reasonable, or in any measure sufficiently weighty. If we had ever sold any of our lands, either to the King of France or Britain, or either of the United States, we should of course have signed our names to the agreements, which, if that were the case, we are sensible that such papers would be brought forward against us; and that, too, with great justice; but, so far from any thing of this kind, that we bid defiance to the world to produce any deed, or sale, or gift, or lease, of any of the lands in question, or any part of them, from us, to either the King of France or Britain, or to either of the United States, or to any individual excepting those we have adopted into our nation, and who reside with us.

BROTHERS: You produced to us a copy of a deed from several Mohawks, for eight hundred thousand acres of land, which those Mohawks had as good a right to sell as they have to come and dispose of the city of New York; notwithstanding this, you, at the treaty of last fall, pointed those people out to us to be too just a people, you thought, to do a thing of the kind; but what makes them just in your eyes, we expect, is, because they stole from us, and sold to you. This is what makes them a just people.

BROTHERS: Had we, several years ago, done as those have, whom you call a just people, that is, had we sold off all our lands, then underhandedly sold our brother's, then fled our country, took up arms, and come and killed men, women, and children, indiscriminately; burnt houses, and committed every other act of devastation; and, in short, done every thing we could against our once nearest friends, then, according to what you say of those Mohawks, you would have esteemed us a just people, and therefore would not have disputed our claim.

BROTHERS: From what we have seen within these few years, we have reason to believe that such a people as those are most esteemed in your eyes: we need not mention to you the conduct of the Western Indians, nor of their friends; you can judge who we mean; but it seems those who injure you the most, you are the readiest to serve.

BROTHERS: It seems that, before a nation can get justice of another, they must first go to war, and spill one another's blood; but, brothers, we do not like this mode of settling differences; we wish justice to be done without; and it is so far from the conduct of a Christian People, that we are fully determined we never will resort to such means, unless driven to it by necessity.

BROTHERS: It is our earnest wish to live in friendship and unity with you; and we have always endeavored to persuade our brother Indians to take pattern by us, and live peaceably with you, and to think that our brothers of

the United States were a just people, and never would wrong them of any of their lands, that justly belonged to them.

**BROTHERS:** This we did on the strength of your former promises to us, which we think you remember too well to need them to be repeated. You, who depend on ink and paper, which ought never to fade, must recollect better than we, who cannot write, and who only depend on memory; yet your promises are fresh in our minds.

**BROTHERS:** We ask for nothing but what is our just due, and that we ever shall expect to get, until such time as you deny your own words; but we could wish that never to be the case: for, if it was to be, it would not only be breaking your promises, but making false speakers of us in all that ever we said to our brother Indians, in your behalf, and encouraging those who always have been endeavoring to injure both you and us, all that ever lay in their power.

**BROTHERS:** We intreat you only to look back, and consider the privileges your brother Indians formerly enjoyed, before we were interrupted by other nations of white people, who feign themselves to us as brothers, and let justice take place betwixt you and us, in place of arbitrary power: for that, brothers, you very well know, is a thing that never gave contentment to any people or nation whatsoever.

**BROTHERS:** Formerly we enjoyed the privilege we expect is now called freedom and liberty; but, since the acquaintance with our brother white people, that which we call freedom and liberty, becomes an entire stranger to us; and, in place of that, comes in flattery and deceit, to deprive poor ignorant people of their properties, and bring them to poverty, and, at last, to become beggars and laughing stocks to the world.

**BROTHERS:** This is what we have already seen; but, however, we wish never to reflect on what is past, but trust in the Great Spirit, that made us all, to so order it that justice may take place, and that better is to come.

**BROTHERS:** We pray you to take this matter into good consideration, and do by us as you would wish to be done by. Brothers, this is what we wish for: that every brother might have their rights, throughout this continent, and all to be of one mind, and to live together in peace and love, as becometh brothers; and to have a chain of friendship made between you and us, too strong ever to be broke, and polished and brightened so pure as never to rust. This is our sincere wishes.

**BROTHERS:** We wish, likewise, to enjoy our own laws, and you yours, so far that, if any of our people, Indians, should commit a crime, to any of their brothers, the white people of the United States, that he may be punished, by his own nations, and his chiefs to make good all damages; and likewise, on the other part, if any white person should commit a crime to any Indian, that we, the Indians, are not to take revenge on the person, but to resign him up to justice, and there let him be punished, according to the laws of his nation.

**BROTHERS:** This we think will be one great step towards strengthening the chain of friendship, and to prevent all differences and disputes hereafter, and that is what we could wish; that after this settlement with you, Brothers, that there never may, hereafter, arise any differences or disputes betwixt you and us, but rather, if any nation, people, or individual, should attempt to cause any difference, or dispute, betwixt you and us, or to intrude, or wish to injure either of us, that we may be all as one, agreed to drive such ill minded people from off our continent, that does not wish to live amongst us in peace.

**BROTHERS:** These are our sincere wishes, and we hope that you will consider this matter well, and let us make a good path for your children and ours, to walk in after us; this, Brothers, is our greatest desire, to live in peace and love with you.

**BROTHERS:** As to our lands, we wish our children after us to share their part of the lands, as well as us that are now living; and we are sensible, Brothers, that, if you do by us as you would wish to be done by, were it your case, as it is ours, and let justice speak, and make us an offer for our lands, yearly, exclusive of a small piece we wish to reserve for our own use, we are satisfied, that, as you know the value of the lands so much better than we do, that your offer will prevent any further contention on the business.

**BROTHERS:** We, with patience, wait your answer.

24th May, 1796.

*Speech by the Agents for the State to the Deputies for the Indians.*

**BROTHERS:**

We have considered your speech to us of yesterday, and we find the question, respecting your claim, remains as it was when the conferences between you and us, at the treaty held at Lake George, last fall, were closed. Without some further evidence, it appears to be scarcely reasonable in you to expect we should admit your claim; and the only inducement with us to have it released, or extinguished, is, as we before stated to you, because we desire to live in peace and good neighborhood with you, and to avoid all controversy in future; and, consequently, not any supposed merit or justice in the claim itself, but merely contentment and satisfaction to you, are the considerations in determining as to the amount of the compensation to be allowed to you. We have, heretofore, offered you three thousand dollars, which you declined accepting, without any offer or proposal in return from you; and although it was then intended as a definitive offer from us, we are still willing to add to it, or to vary it to an annuity, in order to which, however, you must now inform us what your wishes or expectations are. This will be necessary, otherwise the negotiations will not be conducted on terms duly fair and equal between us.

25th May, 1796.

Mr. Gray read and delivered to the Agents, the following speech, as from the deputies, written in English:

*A speech of the Seven Nations of Canada, and State of New York to their Brothers of the State of New York.*

**BROTHERS:**

We have considered your answer of yesterday, to our speech to you on the day before, wherein you say you find the question respecting our claim remaining as it was when we parted last fall, from the treaty at fort George. Very true, so it does: for, if we remember right, you told us you would give us three thousand dollars for a release, or quit claim, for all the lands in our claim, exclusive of six miles square, to be reserved for the use of the village of St. Regis, and that was all that you could offer, as you was sent there by them that was greater than you. We told you that we was not able to comply with your offer, as we did not wish to bring our children to poverty by an action of that kind, neither did you ask us what we did expect to have for our lands; if you had, we should immediately have told you.

**BROTHERS:** Now you say, without some further evidence, you still cannot see fit to admit our claim. We pray you, Brothers, to tell us what further proof you wish us to shew, than what we already have shewn. We have told you, time past, and we tell you now, that our claim is just; and as to finding any other nation, or people, that can say our claim is not just, or that there is a better title can be produced than ours, as we told you before, we are sensible that cannot be done in justice; however, for your satisfaction, Brothers, as we mentioned several times before, that if you was not convinced that our claim was just, to be at the expense of calling the different nations, whose boundaries join our claim, and let them be evidences for and against us. We likewise tell you, that if we ever have sold any part of the lands we now claim, to bring forward the papers, signed by our chiefs, and they will end the business between you and us, and for any farther evidence, Brothers, we think it unnecessary.

**BROTHERS:** We will now tell you what we expect to have, and do justice to you and ourselves; that is, to reserve for our own use in land, to begin at the village of St. Regis, and to run east ten miles, on the line of the latitude of forty-five; then up the river St. Lawrence, from the village of St. Regis, to a place called the Presqu' Isle, which we think is about thirty-five or forty miles from the village; and that distance to continue twenty miles in breadth; this piece we wish to reserve for our own use, which is but a very small piece; and the principal we do offer for your settlements, or any other use you may see fit to put it to. We should think it no ways out of reason

or justice, to allow us the sum of three thousand dollars, yearly, which will come to a trifle over one dollar for each person that is now living, and has a right in this claim, which is but a small sum towards clothing a person yearly, when, before your clearing up our hunting grounds, we supported ourselves, both in victuals and clothing, from what nature provided for us, from off those lands.

**BROTHERS:** Your compliance to these terms will give contentment to the minds of your Brothers, the Indians of the Seven Nations.

26th May, 1796.

*Speech from the Agents to the Deputies.*

**BROTHERS:**

We had intended to have avoided all further examination of the merits of your claim, and that the conferences between you and us should have been confined only to adjust the compensation to be allowed to you for the extinguishment of it; but there are some parts of your speech of yesterday, which we suppose ought not to remain wholly unnoticed by us.

**BROTHERS:** You say there is no other people can be found, who can say your claim is not just; and if we are not convinced your claim is just, that we should be at the expense of calling the different nations, whose boundaries join your claim, to be evidences for or against your claim.

**BROTHERS:** It would be sufficient for us merely to say, that, considering the objections we have made to your claim, and the very unsatisfactory manner in which you have endeavored to answer them, that it is not reasonable in you to propose, that we should be at the expense of procuring the attendance of the Indians, to whom you refer as witnesses; we will, however, state to you a fact, to convince you that, if they did attend, such is the probability that their testimony would be against your claim, as to render it unadvised even for you to call them.

**BROTHERS:** The Six Nations of Indians, by a deed, dated the 30th day of November, 1787, and in consideration of an annuity of two thousand dollars, sold to John Livingston, and his associates, for the term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, lands described in the deed, as follows: "All that certain tract or parcel of land, commonly called and known by the name of the lands of the Six Nations of Indians, situate, lying, and being in the State of New York, and now in the actual possession of the said chiefs or sachems of the Six Nations; beginning at a place commonly called and known by the name of Canada creek, about seven miles west of fort Stanwix, now fort Schuyler; thence northeasterly to the line of the province of Quebec; thence along the said line to the Pennsylvania line; thence east on the said line, or Pennsylvania line, to the line of property so called by the State of New York; thence along the said line of property to Canada creek aforesaid." These boundaries you perceive include nearly, if not all the lands you claim, within this State, and the deed is signed by forty-five Indian chiefs, and among the witnesses to it, is Colonel Lewis, the deputy here present. This deed was confirmed by another, dated the 9th day of July, 1788, signed by sixty-six chiefs, and among the witnesses to it, are Colonel John Butler, and Captain Joseph Brandt. These deeds having been given up to the State by the persons to whom they were made, have been lodged in the Secretary's office, and they are now produced to you, in order that you may see them. This purchase by Mr. Livingston, and his associates, having been made without the consent of the Legislature, was contrary to the constitution of the State, and therefore, void; it is, notwithstanding, sufficient to the purpose for which we principally mention it, as it is not to be presumed that these Indians would ever declare, that lands which they intended to sell and be paid for as belonging to themselves, did belong to others; not only so, but if the persons who have subscribed the deeds as witnesses, and having a knowledge of Indian affairs, and some of whom, even Colonel Lewis himself, if we are not much misinformed, assisted Mr. Livingston, and his associates, in making the purchase, were called on as witnesses between you and us, they must declare that they never had heard or believed, that any part of the lands described in these deeds, belonged to any other Indians than the Six Nations; otherwise, they must declare that they were witnesses to a transaction which they knew to be intended fraudulent and injurious to you; so that it must evidently be fruitless in you to depend on the testimony of the neighboring nations to establish your claim.

**BROTHERS:** When we first came together at the treaty held last fall, and before any formal speeches had passed between you and us, you mentioned that you claimed the lands, also, on the east side of the line between this State and the State of Vermont; but the intent of that treaty being only for the extinguishment of your claim to lands within this State, the lands in Vermont were, therefore, omitted out of the boundaries of your claim, as you afterwards described it to us. This you again affirmed to us verbally, yesterday; and you described the lands claimed by you within the limits of Vermont, as running from Ticonderoga to the Great Falls on Otter creek, thence, easterly, to the heights of land dividing the waters which run eastwardly from the waters which run into Lake Champlain; then along these heights, and the heads of the waters running into Lake Champlain, to the forty-fifth degree of latitude; and we take it for granted, you mean your claim is the same, as well with respect to the lands in Vermont as to the lands in this State. The King of Great Britain, however, when that territory was under the jurisdiction of this State, as the colony of New York, made grants of lands within the boundaries of your claim, as extending into Vermont, without requiring a previous purchase from you, or any other nation or tribe of Indians; which is a farther proof against the existence of any title in you to the lands you claim.

**BROTHERS:** In 1788 and 1789, we purchased from the Oneidas, Cayugas, and Onondagoes, the whole of their lands, except some tracts which were reserved for their own use; and the lands which we purchased from each of these nations, and exclusive of the reservations, are certainly not less in value than the lands you claim as comprehended within this State. Their title was not disputed: your title is not only disputed, but utterly denied, by us. We are still willing, however, but from motives of prudence and good will only, to place you, in respect to the amount of compensation, on an equal footing with them, and, therefore, will allow you the average of what was then allowed to them, which will be an immediate payment of one thousand two hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence, and an annuity of two hundred and thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence. The tract, equal to six miles square, near the village of St. Regis, still to be applied to your use, as reserved in the sale to Alexander Macomb. If this offer is accepted by you, it will then remain to be adjusted between you and us, as to the time, place, and manner, in which the payments are to be made.

**BROTHERS:** We shall now wait for your answer.

28th May, 1796.

*Speech from the Deputies to the Agents.*

**BROTHERS:** We have considered your offers to our last speech, and we think that we understand the greater part of them; and we are happy to think, that, after so long a time, you have thought fit to take some part of our speeches into good consideration.

**BROTHERS:** We did say, there was no people could, with justice, say our claim is not just; and we still repeat to you, brothers, that those deeds you have shown to us, are unjust; that is, we mean, according to all information we can get from Colonel Lewis, who was present when such purchase should have been made, and according to all the conversation we have had with the different nations that should have sold this tract of land belonging to us, and we never understood by these nations, that they had disposed of any lands within our boundaries; and we have, likewise, strictly examined Colonel Lewis, that was present when these purchases were made of those nations, and he solemnly declares, that he did not know of their selling any part of our lands, or any other, only the lands that belonged to them; and, indeed, we take him to be a man of better principles than to be witness to so great a piece of misconduct against his own tribe, and then not inform us of it before this time. We, therefore, must needs tell you, that we think there is a great deception in these deeds, as there has been in many other former purchases from our brother Indians; and to convince you, brothers, that we do not make any unjust demand, was it not for our poverty, we should not have requested you to have been at the expense of calling the different nations for witnesses between you and us, as we wish to convince you that we are a people that always have acted on honest principles,

and mean to continue in doing the same. However, it seems you are indifferent about having these nations to come forward; and, for our parts, brothers, we think it to be a great honor to settle matters that concern you and us, amongst ourselves, and not to trouble other nations with our business; we, therefore, are willing to comply with any thing in reason or justice, rather than it should be said by those ill-minded people, that are always trying to invent mischief between us, that we could not agree. But, there is one question we wish to ask you, brothers: had you not known us to be the right owners of these lands, why did you direct your good advice to us at the beginning of the troubles between you and the King of England? We are sensible that a nation or people, without lands, are, like rogues, without friends; of neither is notice taken, or any confidence put in either of them. But we received your council, heard your advice, and your promises to us, and took them to be sincere; and we ever since have endeavored to live up to them with you, as near as possible was in our power. And we believe, we can with safety say, that, since we have been neighbors, that we never have injured you or your properties, even to the value of a fowl; neither have we ever made any demands from you while we could support ourselves by hunting, and always thought it to be a favor to our brothers in the new settlements, rather than to think, or have the least mistrust, that it would be a detriment to your justifying our claim, when made. No, brothers, we put too much confidence in your good and fair promises, to have the least mistrust of any thing of the kind.

**BROTHERS:** Respecting our lands in Vermont, our claim in that State is the same as in this State, which is just; and, as to the King of Great Britain giving grants for settlements, without requiring a purchase from us, that was not much for him to do at that time; if that had been the only misstep he had taken towards the welfare of his children, we dare say you would not have rebelled against the government and laws of Great Britain, for the sake of obtaining liberty; so we think that but a very small reason why we should be deprived of our rights. And, as we have mentioned to you in a speech, at the treaty of last fall, at fort George, that he did request us to sell these lands to him, and our answer was, to him, that we could not sell our lands, and that we had reserved them for the maintenance of our children after us. And that has always been the advice of our forefathers, never to sell any part of our lands, but to lease them for an annuity, if it was ever so small; and we shall never forget their advice to us. And on those principles our lands were settled: that was, when we could not support ourselves by hunting, that those who resided on our lands must expect to give us some assistance for the use of our lands.

**BROTHERS:** And, in respect of your last offer to us for our lands in this State, we must beg you to have a little patience, and consider this matter once more; and we will now make you an offer, that we are sure you will not think unreasonable: that is, brothers, we are not able to bring the reserve into so small a compass as six miles square, but, for the anxiety we have for settling this matter to your satisfaction, as well as for our own, we will bring our reserve into as small a compass as possible, without interfering with our plantations: which will be resigning up to you about two-thirds of the reserve, which we never did intend to dispose of on any consideration whatsoever. Still, as we have beforementioned, that we are willing to comply, on any terms, in reason, for the sake of good neighborhood and friendship with you, you will allow us to reserve to our use, as follows: beginning at the head of the second island above Long Saut, on the river St. Lawrence, and run down the stream of said river ten miles below the village of St. Regis; then back into the woods, twenty-one miles; then westwardly, in rear the same distance as in front; and from thence, to the river, opposite said island, to the place of beginning. This reserve, brothers, we will not be able to make any less, without interfering with the plantations of our people, which is out of our power so to do, and an annuity of four hundred and eighty pounds, with all expenses free, to the place where we may agree for the delivery of said payments; if so be you may see fit to agree to this offer, which we are sure you cannot think unreasonable, for we are sensible it will not be more than half a cent per acre, yearly; and the immediate payment to be, as you propose.

**BROTHERS:** We hope you will not request us to vary from this offer, which we beg you rightly to consider, and let your brothers live as well as yourselves. We will wait your answer.

28th May, 1796.

*Speech from the Agents to the Deputies.*

**BROTHERS:**

The offer which we made to you the day before yesterday, was on mature consideration, and appeared to us to be as liberal as you possibly could expect; and it is now to be considered as definitive between you and us, so that it only remains for you to give us your final answer, whether you are willing to accept it or not, in order that the negotiations at the present treaty may be brought to a close. We would, however, explain to you, that a reasonable allowance to you, as deputies, for your services and expenses, in attending this treaty, and such presents as are usual on those occasions, will be made to you, exclusive of the compensations which we have proposed should be for the nations or tribes whom you represent.

30th May, 1796.

*Speech from the Agents to the Deputies.*

**BROTHERS:**

After we had made our speech to you the day before yesterday, you verbally suggested to us, that the Indians of St. Regis had built a mill on a river which you call Salmon river, and another, on a river which you call Grass river, and that they had always supplied themselves with hay, from the meadows on Grass river. You describe those rivers, generally, only as emptying into the river St. Lawrence, and being in the vicinity of St. Regis, and it is uncertain whether they, and especially the places on them where the mills are built, will be included in the tract, equal to six miles square, reserved in the sale to Mr. Macomb.

If you had seasonably informed the State of your claim, they might then have reserved lands for your use, to any extent which might have been judged proper; but they have now sold all the lands in that quarter, to Mr. Macomb, and as reservations cannot be made without the consent of the persons who have purchased from him, we have spoken to them on the subject, and they have consented we should further offer to you, that a convenient tract, at each place where the mills are built, and the meadows on both sides of the Grass river, although they may hereafter be discovered not to be within the above tract, equal to six miles square, shall be reserved to the use of the St. Regis Indians.

31st May, 1796.

The deputies having declared their acceptance of the compensation as proposed to them by the agents, three acts, of the same tenor and date, one to remain with the United States, another to remain with the said Seven Nations or tribes, and another to remain with the State, were, thereupon, this day executed by the commissioner for the United States, the deputies for the Indians, the agents for the State, and Daniel McCormick and William Constable, for themselves and their associates, purchasers under Alexander Macomb, containing a cession, release, and quit claim, from the said Seven Nations or tribes of Indians, of all lands within the State; and a covenant from the State for the payment of the said compensation, and, also, certain reservations of land, to be applied to the use of the Indians of the village of St. Regis, as by the said acts, reference being had to either of them, will more fully appear.

The act referred to above, and to remain with the United States, accompanies this report.

ALEX. OGDEN.

4th CONGRESS.]

No. 73.

[2d SESSION.

## THE WIDOW OF A CHEROKEE CHIEF.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 17, 1797.

Mr. DWIGHT FOSTER, from the Committee of Claims, to whom was referred the petition of the widow of the late Scolacutaw, or Hanging Maw, one of the chiefs of the Cherokee Indians, reported:

That she complains against the conduct of one John Beard, and a number of armed men, who, she states, in the year 1793, contrary to law and the good faith of Government, attacked the dwelling house of the petitioner and her husband; killed and wounded a number of well disposed Indians; burnt and destroyed and carried away their property, and wounded the petitioner. She now prays, that some provision may be made for her.

After examining the statement made by the petitioner, and the facts upon which she rests her present application, the committee have found some difficulty in deciding what measures would be most advisable for the House to adopt.

Previous to the attack on the Hanging Maw, the frontier settlers of Tennessee, and the Indians in that quarter, had been guilty of mutual acts of aggression and hostility. A party of the Indians had killed some settlers; their trail was discovered, conducting across the Tennessee; this circumstance induced a belief in their pursuers, that the Hanging Maw had been concerned in that business, and occasioned his being wounded, and the misfortunes complained of by his widow. The general opinion, however, represents the Hanging Maw as having been uniformly friendly to the settlers, as vigilant to apprise them of the approach of banditti, and constant in his exertions, on all occasions, to compose differences between them and his nation, and, withal, as possessing considerable influence over the Indians. The same disposition is also attributed to his widow, the present petitioner, who, instead of exciting her people to acts of retaliation, has abated nothing in her friendship to the white people.

All these circumstances seem to countenance, if not to require for her, a pension from the Government, or some other relief from the Legislature. Such a provision might also be considered as extending its influence beyond the particular object, or, as an inciting cause to other Indians, to pursue a similar line of conduct, under circumstances alike cruel and distressing, should they happen.

But, on the other hand, it is to be considered, there are citizens on the frontiers, who have suffered injuries as cruel, and deprivations as severe, by the Indians, and who have been thereby left in situations of distress, that would equally call for assistance from the Legislature. Questions arise, whether both descriptions of sufferers ought to be provided for? Whether the abilities of Government would be competent to meet all possible claims of this nature? And, whether help can be extended, by law, to the one, and consistently refused to the other?

It may be said, that those who settle upon the frontiers, voluntary assume all the risks and dangers attached to that position, and, therefore, can have no just claim upon Government, for consequences resulting from their choice; whilst, on the contrary, policy requires that the minds of Indians, who may be roused to hostility by acts of the settlers, should be quieted by small pecuniary interpositions.

Under these views of the subject, the committee have hesitated what report to make; but, upon the whole, as the authority vested in the Executive Department is competent to meet this claim, and should the petitioner, from her sufferings and her attachment to the United States, appear to the Executive to be entitled to any annual relief, as it may be afforded out of the appropriations for contingent expenses in the Indian Department, without an interference of the Legislature, and, as this mode will probably involve the fewest difficulties, the committee think she should apply to that department; and that the prayer of her petition ought not to be granted.

4th CONGRESS.]

No. 74.

[2d SESSION.

## THE CHEROKEES AND CREEKS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 17, 1797.

Mr. ANDREW JACKSON, from the committee to whom were re-committed the petition of Hugh Lawson White, and the report of the Secretary of War thereon, reported:

That it appears by Governor Blount's letters to the Secretary of War, prior to the 7th day of June, 1793, (the day he set out from Knoxville to Philadelphia) the Cherokee and Upper Creek Indians had killed many men, women, and children, upon different parts of the frontiers of the territory south of Ohio, and, that such was the state of hostility, at that time, that he, previous to his departure from Knoxville, issued an order to Brigadier General Sevier, to hold one third part of his brigade in readiness, to march at the shortest notice, to the frontiers, for the protection thereof. Upon Governor Blount's leaving the territory, the government thereof devolved upon Secretary Smith, who, in his letter to the Secretary of War, of the 17th of June, uses these words: "I can see no person who does not appear convinced, that a general war from the Cherokee nation will ensue. Such are the opinions of Major King and Mr. Ore, whose names are mentioned, because they ought to have weight." In his letter of the 22d of June, to the Secretary, he gives information, that the Indians had committed depredations in Wear's Cove, on the 19th. In his letter of the 19th of July, he informs the Secretary, "that, on the 29th of June, a small party of Indians came to one Lloyd's house, more than sixty miles above Knoxville, and about eleven from Greene court house, upon the south side of Nollichucky river, and killed his wife and two children, and badly wounded a third, and plundered the house of every thing of value; that, on the 2d instant, they fired at a man on Pistol creek, burnt the house of Mr. Hog, on Nine-mile creek, with his crop of flax, and cut up part of his crop of corn, and shortly after, they stole seven horses from Bird's station, twelve miles below Knoxville, and the clothes of four families which were in the wash."

The following is an extract of a letter from Secretary Smith to the Secretary of War, dated at Knoxville, August 31st, 1793:

"The expectations that the Indians would invade this district, in great force, seem as though they would be verified. At the appearance of day light, on the 29th instant, a numerous party of Indians made an attack on Henry's station. Their real number cannot be known, and opinions differ on that head, from one hundred to three hundred. Lieutenant Tedford, and another man, had gone out to a corn field, when the firing commenced, at which they attempted to run to the station, but got among the Indians, unexpectedly; the lieutenant was took prisoner,



carried about one hundred and fifty yards and put to death, his body mangled in a most inhuman manner. The other man fortunately made his escape, and ran to a neighboring station, from whence all the adjacent frontiers were alarmed; no other man, who happened to be out, was all they killed, besides the lieutenant.

"The upper county militia have not yet come down, but are to be expected in a few days. Had they been on the frontier, I think these Indians might have been intercepted. I have proposed to General Sevier to come down and take the command; his name carries terror to the Indians. Although the number of men on duty here may not be such as would demand an officer of his rank, I have thought it would be most expedient to call for him.

"I have heard nothing of Major Beard since he left Southwest Point; but, ere this, he must have arrived at Nashville.

"Enclosed are extracts of two letters from General Robertson, and an account of Indian depredations, since my former account.

"Tis expected that General Sevier, with the third of the militia of the three upper counties, will be on his way to the frontiers, in a few days. His force, except a few to protect exposed places, I mean to continue in a body, that they may be in readiness to intercept or repel any numerous party of Indians that may invade the country."

Secretary Smith, again, in his letter of the 27th of September, dated at Knoxville, to the Secretary of War, expresses himself as follows:

"I have to inform you, that, besides other previous depredations of the Cherokees, of a less nature, they made an invasion into this district, on Wednesday, the 25th instant, in force, as is generally believed, not less than one thousand. In many places they marched in twenty-eight files abreast, each of which, as supposed, was composed of forty men. Besides, they appeared to have about one hundred horse. They crossed the Tennessee, below the mouth of Holston, on Thursday evening, marched all night towards this place, (Knoxville) and about sunrise, or a little after, attacked and carried the house of Alexander Caveat, about seven miles from this place. His whole family, thirteen in number, fell a sacrifice. As a man of common delicacy would want language to convey to another the horrid manner in which the poor women and children were treated, so do I, to make you sensible of the sufferings of the frontier inhabitants, pent up in their small huts. General Sevier lay, at that time, upon the lower frontier, upon the south bank of Holston, about eight miles from the Tennessee, at one Ish's, with about four hundred men. I speak in round numbers: for I have received no return. He had encamped at Ish's but a few days before. I am now endeavoring to augment his numbers, to enable him to pursue the enemy. The Indians crossed Clinch the same day they killed Caveat's family. Lieutenant McClellan is now out with a party of horse, reconnoitring their movements. General Sevier told me that every night of his stay at Ish's, the Indians were reconnoitring his camp, till his sentinels one night killed one of them; since which, they have been more cautious. This large party of Indians passed up on the north side of Holston, within three miles of the General's camp; and, I suppose, would have marched to this place, but for fear of his intercepting them, as they did not know his numbers. The frontiers are infested with these Indians, from opposite Greene court house, round by Ish's, and up Clinch, upon the Northwestern frontier, a distance of at least two hundred miles. You can better conceive, than I describe, the many sufferings of the frontier inhabitants."

Here follows a copy of a letter from Secretary Smith, to General Sevier, dated

"KNOXVILLE, September 30th, 1793.

"In answer to yours of the 27th instant, which I acknowledge to have received, I hold it would be proper to follow the trail of that large party of Indians who massacred Caveat's family, on the 25th instant; and, if possible, inflict due punishment on them. The country is to be defended in the best manner we can, comporting with my general instructions to you, of the 17th instant."

The committee remark, that Secretary Smith's general instructions, alluded to in the above order, are not to be found in the War Office; but they consider that his letter to the Secretary of War, of the 1st of October, 1795, which has been printed for the use of the members, with the report of the Secretary of War, fully shews that there was nothing in that instruction which Secretary Smith himself understood as opposed to Sevier's pursuing the Indians into their nation; but, on the contrary, in that letter, he informs the Secretary, that he did give the order to General Sevier to pursue the Indians into their nation.

The committee think it proper to add the report of General Sevier to Governor Blount, of the 25th of October, 1793, from his camp at Ish's mill.

"In obedience to an order from Secretary Smith, I marched in pursuit of the large body of Indians, who, on the 25th of last month, did the mischief in Knox county, near the Grassy Valley. For the safety and security of our army, I crossed at one of the upper fords on the Tennessee river, below the mountains. We then bent our course for Hiwasee, with expectations of striking the trail; and, before we reached that river, we discovered four large ones, making directly into the mountains. We proceeded across the Hiwasee, and directed our march for Estanaula, on the Coosa river, at which place we arrived on the 14th instant, discovering, on our way, several other trails leading to the aforesaid place. We there made some Cherokee prisoners, who informed us that John Watts headed the army lately out on our frontiers; that the same was composed of Indians, more or less from every town in the Cherokee nation; that, from the Turkey's town, Sallyquoah, Coosawaytah, and several other principal ones, almost to a man was out, joined by a large number of the Upper Creeks, who had passed that place, on their return, only a few days since, and had made for a town at the mouth of Hightower river. We, after refreshing the troops, marched for that place, taking the path that leads to that town, along which the Creeks had marched, in five large trails. On the 17th instant, in the afternoon, we arrived at the forks of Coosa and Hightower rivers. Colonel Kelly was ordered, with a part of the Knox regiment, to endeavor to cross the Hightower. The Creeks, and a number of Cherokees, had entrenched themselves to obstruct the passage. Colonel Kelly and his party passed down the river, half a mile below the ford—began to cross at a private place, where there was no ford. Himself and a few others swam over the river. The Indians, discovering his movements, immediately left their entrenchments, and ran down the river to oppose their passage, expecting, as I suppose, the whole intended crossing at the lower place. Captain Evans immediately, with his company of mounted infantry, strained their horses back to the upper ford, and began to cross the river. Very few had got to the south bank before the Indians, who had discovered their mistake, returned, and received them furiously at the rising of the bank. An engagement instantly took place, and became very warm; and, notwithstanding the enemy were at least four to one in number, besides the advantage of situation, Captain Evans, with his heroic company, put them, in a short time, entirely to flight. They left several dead on the ground, and were seen to carry others off, both on foot and horseback; and trails of blood, from the wounded, were to be seen in every quarter. Their encampment fell into our hands, with a number of their guns, many of which were of the Spanish sort, with their budgets, blankets, and matchcoats, together with some horses. We lost three men in this engagement, which is all that have fell during the time of our route, although this last attack was the fourth the enemy had made upon us; but, in the others, repulsed without loss. After the last engagement, we crossed the main Coosa, where they had thrown up some works, and evacuated. They suffered us to pass unmolested. We then proceeded on our way down the main river, near the Turnip mountain, destroying in our way several Creek and Cherokee towns, which they had settled together, on each side of the river, and from which they have all fled, with apparent precipitation, leaving almost every thing behind them. Neither did they, after the last engagement, attempt to annoy or interrupt us on our march, in any manner whatever. I have great reason to believe their ardor and spirits were well checked. The party flogged at Hightower were those who had been out with Watts: There are three of our men wounded, and two or three horses killed; but the Indians did not, as I have heard of, get a single horse from us the time we were out. We took and destroyed near three hundred beeves, many of which were of the best and largest kind. Of course, their losing so much provision must distress them very much. Many women and children might have been taken; but, from motives of humanity,



I did not encourage it to be done; and several taken were suffered to make their escape. Your Excellency knows the disposition of many that were out on the expedition, and can readily account for this conduct."

By a recurrence to the laws of the United States for the protection of the frontiers, a new view of this subject will be presented. The fifth section of an act, passed September 29th, 1789, entitled "An act to recognise and adapt to the constitution of the United States, the establishment of the troops, raised under the resolves of the United States in Congress assembled, and for other purposes therein mentioned," provides, "that, for the purpose of protecting the inhabitants of the United States, from the hostile incursions of the Indians, the President is hereby authorized to call into service, from time to time, such part of the militia of the States, respectively, as he may judge necessary for the purpose aforesaid." On the 30th of April, 1790, an act was passed "for regulating the military establishment of the United States," by the fifteenth section of which, it is provided, "that, for the purpose of aiding the troops now in service, or to be raised by this act, in protecting the inhabitants of the frontiers of the United States, the President is hereby authorized to call into service, from time to time, such part of the militia of the States, respectively, as he may judge necessary for that purpose." And by the thirteenth section of the act "for making further provision for the protection of the frontiers," passed March 5th, 1792, it is enacted, "that the President be authorized, from time to time, to call into service, and for such periods as he may deem requisite, such number of cavalry as he may judge necessary for the protection of the frontiers."

These are all the acts of Congress on this subject. It seems worthy of remark, that they give the President power, and furnish him with force, to protect the frontiers, generally, without declaring of what nature that protection shall be. Hence may result, for the consideration of the House, a question, whether those laws do not invest the President with authority to act offensively against the Indians, in case he should judge it the most effectual, or the only effectual method of protecting the frontiers?

The committee, indeed, find, that, on the 8th of December, 1792, the House of Representatives having before them sundry documents respecting Indian depredations, rejected a motion for authorizing the President to carry on offensive operations against some of the Southern tribes. This, however, was long before the expedition in question, and at a time when the incursions of the Indians were far less violent and destructive. The rejection of this motion may also have been occasioned by an opinion, that the existing laws already gave sufficient definition on that head.

The next point, for the consideration of the House, relates to the instructions from the War Department to the Governor of the Southwestern territory. Admitting the President to have possessed the power of ordering such an expedition, had he given this power to the government of that territory? For an answer to this question, the committee refer the House to the instructions themselves, as contained in the printed report from the War Department. They will add, however, one clause of the original instructions, which is omitted in that report. It is contained in the letter of May 14th, 1793, from the War Department, and is in these words: "Dr. Williamson has repeatedly spoken of the danger of the communication between Washington and Mero districts, and that it would be obviated, in a degree, by a small post at the crossing of Cumberland river. This, however, and all other points of defence, must be referred to your judgment."

The committee, also, deem it worthy of the consideration of the House, how far the government of the Southwestern territory, independently of instructions or authority from the General Government, was justified in this measure, by the principles of general defence, as recognised by the constitution. In the tenth section of the first article, it is provided, "that no State shall engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay." How far is the present case to be considered as a case of invasion or imminent danger? These are questions, which it is not the province of the committee to discuss, but they have thought them important enough to be presented to the view of the House.

There is, moreover, another view of the subject, which the committee think ought not to be omitted. It is clear, that the Governor of the Southwestern territory was invested with the command of the militia, and with power to call them into service, as well as to direct their operations, while in the field. As to the mode of exercising these powers, he had particular instructions; but, could the militia look farther than to him? Could they refuse to obey an order from him, under the pretence of its being contrary to his instructions? Will not the government, in fine, having authorized him to act in this matter, be bound by his acts, however improper and unjustifiable? If so, it will result that, although the Secretary, in this instance, may have acted improperly, without necessity, or contrary to instructions, the militia who performed service, in obedience to his orders, ought to be paid.

The committee find, by an estimate of the expense, from the office of the accountant of the War Department, that the whole amount of the pay of General Sevier's brigade, in service on this occasion, is \$29,426 34, of which \$6,609 39, including the pay of that part which did not cross the line, has been already paid; the sum, therefore, remaining due, is \$22,816 95, which will be affected by the decision in this case. The whole amount for forage, provisions, &c. has already been paid.

The committee would not consider themselves as having fully discharged their duty, did they not remark, what they have found supported by undeniable testimony, that, since the date of this expedition, no hostile incursions have been made on that part of the frontier; and, that there is much reason to believe, that the peace, since established, has been a fruit of the measure. To this point, the following letter from Governor Blount, dated Knoxville, November 21st, 1793, is important; it is to the Secretary of War, in these words: "We still continue to enjoy an unexpected cessation of hostilities; the Indians, as yet, not having committed a single murder since the visit General Sevier paid the nation, by order of Secretary Smith. I am unable to offer any probable reason for this cessation, as all friendly communication between the Indians and the citizens of the United States, is cut off; but, my opinion is, that it is fear of a second visit, that, for the moment, restrains them." The committee find reason to believe, that this opinion was well founded, and to attribute the subsequent quiet of that quarter, and the final peace, in a great degree, to this measure.

Upon the whole of the subject, the committee beg leave to recommend the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That provision, by law, ought to be made for the payment of the balance due to General Sevier, and the troops under his command, in the expedition undertaken in the summer and fall of 1793, by orders from the Secretary of the territory of the United States south of the river Ohio.

## INDIAN LANDS IN NORTH CAROLINA.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, MARCH 1, 1797.

Mr. HILLHOUSE, from the committee to whom was referred the letter and enclosures from the Governor of North Carolina, relative to the extinguishment of the Indian title to lands granted to T. Glasgow and Co. by the State of North Carolina; the address of the Legislature of the State of Tennessee, on the same subject; and also the petition of J. Glasgow and others, relative to lands entered in the office of John Armstrong, Esq. and since ceded to the United States, reported:

That the State of North Carolina did, by a law passed on the 2d day of May, 1778, declare the Western boundary, or line of said State, comprehending all the lands then claimed to have been ceded by the Indians, or con-

quered from them; which line did not extend so far westwardly, or into the Indian country, as the present boundary line between the United States and the Indian tribes; declaring all past entries or surveys to be void, and prohibiting all future entries or surveys over and beyond said line, which was, also, recognised by a law passed the 13th of September, 1780. On the 17th of May, 1783, said State passed a law declaring it expedient to extend the Western boundary of said State, and that the same was, in and by said law, extended to the Mississippi, including the lands in question, and opening a land office for entering and surveying the same, for the discharge of certain debts of said State, contracted during the late war; excepting from such entry and survey, certain tracts described in said act, and declared to be reserved for the Indians and other special purposes. The entries and surveys, which have been made by the claimants on the lands in question, were under said act and an act of the 2d of June, 1784, but it does not appear that the Indian title to said lands has ever been extinguished. The treaty of Hopewell, between the United States and the Cherokee tribe of Indians, made on the 28th of November, 1785, established a line between the United States and said tribe, excluded a large portion of the lands, which are claimed to have been entered and surveyed under said acts; at which treaty the agent of North Carolina attended, and entered his protest against it, as intruding upon the rights of that State: this treaty was, however, agreed to, and ratified by the United States and said tribe, on the 21st of November, 1789. North Carolina acceded to the present constitution of the United States, and, on the 22d of December following, passed an act ceding to the United States all her claim to territory lying west of a certain line, and including all the said lands; in which cession it is, among other things, made a condition, "That all entries made by, or grants made to, all and every person or persons whatsoever, agreeable to law, and within the limits thereby intended to be ceded to the United States, should have the same force and effect as if such cession had not been made; and that all and every right of occupancy and pre-emption, and every other right reserved by any act or acts, to persons settled on, and occupying, lands, within the limits of the lands hereby intended to be ceded as aforesaid, shall continue to be in full force, in the same manner as if the cession had not been made, and as conditions upon which the said lands are ceded to the United States; which cession was, by an act of Congress, of the 2d of April, 1790, accepted. On the 2d of July, 1791, the treaty of Holston was made with the said Cherokee tribe of Indians; in which the present boundary line between the United States and the said Indian tribe, was established, and all the lands lying beyond the said line secured thereby to the said tribe. It appears to the committee that, whatever right the claimants have, can be no other than a pre-emptive right to said land, and only such of them as, by conforming to the laws of the State of North Carolina, so as to have secured to themselves a title under such laws; and cannot claim of the United States any thing more than a confirmation of that title; and, therefore, recommend the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That, as soon as the Indian title to the said lands shall be extinguished, under the authority of the United States, by purchase or otherwise, provision ought, by law, to be made, to secure to such of the said claimants, as, by conforming to the laws of North Carolina, have secured to themselves a title to the right of pre-emption, under such laws, the occupancy and possession of such lands.

GENTLEMEN:

RALEIGH, December 31, 1796.

This moment the clerk of the Commons House of Assembly delivered me the enclosed petition and resolve, to be transmitted to you to act upon. I forward it in the same instant.

I am, gentlemen, respectfully, your obedient servant,

SAMUEL ASHE.

*To the Honorable the Senators of the State of North Carolina.*

*To the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina.*

The petition of owners of lands, entered in the office of John Armstrong, Esq. and since ceded to the Indians by the United States, humbly sheweth:

That, in the year 1783, the Legislature of this State opened an office for the sale of vacant lands, within the chartered limits of the State, in order to sink part of the certificate debt: That your petitioners, with many other citizens of the State, holding certificates for services performed, or supplies furnished, during the late war, when they saw no prospect of being paid any other way, as the whole revenue of the State would not, at that time, pay the interest of her certificate debt, made entries of land on the Western waters, clear of the lands reserved by said act, for the hunting ground of the Cherokee Indians; and, in some instances, proceeded to survey and get grants for the same, and, in others, held the warrants, with an expectation that the time would soon arrive, when they might more peaceably survey them. However, in the year 1786, commissioners, appointed by Congress, undertook to relinquish, and cede to the Indians, a very large proportion of the lands, sold by the State, to your petitioners, against which the General Assembly did protest; and, at their session of 1788, promised, and resolved, that they would give to the present owners of land, under the act of 1783, aforesaid, quiet possession of the same; but, on the following year, they ceded to the United States, all their right and title to the soil and jurisdiction of that country, stipulating that Congress should make good to the several persons, legally claiming lands in that country, all the engagements of the State. Your petitioners have several times since applied to the Legislature of the State; and been as often referred to Congress, but no redress has been obtained. If this State has sold, as lands to which she has no title, we contend that our certificates should be refunded us with interest; but, as we hold the lands, being the choice of an extensive and fertile country of more value than the price they cost us, we humbly hope that your honorable body, in your wisdom, will point out some mode whereby we may have peaceable possession of them, by procuring the extinguishment of the Indian claim; and we, in duty bound, will ever pray.

J. GLASGOW,  
J. G. BLOUNT,  
M. MATTHEWS,

For, and by direction of, a large number of the owners of lands, entered in the office of John Armstrong, Esq.

NORTH CAROLINA:

The committee to whom was referred the petition of sundry persons, owners of lands, entered in John Armstrong's office, and since ceded to the Indians by the United States, report:

That, having taken said petition under consideration, and finding the facts therein set forth to be generally true, and it being entirely out of the power of this Legislature to give the petitioners that relief in the premises which they ask, and, of justice, ought to have, recommend the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States are bound, by every principle of justice and equity, to grant complete and ample redress to the petitioners: And, as the honor and interest of this State are deeply concerned in procuring redress to the petitioners,

*Resolved*, That the Senators of this State, in the Congress of the United States, be, and they are hereby, requested to use their utmost endeavors to obtain complete and ample justice for the said petitioners; which is respectfully submitted.

W. R. DAVIE, Clerk.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 15th December, 1796.

*Resolved*, That the House do concur with this report.

J. LEIGH, Speaker House of Commons.

By order: J. HUNT, Clerk H. of C.

IN SENATE, 22<sup>d</sup> December, 1796.

Read and concurred with.

By order: S. HAYWOOD, Clerk.

BENJ. SMITH, Speaker of the Senate.

*To the Honorable the Congress of the United States:*

The memorial and petition of the owners of land in the State of Tennessee, that was purchased from the State of North Carolina, and has since been yielded to the Indians for hunting ground, sheweth:

That your memorialists obtained certificates to a considerable amount, from the State of North Carolina, for services and supplies they had rendered during the war; that the debt of the State being greater, as they conceive, at the end of the war, than the debt of any other State in the Union, considering the number of its inhabitants; and the citizens nearly ruined towards the end of the war, by the general depredations of foreign and domestic enemies; the Legislature, unable to discharge the interest of the debt, opened an office for the sale of land, and offered a large tract to the public creditors, reserving other lands as hunting grounds for the Indians. At a time when the whole taxes in the State, the civil list being deducted, were not equal to one quarter of the interest of its debt, your memorialists may say, with confidence, that no alternative presented itself but to take the lands offered them, or lose the debt. To many citizens it appeared necessary to take lands, for they had nothing left them except certificates; and they had not the fortitude to abide what seemed to them inevitable destruction. After our locations had been made, and our lands surveyed, a treaty was made with the Indians, by the commissioners of the United States, by which our lands were surrendered to the Indians for hunting grounds. It might have been expected, that the Legislature, at their next meeting, would have restored our certificates in case they had improperly sold those lands; but they conceived, as we suppose, that their right, as explained by their constitution, was indubitable, and they solemnly resolved to guaranty our titles, and to give us possession of the lands. We are confident that no deception was intended; but laws and resolves of the State have brought us no relief. The General Assembly, at their session, in 1789, yielded the sole jurisdiction of the western country to the United States, with an express reservation in favor of your memorialists, of all their rights and claims under the State. From year to year, we have patiently expected relief. In the year 1793, we addressed the General Assembly, entreating that such justice might be done us as had been done to other citizens. The assembly referred us to the Congress, and session after session has passed away, but Congress has done nothing in our favor. We have again claimed justice from the State, and we are again referred to the Congress. We hope and confide that the honest claims of citizens will not be eluded by two legislative bodies, upon whom no law can operate, but the clear law of justice. During the late war, we did not shrink from any danger or calamity to which we might be exposed for the public safety, but we cannot discover any reason why we should be marked for destruction in the times of peace, nor why one million of dollars should be taken from certain individuals in North Carolina, in order to make a saving to the nation. Provision has been made for every other citizen; their claims have been funded at 20s. in the pound. We are the only persons to whom justice is refused; we receive nothing but unavailing promises.

While we are seeking for justice, we do not take the liberty to prescribe the manner in which it is to be done. We have no direct claim to any thing, except the lands that are surveyed and granted to our use; nor are we desirous to exchange those lands for other lands, nor for the price at which they were sold us. It was originally considered that we might take up choice tracts in a large country, which contained some of the best lands in America. We made our selection at a considerable expense; and although those lands should be delivered to us free from other charges, we are willing to contribute our proportion of one million of dollars, counting the remaining vacant lands, in order to extinguish the Indian claim, provided immediate possession can be obtained. But, in case our interest should seem to be opposed to the general weal, and the extinction of the Indian claim should be delayed, we pray and confide that justice, in some form, may be rendered us.

J. GLASGOW,  
M. MATHEWS,  
J. G. BLOUNT,

For, and by request of a large number of the holders of lands, entered in the office of John Armstrong, Esquire, late entry taker of Western lands, and since ceded to the United States, by the State of North Carolina.

RALEIGH, 23<sup>d</sup> December, 1796.*To the Honorable the Congress of the United States of America.*

The address and remonstrance of the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, on behalf of the citizens thereof, setteth forth:

1. It appears, by an act of Congress, ratified in June, 1796, that the State of Tennessee is admitted into the Federal Union on an equal footing with any of the original States, in all respects whatever.

2. At the beginning of the late American Revolution, the United States guaranteed to each State its sovereignty, according to the chartered limits thereof; and, by the treaty of Paris, done in the year 1783, the King of Great Britain acknowledged the United States to be free, sovereign, and independent; and, for himself, his heirs, and successors, relinquished all claims to the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof. It is believed, that this relinquishment operated to each State respectively, according to the chartered limits thereof, as to right of soil and sovereignty; and, in the said treaty, no provision for, or reservation of, any Indian claims, is made.

3. In one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, North Carolina made a bill of rights, in the last section of which is contained a declaration of the sovereignty, right, and property, of territory, as limited and described in the charter of King Charles, with a provision for any nation or nations of Indians, at the discretion of the Legislature.

4. Acting on the principles contained in the first and third sections of this address, confirmed by those in the second section thereof, North Carolina, in the year 1777, opened a land office for the sale of lands, within the limits thereof, as appears from the preamble of the said act, to operate as extensively as the said limits, as is also set forth in the third section thereof; entries of land being to be made with the entry taker of any county within the State, for claims for any lands lying in said county, except as therein excepted. In the year 1777, by an act of the Legislature, the county of Washington was erected, and the limits thereof described, containing all the lands within the chartered limits of the State, lying between the Apalachian mountain and the river Mississippi (which is now the State of Tennessee.) Under this act, the land office for sale of land first began its operations, in the said described county.

5. In the year 1778, an act was passed by the Legislature of the State of North Carolina, in the fifth section whereof, a line is mentioned and described. It is believed, that, by this act and line, as described in the said section, no relinquishment of right of territory is made; but that the said line was declared for certain political reasons of the said State.

6. In the year 1783, passed another act for the sale of lands. This act revives and continues the first act, except what is thereby repealed; and, in its object, embraces the limits described in the act, erecting the county of Washington, before alluded to.

7. In consequence of this and other laws respecting sales of land, by entries made in land offices, and warrants issued thereon, grants have been issued in part, and warrants yet to lie, for lands lying within the original limits of the county of Washington.

8. In the year 1789, North Carolina made a cession of Western lands to Congress, for the use of the United States, under certain express conditions, and subject thereto, ascertained in the act of cession for that purpose; and the contract was solemnly executed by deed, on the part of North Carolina, and accepted on the part of Congress, in behalf of the United States. Part of the conditions of said contract are reported by a committee at the last session of Congress, and the said act provides, that the Governor, for the time being, shall be and is required to perfect such titles, in such manner as if the act had never been passed.

9th. The constitution of the United States confirms all engagements and contracts, entered into by the United States, before the adoption thereof, under existing laws: the enterers and grantees of land, lying within the said original limits of Washington County, expected they were secure, as to the right in fee, and right of possessing the lands by them purchased, and honestly paid for.

10. In the year 1785, the treaty of Hopewell was made with the Cherokee Indians, by the United States; but the agent of North Carolina protested against the same: in the year of 1791, the treaty of Holston was made between the United States and the Cherokee Indians, describing a line as therein mentioned; and, by an act of Congress, passed at the last session, fines, forfeitures, and imprisonment, are enacted against claimants and grantees of land, lying beyond said line, for doing things in said act mentioned.

11. This General Assembly believe, that the enterers and grantees of lands, lying over the said line, are much injured by the operation of the said last mentioned treaty; and are, in possibility, liable to be much more oppressed by the operation of the said last mentioned act of Congress; being thereby altogether prohibited from doing any act of ownership on lands, by them, long time past, bona fide contracted for and paid, for which, in part, grants have issued under the faith of North Carolina and the United States.

12. It is believed that the Indians have no fee simple in the lands alluded to; otherwise the very deeds, made by North Carolina to the United States, would be void. If the Indians have any kind of claim to the land in question, it is believed to be of the lowest kind of tenancy, namely, that of tenants at will.

13. This Legislature, ever willing to support the constitution, and laws of the United States made pursuant thereto, being impressed with a sense of the injury and grievances sustained by the citizens, in consequence of the line of the said treaty of Holston, and the act before mentioned, do earnestly request that the prohibitions, preventing them to possess the lands before alluded to, may be removed; that provision, by law, be made for extinguishing the Indian claim to said lands; that the owners and grantees of said lands may enter upon, occupy, and possess, the same, in a full and ample manner, and have every right, privilege, and advantage, which they are entitled to by constitutional laws; which justice being done to the citizens of this State, the officers of Government will be enabled to execute the constitutional laws of the United States with ease and convenience.

JAMES WINCHESTER, *Speaker of the Senate.*  
JAMES STUART, *Speaker of the House of Reps.*

Attest:

G. ROULSTONE, *Clerk of the Senate.*

4th CONGRESS.]

No. 76.

[2d SESSION.]

THE SENECA NATION.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, MARCH 2, 1797.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

Application having been made to me, to permit a treaty to be held with the Seneca nation of Indians, to effect the purchase of a parcel of their land, under a pre-emption right, derived from the State of Massachusetts, and situated within the State of New York, and it appearing to me reasonable that such opportunity should be afforded, provided the negotiation shall be conducted at the expense of the applicant, and at the desire and with the consent of the Indians, always considering these as pre-requisites, I now nominate Isaac Smith to be a commissioner, to hold a treaty with the Seneca nation, for the aforesaid purpose.

UNITED STATES, *March 2d, 1797.*

GEO. WASHINGTON.

5th CONGRESS.]

No. 77.

[2d SESSION.]

THE SENECA NATION.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 6, 1797.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

Isaac Smith, Esq. who was appointed, with the advice and consent of the Senate, to hold a treaty with the Seneca nation of Indians, to superintend the purchase of a parcel of their land, under a right of pre-emption, derived from the State of Massachusetts, and situated within the State of New York, having declined that service, Jeremiah Wadsworth, Esq. was appointed, during your recess, to hold a treaty, which has terminated in a deed of bargain and sale, herewith submitted to your consideration.

It being represented to me that the immediate investment, in bank stock, of the moneys which are to be the consideration of this deed, might be attended with considerable loss to the Indians, by raising the market price of that article, it is suggested whether it would not be expedient that the ratification should be made conclusive and binding on the parties, only after the President shall be satisfied that the investment of the moneys has been made conformably to the intention of the treaty.

UNITED STATES, *December 6, 1797.*

JOHN ADAMS.

NEW HAVEN, October 28, 1797.

SIR:

It was my intention to deliver the Indian deed into your hands, myself; but, finding it impossible, I sent it by the post, with my journal, by which you will see the Indians expected me to hold the deed until the money was paid. In your hands it will remain, for that purpose. My ill health put it out of my power to, keep a very correct journal, but nothing important is omitted. The speeches of the Indians are correct, and may, perhaps, require your early notice.

I am, sir, your humble servant.

JEREMIAH WADSWORTH.

The Hon. JAMES MCHENRY.

*Contract entered into, under the sanction of the United States of America, between Robert Morris and the Seneca nation of Indians.*

This indenture, made the fifteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, between the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the Seneca nation of Indians, of the first part, and Robert Morris, of the city of Philadelphia, Esquire, of the second part:

Whereas the Commonwealth of Massachusetts have granted, bargained, and sold, unto the said Robert Morris, his heirs and assigns, for ever, the pre-emptive right, and all other the right, title, and interest, which the said Commonwealth had to all that tract of land hereinafter particularly mentioned, being part of a tract of land lying within the State of New York, the right of pre-emption of the soil whereof, from the native Indians, was ceded and granted by the said State of New York, to the said Commonwealth; and whereas, at a treaty, held under the authority of the United States, with the said Seneca nation of Indians, at Genesee, in the county of Ontario, and State of New York, on the day of the date of these presents, and on sundry days immediately prior thereto, by the Honorable Jeremiah Wadsworth, Esquire, a commissioner appointed by the President of the United States to hold the same, in pursuance of the constitution, and of the act of the Congress of the United States, in such case made and provided, it was agreed, in the presence and with the approbation of the said commissioner, by the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the said nation of Indians, for themselves, and, in behalf of their nation, to sell to the said Robert Morris, and to his heirs and assigns, for ever, all their right to all that tract of land above recited, and hereinafter particularly specified, for the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, to be by the said Robert Morris vested in the stock of the bank of the United States, and held in the name of the President of the United States, for the use and behoof of the said nation of Indians, the said agreement and sale being also made in the presence, and with the approbation of the Honorable William Shepard, Esquire, the superintendent appointed for such purpose, in pursuance of a resolve of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, passed the eleventh day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one:

*Now this indenture witnesseth,* That the said parties, of the first part, for and in consideration of the premises above recited, and for divers other good and valuable considerations them thereunto moving, have granted, bargained, sold, aliened, released, enfeoffed, and confirmed; and by these presents do grant, bargain, sell, alien, release, enfeoff, and confirm, unto the said party of the second part, his heirs and assigns, for ever, all that certain tract of land, except as is hereinafter excepted, lying within the county of Ontario, and State of New York, being part of a tract of land, the right of pre-emption whereof was ceded by the State of New York to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, by deed of cession, executed at Hartford, on the sixteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, being all such part thereof as is not included in the Indian purchase made by Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham, and bounded as follows, to wit: easterly, by the land confirmed to Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham, by the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, by an act passed the twenty-first day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight; southerly, by the north boundary line of the State of Pennsylvania; westerly, partly by a tract of land, part of the land ceded by the State of Massachusetts to the United States, and by them sold to Pennsylvania, being a right angled triangle, whose hypothenuse is in or along the shore of lake Erie; partly by lake Erie, from the northern point of that triangle to the southern bounds of a tract of land one mile in width, lying on and along the east side of the strait of Niagara, and partly by the said tract to lake Ontario; and on the north by the boundary line between the United States and the King of Great Britain: excepting, nevertheless, and always reserving out of this grant and conveyance, all such pieces or parcels of the aforesaid tract, and such privileges thereunto belonging, as are next hereinafter particularly mentioned; which said pieces or parcels of land, so excepted, are, by the parties to these presents, clearly and fully understood to remain the property of the said parties of the first part, in as full and ample manner as if these presents had not been executed, that is to say: excepting and reserving to them, the said parties of the first part, and their nation, one piece or parcel of the aforesaid tract, at Canawagus, of two square miles, to be laid out in such manner as to include the village, extending in breadth one mile, along the river; one other piece or parcel at Big Tree, of two square miles, to be laid out in such manner as to include the village, extending in breadth along the river one mile; one other piece or parcel of two square miles at Little Beard's town, extending one mile along the river, to be laid off in such manner as to include the village; one other tract, of two square miles, at Squawky Hill, to be laid off as follows, to wit: one square mile to be laid off along the river, in such manner as to include the village, the other directly west thereof, and contiguous thereto; one other piece or parcel at Gardeau, beginning at the mouth of Steep Hill creek, thence due east, until it strikes the old path, thence south, until a due west line will intersect with certain steep rocks on the west side of Genesee river, then extending due west, due north, and due east, until it strikes the first mentioned bound, enclosing as much land on the west side as on the east side of the river. One other piece or parcel at Kaounadeau, extending in length eight miles along the river, and two miles in breadth. One other piece or parcel at Cataraugus, beginning at the mouth of the Eighteen-mile, or Koghquangu creek, thence a line or lines to be drawn parallel to lake Erie, at the distance of one mile from the lake, to the mouth of Cataraugus creek, thence a line or lines extending twelve miles up the north side of said creek, at the distance of one mile therefrom, thence a direct line to the said creek, thence down the said creek to lake Erie, thence along the lake to the first mentioned creek, and thence to the place of beginning. Also, one other piece at Cataraugus, beginning at the shore of lake Erie, on the south side of Cataraugus creek, at the distance of one mile from the mouth thereof, thence running one mile from the lake, thence on a line parallel thereto to a point within one mile from the Conondauweya creek, thence up the said creek one mile, on a line parallel thereto, thence on a direct line to the said creek, thence down the same to lake Erie, thence along the lake to the place of beginning. Also, one other piece or parcel of forty-two square miles, at or near the Alleghany river. Also, two hundred square miles, to be laid off partly at the Buffalo and partly at the Tannawanta creeks. Also, excepting and reserving to them, the said parties of the first part and their heirs, the privilege of fishing and hunting on the said tract of land hereby intended to be conveyed. And it is hereby understood by and between the parties to these presents, that all such pieces or parcels of land as are hereby reserved, and are not particularly described as to the manner in which the same are to be laid off, shall be laid off in such manner as shall be determined by the sachems and chiefs residing at or near the respective villages where such reservations are made, a particular note whereof to be endorsed on the back of this deed, and recorded therewith, together with all and singular the rights, privileges, hereditaments, and appurtenances, thereunto belonging, or in anywise appertaining. And all the estate, right, title, and interest, whatsoever, of them the said parties of the first part, and their nation, of, in, and to, the said tract of land above described, except as is above excepted, to have and to hold all and singular the said granted premises, with the appurtenances, to the said party of the second part, his heirs and assigns, to his and their proper use, benefit, and behoof, for ever.

In witness whereof, the parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and seals, the day and year first above written.

ROBERT MORRIS, by his attorney, Thomas Morris.

[Signed, also, by fifty-two sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the Seneca nation of Indians.]

Done at a full and general treaty of the Seneca nation of Indians, held at Genesee, in the county of Ontario, and State of New York, on the fifteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, under the authority of the United States.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the day and year aforesaid.

JERE. WADSWORTH.

Pursuant to a resolution of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, passed the eleventh day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, I have attended a full and general treaty of the Seneca nation of Indians, at Genesee, in the county of Ontario, when the within instrument was duly executed in my presence, by the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the said nation, being fairly and properly understood and transacted by all the parties of Indians concerned, and declared to be done to their universal satisfaction: I do, therefore, certify and approve of the same.

WM. SHEPARD.

Subscribed in presence of NAT. W. HOWELL.

5th CONGRESS.]

No. 78.

[2d Session.]

### INDIAN LANDS IN TENNESSEE.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DECEMBER 20, 1797.

MR. PINCKNEY, from the committee to whom was referred the remonstrance and petition of the Legislature of the State of Tennessee, reported:

That, on investigating the causes of complaint, therein contained, it appears that, according to the boundary line between the Cherokee tribe of Indians and the inhabitants of the said State, which was extended by the commissioners of the United States, pursuant to the treaty of Holston, in the course of the last summer, the settlements and habitations of a considerable number of the citizens of the said State, which, theretofore, were supposed to be on lands to which the Indian claim was, by that treaty, extinguished, appear to be within the Indian territory; that these inhabitants had been induced to believe that the lands which they occupied were not within the Indian boundary, in consequence of the late Governor of the Southwestern territory having, in pursuance of directions from the Executive of the United States, caused a temporary line to be extended, by commissioners appointed for that purpose, by which line the settlements, above mentioned, were included within the lands assigned to the territory Southwest of the Ohio, (now the State of Tennessee.)

The committee, likewise, find, that there are divers other citizens of the said State who occupy lands, unquestionably within the Indian territory, as designated by the said treaty, which lands they possess by virtue of titles derived from the State of North Carolina, previous to the cession of that territory, by the said State, to the General Government; one condition of which cession was, that "all entries made by, or grants to, all and every person or persons whatsoever, agreeable to law, and within the limits thereby intended to be ceded to the United States, should have the same force and effect as if such cession had not been made; and that all and every right of occupancy and pre-emption, and every other right reserved by any act or acts, to persons settled on and occupying lands within the limits of the lands thereby intended to be ceded, as aforesaid, should continue to be in full force, in the same manner as if the cession had not been made, and as conditions upon which the said lands are ceded to the United States."

The committee, also, are informed, that, by the operation of the law, passed on the 19th day of May, 1796, for regulating the intercourse with the Indian tribes, which law has been carried into execution since the extension of the last line, these citizens, of the State of Tennessee, have been compelled to abandon their habitations; and, with their wives and their children, were, by the latest accounts from that country, encamped in the woods, within the Tennessee line.

The committee, therefore, in consideration of the premises, recommend, for the adoption of the House, the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the sum of ——— dollars be appropriated for the relief of such citizens, of the State of Tennessee, as have rights to lands, within the said State, by virtue of the cession, out of the State of North Carolina, and have made actual settlements thereon, and who have been deprived of the possession of the said lands by the operation of the act for regulating the intercourse with the Indian tribes. The said sum to be subject to the order of the President of the United States, to be expended under his direction, either in extinguishing the Indian claim to the above described lands, in case he shall deem it expedient to hold a treaty for that purpose, or to be disposed of, in such other manner as he shall deem best calculated to afford the persons, herein described, a temporary relief.

5th CONGRESS.]

No. 79.

[2d Session.]

### THE CHEROKEE BOUNDARY.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 5, 1798.

In obedience to a resolution of the House of Representatives, dated the 28th of December, 1797, directing the Secretary of War to lay before them such information as he may be possessed of relative to the running of a line of experiment, from Clinch river to Chilhowee mountain, by order of the Governor of the territory of the United States, south of the Ohio, the Secretary reports:

1. That William Blount, Governor of the territory of the United States south of the Ohio, in a letter to the Secretary of War, dated July 2d, 1791, informs that he had, with much difficulty, concluded a treaty, on the part of the United States, with the Cherokee Indians, which he should forward, in a few days, by express; that he had not been able to obtain a cession of as much land as his instructions allowed; but, that it included all the settlers, except those south of the ridge dividing the waters of Little river from those of Tennessee.

2. That Governor Blount, in a letter to the Secretary of War, dated July 15, 1791, writes as follows: "In forming the treaty, the greatest difficulty was the agreeing on the boundary, and the one agreed to, I am sensible, will appear



singularly described. This is owing to the Indians insisting on beginning on the part where they were most tenacious of the land, in preference of the mouth of Duck river, where the Hopewell line began. The more ready way to understand it will be to reverse it. I have said the land, lying to the right of the line, should belong to the United States, because there was no given point of the compass would clearly describe it. According to my instructions, I proposed that the ridge, dividing the waters of Tennessee from those of Little river, should form a part of the boundary; and the Indians would not agree to it, but insisted on a straight line, which should cross the Holston where that ridge should strike it; and were so firmly fixed on their determination that I could not prevail on them to agree to any other. This line is not so limited, as to the point at which it shall leave the north line, or at which it shall strike the Clinch, but that it may be so run as either to include or leave out the settlers south of the ridge; the only stipulations respecting it are, that it shall cross Holston at the ridge, and shall be run by commissioners appointed by the respective parties.

"The Indians have named their's, as will appear by the minutes, and the sooner it is run, after the treaty is ratified, the better: for many whites are now settled near it, and others are making ready to move down, this autumn.

"The Indians expect it will be run in November or December. The boundary is not extended as far as I wished and hoped it would be, but it includes all the settlers on the North Carolina grants; and since I am certain more land could not be obtained, I am very happy so much is obtained."

3. That the Secretary of War, in a letter to Governor Blount, of the 19th November, 1791, writes as follows: "The treaty with the Cherokees has been ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and you will receive, herewith, by Judge Campbell, fifty printed copies of the same, together with the proclamation of the President of the United States, enjoining an observance thereof. You will, undoubtedly, cause these papers to be duly circulated and published.

"The time of running the lines, mentioned in the treaty, and the parts of the lines to be first run and marked, the President of the United States confides to your judgment. He is of opinion, from information, that the following gentlemen would be proper characters as commissioners on our part, and, if you know of no solid objection, he desires you to appoint them accordingly, to wit: Judge Campbell, Daniel Smith, secretary of the territory, and Colonel Landon Carter.

"The President of the United States would not, perhaps, have pointed out any characters to you for this business, but to save you the trouble of solicitations; and he is highly desirous that the lines should be run by gentlemen who can have no inducement to infringe, in any degree, upon the boundary truly meant and intended. As soon as you shall notify me of the time the line is to be run, the President of the United States will appoint a surveyor to attend that duty."

4. That Governor Blount replied, in a letter dated the 26th of December, 1791, that "the first of May is the time that, I think, will be the most convenient to commence the running the lines between the United States and the Cherokees; that the persons named by the Secretary as commissioners were capable, and well qualified in every respect; but, as one of them would be engaged in judicial duties, on the first Monday in May, he recommended another person, which he names, to be appointed in his stead."

5. That it would seem probable that Andrew Ellicot, who was appointed July, 1791, surveyor to run the boundary lines described in the Creek treaty, concluded at New York, the 7th of August, 1790, might have been the person intended to survey the Cherokee line, but of this intention the Secretary has not found any record.

6. That the Secretary of War, in his letter to Governor Blount, dated the 31st January, 1792, in which the receipt of the foregoing letter is acknowledged, writes as follows: "It is important that the line should be run, but perhaps, as there may be some misconceptions on that head, although I know of none, yet, as we may want the assistance of the Cherokees, in our military operations, perhaps, there may be a greater degree of delicacy in having the lines ascertained previously, than subsequent to the campaign.

"I am impressed with the importance of having some of all the Southern tribes with our troops, in the field, because I am apprehensive that their passion for war will constrain them to join the other side, if they do not our's. However, both the point of time, and the characters you propose for running the line, will be left to your discretion.

"We have been surprised with a visit of the following Cherokees: Nenetooyah, or Bloody Fellow; Chutloh, or King Fisher; Nontuaka, or the Northward; Teestecke, or the Disturber; Kuthagusta, or the Prince; Schucwegee, or George Miller; the squaw, Jean Dougherty; and James Carey, the interpreter. They have stated the following objects as their business, the most material of which will be complied with, especially the additional annuity.

"First. To obtain a higher compensation for the lands they relinquished by the treaty with Governor Blount, on the 2d July, 1791.

"Second. That the white people, who are settled southward of the ridge which divides the waters of the Tennessee from those of Little river, should be removed, and that the said ridge should be the barrier."

7. That Governor Blount, in a letter to the Secretary of War, dated March 2, 1792, writes as follows: "You could hardly have been more surprised with the arrival of the Cherokees than I was when I heard of it, which was several days after Mr. Allison's departure for Philadelphia. If I had been in this country, they would not have visited you: for, by letters since received, I find they wrote to me, and informed me, in case I had any objections, they would not go.

"With respect to the second object, which they assign for coming, namely: 'that the white people, who are settled to the southward of the ridge which divides the waters of Tennessee from those of Little river, should be removed, and that the said ridge should be the line,' I can't help remarking, that I proposed, at the treaty, that that ridge should be the line. You will recollect I was so instructed, and the chiefs were, unanimously, opposed to it, saying it should be a straight line, and that it was an evidence that my heart was not straight, that I wanted a crooked line. The difficulty in running the line will be, to ascertain where the ridge, that divides the waters of Little river and Tennessee, will strike the Holston: for, it seems, the white people can't agree on it, a circumstance unknown to me at the time the *Indians* proposed it; but, from the best information I can obtain, I am induced to believe it will prove to be lower down than they expected; and, in that case, it is my opinion, that the words of the treaty ought not to be so strictly adhered to as to give them any great degree of dissatisfaction. I have hopes, and scarcely doubt, but, by taking the chiefs when in a good humor, I can have it extended to the satisfaction of both parties, and it is a business, the completion of which, I have much at heart."

8. That the Secretary of War, in his answer to the foregoing letter, dated April 22, 1792, writes, "I am commanded by the President of the United States, to whom your letters are constantly submitted, to say, with respect to your remarks upon the line at Little river, that you will be pleased to make a liberal construction of that article, so as to render it entirely satisfactory to the Indians, and, at the same time, as consistently as may be with the treaty; and to observe, that he is satisfied with your sentiments on that subject."

9. That it appears, numerous hostile aggressions and acts of the Cherokee Indians, and a desire, to soothe them into peace, and engage them as auxiliaries against the Northern Indians, rendered it proper to postpone the running of the line.

10. That, in a letter from Governor Blount to the Little Turkey, dated Knoxville, February 12, 1792, inviting him and the principal chiefs to meet him at Major Craig's, on Nine-mile, on the first day of May then next, there is nothing said respecting the running of the line.

11. That, at a conference, at Coyatee, with the chiefs and warriors, in May, 1792; at which were present about two thousand Cherokees, Governor Blount, in his speech, said to them, speaking of frontiers: "It may occur to you, that it is proper I should say something on the subject of extending and marking the line agreeably to the treaty. I shall write you on that head, so that you shall have my letter before you in council, at Estanaula."

12. Hanging Maw gave notice that this council was to meet at Estanaula, the 23d of June, and for all the chiefs to attend there, and not to be absent on any pretence whatever.

13. That the letter from Governor Blount to the Little Turkey, and other chiefs of the Cherokees, at Estanaula, dated June 4, 1792, is as follows:



"BROTHERS: The running of the line is a thing I know you want done, and so do I; but I can't attend to it before I have finished my business with the Chickasaws and Choctaws at Nashville, and rested myself a little after my return home, which will not be before some time in August. I propose to you that the commissioners to run the line, shall meet at Major Craig's, on *Nine-mile*, the second Monday in October. The commissioners, on the part of the United States, are people of high characters and distinction, namely, Brigadier General Smith, Colonel Landon Carter, and Judge Campbell; and I beg you that three of your principal chiefs may be appointed on your part. The running a line between two nations is a great business, and none but head-men are proper to do it. James Carey being appointed interpreter, it will be his duty to attend, and interpret what shall be said on both sides. I keep in remembrance, that no persons are to be with the commissioners when they run the line, except a few people to mark it; but, if a few of your principal chiefs, besides those three appointed to run the line, should wish to attend, I shall be glad to see them: for head-men to see and know each other, ever contributes to the happiness of both parties."

14. That the Little Turkey, as appears from the journal of the Cherokee council at Estanaula, convened on the 26th of June, 1792, expressed himself highly dissatisfied with the treaty lines, and that James Carey reminded the council to consider the request made to them, to name the commissioners to run the line, and the time and place of their meeting.

15. That the Broom, the Standing Turkey, Half Breed, and Dreadful Water, in a letter dated Estanaula, November 15, 1792, addressed to Governor Blount, inform him, that, "as they were using their best endeavors for the benefit of both parties, they hoped he would stop his hand with regard to building a fort on their land, and that they further hoped, that, by the spring of the year, every thing will be settled according to the treaty, to each other's satisfaction, and the line shall be run."

16. That it appears the frontiers, at this time, were threatened with Indian invasion. That the 27th of September, 1792, Governor Blount informed the Secretary of War, "he had determined to call into the field, for the protection and defence of the territory, as quick as possible, in addition to the militia then in service, fourteen companies of infantry, and the Greene troop of cavalry, to be commanded by Brigadier General Sevier."

17. That Governor Blount addressed a letter of instructions, and an extract of a letter from the Secretary of War, of the 23d of April, 1792, to David Campbell, Charles McClung, and John McKee, in the following words:

"KNOXVILLE, October 7, 1792.

"GENTLEMEN:

"By the enclosed extract from my letter of the 4th of June last, to the Little Turkey, and other chiefs of the Cherokees, you will be informed that to-morrow is the day I proposed to them, to meet the commissioners on the part of the United States, at Major Craig's, on *Nine-mile*, in order to extend the line between the said nation and the United States, as stipulated by the treaty, made and concluded between the said nation and the United States, on the 2d of July, 1791, a copy of which you have herewith. You have also enclosed an extract of a letter of the Secretary of War to me, of the 22d of April last, to which you will please attend, as your instructions, in case commissioners, on the part of the Indians, should appear, and proceed to running the line; but, in case none do appear, you will please examine where the ridge, which divides the waters running into Little river, from those running into the Tennessee, strikes the Holston, and extend the line from thence to Clinch, and again from that ridge to the Chilhowee mountain, paying strict regard to the treaty, and report your proceedings to me. I am aware that the five Lower towns of the Cherokees have declared war against the United States, and that war dissolves all treaties; nevertheless, I think it essential that so much of the line should be examined and reported upon, that it may appear whether there are any citizens of the United States residing on the Indian lands or not.

I have the honor to be, &c.

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

"DAVID CAMPBELL,  
"CHARLES McCLUNG,  
"JOHN MCKEE,

"Commissioners for extending the line between the United States and the Cherokee nation, according to the treaty of Holston."

18. That David Campbell, Charles McClung, and John McKee, reported to Governor Blount as follows:

"KNOXVILLE, 30th November, 1792.

"SIR:

"In pursuance of your instructions, we attended at Major Craig's, on *Nine-mile*, on the second Monday in October, and waited until Tuesday for commissioners on the part of the Cherokees; but none arrived. We then proceeded to examine, with great attention, for the ridge which divides the waters of the Tennessee from those of Little river, and, tracing it, found it a plain leading ridge, and that it struck the Holston at the mouth; but, having heard it suggested, that the Indians had in contemplation, at the time the treaty was made, a ridge, which they supposed would strike the Holston higher up, we did not content ourselves, but re-traced the ridge, and examined well the south bank of the Holston, and the result was, that we were perfectly convinced that the ridge, which divides the waters of Tennessee and Little river, strikes the Holston at the mouth, and at no other part. We then proceeded to run, but *not mark*, a line of experiment, from the point of the ridge, in a south-east direction to Chilhowee mountain, distance seventeen and one half miles, and again from thence to the Clinch, in a northwest direction, distance nine miles, and found that line, continued to the southeast, would intersect the Tennessee, shortly after it crossed the Chilhowee mountain, consequently take away all the Indian towns lying along the south side of Tennessee. This shewed the necessity of turning the direction more to the east and west, and, it is our opinion, that a line extended from the point of the ridge aforesaid, south, sixty degrees, east to Chilhowee mountain, again from the point, north, sixty degrees west, will form the true line from Chilhowee mountain to Clinch, between the United States and the Cherokees, according to the treaty of Holston. The more fully to elucidate this report, we present you with a map, which we believe is nearly correct, on which both the lines are laid down.

"Supposing we are right in the direction of the true line as aforesaid, it will be found that the following settlements were on the Cherokee lands, namely: Matthew Wallace, Samuel Henry, ——— Martin, ——— Sloane, ——— Wilson, and a few others, whose names are unknown to us, all of whom, except Samuel Henry, have lately removed from their plantations.

"We have the honor to be, &c.

DAVID CAMPBELL,  
CHARLES McCLUNG,  
JOHN MCKEE.

"WILLIAM BLOUNT, Esq. Governor of the Southwestern Territory."

19. That Governor Blount transmitted this report to the Secretary of War, with the following letter:

"KNOXVILLE, December 16, 1792.

"SIR:

"I have the honor to enclose you the report of Judge Campbell, Charles McClung, and John McKee, the gentlemen I appointed commissioners, on the part of the United States, to meet the commissioners on the part of the Cherokees, at Major Craig's, on *Nine-mile*, on the second Monday in October, to run the line between the United States and that nation, agreeably to the treaty of Holston, and a map which they presented me therewith, together with a copy of my instructions, and of their commissions of appointment. McKee and McClung were appointed in the places, and instead of General Smith and Colonel Carter, who did not attend. McKee is a young man, who

does not claim a foot of land in this territory. McClung possesses land; but, I believe, none that the extending the line could affect him in: both of fair characters, and well qualified for the business. The part of the country through which they have extended (*not marked*) the line, and reported its course and operation on the settlements on Nine-mile, is the only part of which I ever heard any complaints on the part of the Indians, (except that contained in the speech of the Little Turkey, in council, at Estanaula, in June last, which, to me, appears too utterly void of foundation to deserve any notice;) hence, I have conceived that it will be satisfactory and acceptable to Government to be made fully acquainted of the geography of it from actual measurement, and of the operation of the line on the Nine-mile settlers, and especially so, as a part of the nation had declared war against the United States, to the end that a better judgment might be formed as to the propriety or impropriety of their conduct. It is to be observed, that the Lower towns, where the heads and leaders, and the greater part of the war party reside, are least affected with this line, run as it will, as they live most distant from it; and that these Nine-mile settlers have received no injuries, (except a few horses stolen) neither before the treaty of Holston, for several years, nor since, from Indians of any part. As the geography of the country, generally, cannot be well known to you, there being no correct map of it, I think it necessary to inform you, that the country to the east, or rather to the southeast of Chilhowee mountain, through which the line reported upon, if continued beyond it, will pass, for fifty or sixty miles, is an entire bed, or ledge after ledge, of mountains, that is, until it intersects the line which is to be extended south from the north boundary of North Carolina, near which no settlements can be formed; hence, I conclude, it will not shortly be essential to extend it. Believing observations respecting the other parts of the line will be proper and acceptable, I shall make them. That which the line reported on will intersect, if continued, meaning that which runs south from the north boundary of North Carolina, I caused to be run and marked about sixty miles from the mouth of McNamee's Creek to Rutherford's War-trace, by Mr. Joseph Hardin, in the course of last winter. I was induced to this from an instruction that I should take care that no encroachments were made on the Indian lands, and I had been taught to believe that the settlements at Swannano were very near, if not on them, and about to be extended. The result was, that it was found these settlements were not within less than twelve miles of the Indian lands. It will be observed, that this north line is the same that run south for the same distance, according to the treaty of Hopewell, which was never ascertained, and being also through a bed of mountains for a great part, conjectures as to its course and operation were very different. Hardin did not run north, as required by the treaty of Holston, but south, according to the treaty of Hopewell. The reason for this was, he could not find the beginning of it at the north boundary of North Carolina, without first running the line through South Carolina; and the beginning in a north direction was easily found by beginning at the mouth of McNamee's Creek on Nolachucky. That which passes through South Carolina, I am informed, has been partly run—I believe, prior to the treaty of Hopewell; perhaps, immediately after that of Duet's Corner, made by commissioners from South Carolina and Georgia; but General Pickens has informed me, that he has reasons to suspect encroachments are making on the part which has not been run; hence, it would seem essential, that it should shortly be run; but no complaints have been made by the Indians respecting them, unless they should be included in the general charge of the Bloody Fellow, in his letter of the 10th September. That which passes from the mouth of Duck, through the Cumberland country, I should suppose, need not be run for years: for the Cumberland settlers are now so distant from where it will pass, and the danger in that quarter is so great, that encroachments on it are not to be feared. For information respecting these settlers, I enclose you a map of the Cumberland country, by which you will see that there are but very few south of that river, none more than five miles, and all of them near Nashville. The reason I have considered the claim of the Little Turkey as too ill founded to deserve notice, is, that he requires the line to be extended so far north as to include, not only all the settled part of Cumberland, but the county of Shelby, in Kentucky, both of which had been fairly ceded to the United States, by the treaties of Hopewell and Holston.

"I have the honor to be, with very great respect, your obedient servant.

"WM. BLOUNT.

"HENRY KNOX, Esq. *Secretary of War.*"

20. That the Secretary of War acknowledged the receipt of this letter on the 25th of January, 1793, in which he observed,

"Yesterday I received your two favors, dated the 16th and 28th ultimo. The first, being relatively to the boundary, will be duly considered, and you informed of the result."

21. That the Secretary of War does not find any further communications to Governor Blount on this subject.

All which is respectfully submitted to the House of Representatives.

JAMES MCHENRY, *Secretary of War.*

WAR OFFICE, January 5, 1798.

5th CONGRESS.]

No. 80.

[2d SESSION.

## THE CHEROKEES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 8, 1798.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

The situation of affairs between some of the citizens of the United States and the Cherokee Indians, has evinced the propriety of holding a treaty with that nation, to extinguish, by purchase, their right to certain parcels of land; and to adjust and settle other points relative to the safety and conveniency of our citizens. With this view, I nominate Fisher Ames, of Dedham, in the State of Massachusetts; Bushrod Washington, of Richmond, in the State of Virginia; and Alfred Moore, of North Carolina; to be commissioners of the United States; with full powers to hold conferences, and conclude a treaty, with the Cherokee nation of Indians, for the purposes before mentioned.

JOHN ADAMS.

UNITED STATES, January 8, 1798.

5th CONGRESS.]

No. 81.

[2d Session.]

## STEPHEN CANTRILL.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, APRIL 5, 1798.

The Secretary of War, to whom was referred the petition of Stephen Cantrill, respectfully reports:

That the services for which the petitioner prays compensation to himself, and a company which he commanded, were performed in the month of September, 1794, on an expedition conducted by Major James Ore, into the Lower Cherokee country, which issued in the destruction of two considerable Indian towns, the Running Water and Nickajack, the killing of a number of Indians, and the taking about twenty prisoners.

That the report of Major Ore to Governor Blount, dated at Knoxville, the 24th September, 1794, shews that this expedition marched on the seventh of the same month, and was ordered by General Robertson, of Mero district.

That the orders of General Robertson, for this purpose, were afterwards communicated by himself to Governor Blount, in a letter dated the eighth October, 1794, detailing his reasons for the order.

That letters from Governor Blount to the Secretary of War, dated the twenty-second of September, and second of October, 1794, as well as a copy of an order, which he states to have been the last given by him to General Robertson, previous to this expedition, evince, that the Governor did not sanction the measure.

That the Secretary of War, previous to Major Ore's expedition, in a letter to Governor Blount, dated the 26th July, 1794, strongly discouraged the idea of destroying the Lower towns of the Cherokees, in the following words, viz: "With respect to destroying the lower towns, however rigorous such a measure might be, or whatever good consequences might result from it, I am instructed, specially, by the President, to say, that he does not conceive himself authorized to direct any such measure, more especially as the whole subject was before the last session of Congress, who did not think proper to authorize or direct offensive operations." And that, as soon as the destruction of the Running Water and Nickajack was communicated to him, the Secretary strongly disavowed any participation in the business, by his letter to Governor Blount, dated the 29th December, 1794, in these words, viz: "The destruction of the Lower Cherokee towns stands upon its own footing; that it was not authorized is certain."

That the President, at all times, as well before as after this expedition, endeavored to confine the protection of the frontiers of the southwestern territory to defensive operations, and to restrain from those which were offensive.

That, on the whole, it appears, the services for which compensation is prayed by the petition of Stephen Cantrill, were performed on an expedition, offensive, unauthorized, and in direct violation of the orders from the President to Governor Blount, by whom, also, they were not sanctioned.

The documents referred to, and others connected with the subject, are herewith presented, numbered from No. 1 to 9, inclusive.

All which is respectfully submitted to the House of Representatives.

JAMES M'HENRY.

WAR OFFICE, April, 1798.

No. 1.

KNOXVILLE, September 24th, 1794.

SIR:

On the seventh instant, by order of General Robertson, of Mero district, I marched from Nashville, with five hundred and fifty mounted infantry under my command, and pursued the trace of the Indians who had committed the latest murders in the district of Mero, and of the party that captured Peter Turney's negro woman, to the Tennessee. I crossed it on the night of the twelfth, about four miles below Nickajack, and, in the morning of the thirteenth, destroyed Nickajack and the Running Water, towns of the Cherokees. The first being entirely surrounded, and attacked by surprise, the slaughter was great, but cannot be accurately reported, as many were killed in the Tennessee. Nineteen women and children were made prisoners at this town. The Running Water town being only four miles above Nickajack, the attack upon the latter reached the former before the troops under my command, and resistance was made to save it at a place called the Narrows; but, after the exchange of a few rounds, the Indians posted at that place gave way, and the town was burnt without further opposition, with all the effects found therein, and the troops under my command recrossed the Tennessee the same day. From the best judgment that could be formed, the number of Indians killed at the two towns must have been upwards of fifty, and the loss sustained by the troops under my command, was one lieutenant and two privates wounded.

The Running Water was counted the largest, and among the most hostile towns of the Cherokees. Nickajack was not less hostile, but inferior in point of numbers. At Nickajack was found two fresh scalps, which had lately been taken at Cumberland, and several that were old were hanging in the houses of the warriors, as trophies of war; a quantity of ammunition, powder, and lead, lately arrived there from the Spanish Government, and a commission for the Breath, the head-man of the town, who was killed, and sundry horses, and other articles of property, were found, both at Nickajack and the Running Water, which were known by one or other of the militia to have belonged to different people, killed by Indians, in the course of the last twelve months.

The prisoners taken, among whom was the wife and child of Richard Finnelson, my pilot, informed me, that, on the fourth instant, sixty Creeks and Lower Cherokees passed the Tennessee, for war against the frontiers. They also informed, that two nights before the destruction of Running Water, a scalp dance had been held in it, over the scalps lately taken from Cumberland, at which were present, John Watts, the Bloody Fellow, and the other chiefs of the Lower towns, and at which they determined to continue the war, in conjunction with the Creeks, with more activity than heretofore, against the frontiers of the United States, and to erect block houses at each of the Lower towns, for their defence, as advised by the Spanish Government.

The prisoners also informed, that a scalp dance was to be held in two nights, at Red-headed Will's town, a new town, about thirty miles lower down the Tennessee.

The troops under my command generally behaved well.

I have the honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

JAMES ORE.

GOVERNOR BLOUNT.

No. 2.

NASHVILLE, September 6th, 1794.

MAJOR ORE:

The object of your command is to defend the district of Mero against the large party of Creeks and Cherokees of the Lower towns, which I have received information is about to invade it, as also to punish, in an exemplary manner, such Indians as have committed recent depredations in the said district.

For these objects, you will march, with the men under your command, from Brown's block house, on the eighth instant, and proceed along Taylor's race, towards the Tennessee, on which, from the information I have received, you are momentarily to expect to meet a large party of Creeks and Cherokees, advancing to invade this district; and if you do not meet this party before you arrive at the Tennessee, you will pass it, and destroy the Lower Cherokee towns, which must serve as a check to the expected invaders; taking care to spare women and children, and to treat all prisoners who may fall into your hands with humanity, and thereby teach those savages to spare the citizens of the United States, under similar circumstances.

Should you in your march discover the trails of Indians returning from the commission of recent depredations on the frontiers, which can generally be distinguished by the horses stolen being shod, you are to give pursuit to such parties, even to the towns from whence they come, and punish them for their aggressions in an exemplary manner, to the terror of others from the commission of similar offences, provided this can be consistent with the main object of your command, as above expressed, the defence of the district of Mero against the expected party of Creeks and Cherokees.

I have the utmost confidence in your patriotism and bravery, and with my warmest wishes for your success, I am, sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES ROBERTSON, B. G.

No. 3.

NASHVILLE, October 8th, 1794.

Sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the second instant. Enclosed you have a copy of my order to Major Ore, of the sixth of September; my reasons for giving it, were, that I had received two expresses from the Chickasaws, one by Thomas Brown, a man of as much veracity as any in the nation, the other by a common runner, giving information, that a large body of Creeks, with the Cherokees of the Lower towns, were embodying, with a determination to invade the district of Mero; and not doubting my information, I conceived, if Major Ore did not meet this invading army of Creeks and Cherokees, as I expected, that it could not be considered otherwise than defensive to strike the first blow on the Lower towns, and thereby check them in their advance; nor could I suppose that the pursuing of parties of Indians, who had recently committed murders and thefts, to the towns from whence they came, and there striking them, could be considered as an offensive measure, unauthorized by the usage of nations in such cases. It cannot be necessary to add as a justification, the long repeated, and, I might say, almost daily sufferings of the people of the district of Mero, by the hands of the Creeks and Cherokees of the Lower towns. The destruction of the towns by Major Ore was on the thirteenth of September. On the twelfth, in Tennessee county, Miss Roberts was killed on Red river, forty miles below Nashville, and on the fourteenth, Thomas Reasons and wife were killed, and their house plundered, near the same place, by Indians. On the sixteenth, in Davidson county, twelve miles above Nashville, another party killed — Chambers, wounded John Bosley and Joseph Davis, burned John Donnelson's station, and carried off sundry horses; and in Sumner county, on the same day, a third party of Indians killed a woman on Red river, near Major Sharp's, about forty miles north-east of Nashville, and carried off several horses. This proves that three separate and distinct parties of Indians were out for war against the district of Mero, before the march of Major Ore from Nashville.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from Doctor R. I. Waters, a citizen of the United States, resident at New Madrid, to John Easten, his factor, in Tennessee county, strongly supporting the information the Chickasaws had given of the intended invasion of the Creeks; and is not the Old Maw's information to yourself, in the latter part of August, to the same purport? And to him, and his friendly party, are the people of this country indebted for their not invading us as they intended. If I have erred, I shall ever regret it; to be a good citizen, obedient to the law, is my greatest pride; and to execute the duties of the commission with which the President has been pleased to honor me, in such manner as to meet his approbation, and that of my superiors in rank, has ever been my most fervent wish. Previous to the march of Maj. Ore, from Nashville, Col. Whitley, with about one hundred men, arrived there, from Kentucky, saying they had followed a party of Indians who had committed depredations on the southern frontier of that country; that, in the pursuit, they had had a man killed by the Indians, and several horses taken, and that they were determined to pursue to the Lower towns. They were attached to Major Ore's command, which augmented the number to upwards of five hundred and fifty men. I should be happy, if my apprehensions of a Creek invasion were removed, but they are not: for Billy Colbert, and other Chickasaws, inform me, that they yet threaten Mero district, not in so large numbers, but in small detached parties, which are equally dangerous, as there is no possibility of guarding against a number of small parties invading the frontiers at different places, at the same time. Enclosed is a copy of a letter to John Watts; and, from my experience in Indian affairs, I have my hopes, that, from the scourging Major Ore has given the Lower Cherokees, we shall receive less injury from them than heretofore. I also enclose you Major Doyle's letter, from Fort Massac, to me, in consequence of which, I ordered to his relief an ensign, sergeant, corporal, and eighteen privates, mounted infantry. I have engaged Mr. Shute fifty dollars, for going to you express.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JAMES ROBERTSON.

His Excellency Governor BLOUNT.

No. 4.

KNOXVILLE, September 22d, 1794.

Sir:

I am informed, by such authority as may be depended upon, but not officially, that a detachment of the militia of Mero district, by order of General Robertson, lately pursued the trail of a party of Indians to the Tennessee, near Nickajack, and crossed over and destroyed the towns of Nickajack and Running Water, killed upwards of fifty Indians, and carried twenty prisoners to Nashville. I expect an official account in a few days, which I shall embrace the earliest opportunity to forward to you. In the mean time, I assure you, that, if General Robertson has given an order for the destruction of these towns, he is not warranted in so doing by any order from me.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

General Knox, Secretary of War.

No. 5.

KNOXVILLE, October 2d, 1794.

Sir:

Enclosed is the copy of a report of Major Ore, of the destruction of the Running Water and Nickajack, two of the most hostile of the Lower Cherokee towns; a copy of my letter to General Robertson, respecting his order for that purpose to Major Ore, and of my order to General Robertson of the fourteenth June. It will be observed, by my letter of yesterday's date, to General Robertson, that he has not yet informed me, that he did give the order for the destruction of these two towns, but I have no doubt but he did; and I am informed by other people, that his reasons for so doing was, that he had received information from the Chickasaws, that a large party of Creeks and Cherokees were, at the time he gave the order, daily expected to invade the district of Mero. My order of the fourteenth June, the last I had given him as to the protection of Mero district, is enclosed, to shew that no order of mine sanctioned the measure. While Major Ore was out against the Lower towns, the Indians continued their depredations against the district of Mero. On the night of the fourteenth September, the Indians pulled up a part of the stockading of Morgan's station, and took out a valuable gelding tied to his dwelling house. The sixteenth of the same month, a woman on Red river, near Major Sharp's, was killed by the Indians. The same day a party of Indians fired upon five men near Mr. Andrew Jackson's, on the south side of Cumberland river, killed one man, and wounded two; among the latter is Mr. John Bosley. The same party burned the houses of John Donnelson and the widow Hayes. From the nearness of the time, and the distance of situation, within which the above injuries were committed, there must have been three parties of Indians.

The Hanging Maw, and his party on the Tennessee, discover no displeasure at the destruction of the Lower towns, but, on the contrary, the Maw declares publicly, that the enemies of the United States are his enemies, and that he shall view the Lower towns as other enemies of the United States, if they are so, and it would appear as if

the Lower towns did not consider him as their friend: for they have given him no information of the destruction of the Running Water and Nickajack.

A few days past, arrived here, a Miss Alice Thompson, and Mrs. Caffray, of the vicinity of Nashville, from a captivity of upwards of two years, with the Creeks. The former, shortly after her arrival, was purchased from her captors by a white trader, of the name of Riley, for eight hundred weight of dressed deer leather, equal to two hundred and sixty-six dollars and sixty-six and two-thirds cents, and well treated. The latter remained in the hands of her captors as a slave, hoeing corn and beating meal, and was repeatedly scratched with gar-teeth, as a punishment for what they called offences, the marks of which remain upon her back and other parts of her body, and when she was released, was under the painful necessity of leaving her child, which was captured with her, in the hands of the Creeks. These women report to me, that, notwithstanding the repeated assurances Mr. Seagrove has given, of the peaceful disposition of the Creeks, and, notwithstanding his actual presence, for many months, in the nation, that he was able to obtain but a few of the prisoners. They particularly mention, besides Mrs. Caffray's child, several other persons taken from this country, and not delivered up, but yet remain in a state of captivity and slavery, namely, Miss Wilson, taken from Zeigler's station, in the summer of 1792, when near thirty persons were killed or taken by the Indians, as heretofore reported to you, and young Mayfield and young Brown, whose mothers live near Nashville, and were captured prior to the treaty of New York. These they mention as having seen and conversed with, and sundry others whom they did not see, taken from this country, and other parts of the frontiers. Miss Thompson also reports, that young Alexander Cavet, who was captured from within eight miles of this place, in September, 1793, at the time his father, and every other of the family were massacred, was killed by a Creek warrior, by the stroke of a tomahawk, three days after his arrival in the nation. Upon questioning this lady as to the number of scalps brought into the Creek nation during her captivity, she answered she could not give the numbers accurately, but that she well recollected that the warriors returning from Cumberland, once reported nine, and that war dances were held generally in consequence thereof, through the Upper Creeks, and that she frequently saw or heard of a less number, as from one to three, brought in at a time. Only two wagon loads of the Chickasaw goods are yet arrived, but the rest shortly expected.

Doctor James White, of Mero district, the member of Congress from this territory, will deliver to you this letter. He has it in command from his constituents to state to you, and Congress, their many sufferings by the hands of the Creeks and Lower Cherokees.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem, your most obedient, humble servant,

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

General Knox, *Secretary of War.*

No. 6.

KNOXVILLE, *June 14th, 1794.*

SIR:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from the Secretary of War, of the fourteenth day of April last, by which you will be informed of the degree of protection the President has ordered me to extend to the district of Mero.

My order of the 29th May, to the commanding officers of the counties composing the district of Mero, will inform you in what manner I have ordered the infantry to be raised and disposed of. If you judge any alteration necessary for the greater security of the inhabitants, you will make it, except that part which is given in express conformity to the orders of the Secretary of War to me. Lieutenant Mitchel, who marches with you from this place, subject to your order, commands the cavalry, as allowed by that order. Lieutenant Mitchel, after his arrival in Mero district, is to continue subject to your orders for the time on which he is ordered on duty. You will observe, as the order of the Secretary of War, of fourteenth day of April, limits the degree of protection that is to be extended to Mero district, that you are not to order on duty, of the militia, any greater number than is by that order permitted, except in case of an invasion by a superior force of hostile Indians, and, in that case, you will repel such invaders, with such part of your brigade as shall be necessary for such repulsion.

On the 24th August, a part of the Knox mounted infantry will rendezvous at this place, to march to Mero district, to supply the place of Lieutenant Mitchel, and to continue on duty for the protection of Mero district, until the first day of December.

You will receive the six howitzers and the ammunition, and make such disposition thereof as shall, in your judgment, best ensure the protection of the district, that being the object of Government in ordering them to you.

I am, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

General ROBERTSON, *Mero District.*

No. 7.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *July 26th, 1794.*

SIR:

Your favor of the 30th of June, and its enclosures, have been received, and submitted to the President of the United States.

It is a most mortifying circumstance, that events are perpetually occurring, tending to mar the humane disposition of the Executive of the United States towards the Indian tribes, and to prevent that pacific system being established, which ought to be the object of both parties.

Notwithstanding, however, the ideas which prevail on your frontiers to the contrary, I should hope that the recent visit of the Cherokee Indians to this city will have a good effect to tranquillize them, and inspire them with confidence in our future transactions, provided such sentiments should not be counteracted by some such violent outrage as was committed by Mr. Beard the last year. If the Indians are guilty, we have not been innocent at all times.

I do not mean this as a justification of them in the least degree, but, as a reason why we should endeavor to take new ground, and labor again to accomplish the objects of peace. With respect to destroying the Lower towns, however rigorous such a measure might be, or whatever good consequences might result from it, I am instructed, specially, by the President, to say, that he does not conceive himself authorized to direct any such measure, more especially, as the whole subject was before the last session of Congress, who did not think proper to authorize or direct offensive operations.

After all that passed at this place with the Cherokees, respecting Cumberland, it is not expected they will have the impudence to bring forward again, that claim.

I would it were possible to strike, with the highest severity, any of the parties of the Creeks who should go to Cumberland to commit depredations. It would seem that an intelligent and active partizan might find some such opportunity.

No. 8.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *Dec. 29th, 1794.*

SIR:

Your several favors, of October 24th, and the 3d, 10th, 16th, 18th, 22d, and 28th November, have been received, and submitted to the President of the United States, and such of them as were deemed necessary, were before Congress.

The Secretary of the Treasury, during my absence, acknowledged the receipt of your preceding letters.

The destruction of the Lower Cherokee towns stands upon its own footing; that it was not authorized, is certain, and from information from the frontiers of South Carolina, it would appear, that the greatest portion of the victims were women and children; your information is requested upon this point.

The subject of the Southwestern frontiers is before Congress. Whatever they direct, will be executed by the Executive.

The principle adopted by the President, not to authorize or direct offensive expeditions, has been so frequently brought to your view, that nothing further can be said on that subject. But as the district of Mero appears to be in a suffering condition, and as the proceedings of Congress upon that point may not be speedily determined, and as it is the desire of the President of the United States to afford protection, to the utmost of his power, you are hereby authorized to afford the said district, and to the other parts of your government, at the expense of the United States, all reasonable defensive protection, in such a manner as to your judgment shall appear best, to blend efficiency and economy together.

Ideas have been held up by you of offensive operations against the Creeks. Information is requested upon the manner and details of such an expedition, its object, distance, and an estimate of the expense.

It has been conceived, that all attempts to preserve peace, short of the following arrangement, will be abortive; and I have, accordingly, submitted my opinion thereon to the President of the United States, viz.

*First.* That a line of military posts, at such distances as shall be directed, be established upon the frontiers, within the Indian boundary, and out of the ordinary jurisdiction of any State, provided consent can be obtained for the purpose from the Indian tribes; that these posts be garrisoned with regular troops, under the direction of the President of the United States.

*Secondly.* That if any murder or theft be committed upon any of the white inhabitants, by an Indian, known to belong to any Indian nation or tribe, such nation or tribe shall be bound to deliver him or them up to the nearest military post, in order to be tried and punished by a court-martial, or, in failure thereof, the United States to take satisfaction upon the nearest Indian town, belonging to such nation or tribe.

*Thirdly.* "That all persons who shall be assembled or embodied in arms, on any lands belonging to Indians, out of the ordinary jurisdiction of any State, or of the territory south of the Ohio, for the purpose of warring against the Indians, or of committing depredations upon any Indian town, or persons, or property, shall thereby become liable, and subject, to the rules and articles of war, which are, or shall be, established for the Government of the United States." This was a section of a bill which the Senate passed the last session, entitled "An act for the more effectual protection of the Southwestern frontiers;" but it was disagreed to by the House.

That if, to this arrangement, the expense should be objected, it was to be remembered, that the President of the United States, in pursuance of law, has authorized both the Governor of Georgia and yourself, to establish a defensive protection, which amounted to a large sum annually. The posts, therefore, requiring garrisons amounting to one thousand five hundred, non-commissioned and privates, for the whole Southwestern frontier, from the St. Mary's to the Ohio, would, probably, be adequate to this object.

That, if the posts belonging to the United States, and now occupied by the British, north of the Ohio, are soon delivered up, they, with a post at the Miami villages, and posts of communication down the Wabash, on the south, and the Miami river and lake Erie on the north, together with a post at Presqu' Isle, would be a pretty adequate protection to the frontiers north of the Ohio, and a curb to any Indian tribes discontented, without *just* cause, which, it was presumed, would never be afforded by the Government of the United States.

That if, to those vigorous measures, should be combined the arrangement of trade recommended to Congress, and the establishment of agents to reside in the principal Indian towns, with adequate compensations, it would seem that the Government would then have made the fairest experiments of a system of justice and humanity, which, it was presumed, could not possibly fail of being blessed with its proper effects—an honorable tranquillity of the frontiers.

The communications contained in your letters of the third and tenth of November, respecting the prospects of returning tranquillity, were, indeed, highly satisfactory.

Your ideas of Mr. Dinsmoor's residence appear to be just; and you will, in case circumstances admit of the measure, direct him accordingly. If an authorized establishment, defined by law, could be obtained, the agents you mention might be appointed; but at present, the measure must be suspended.

The establishment of the posts mentioned in your letter of the tenth November, and the consequences arising therefrom, are concurred in, were the regular troops to be obtained at the present, but they are not. But, if you could obtain some militia for six or nine months, upon whom you could depend, the measure might, if you should judge it expedient, be adopted as part of the system of defence; but every thing adopted you will please to communicate, for the information of the President of the United States.

It was conceived, from the absence of Mr. Allison from the territory, that he had relinquished, or intended to relinquish, the business of paymaster; and, therefore, Mr. Henley was authorized to appoint a regular officer.

No. 9.

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 14th, 1794.

SIR:

In pursuance of representations made upon the subject of the danger to which Mero district is exposed, the President of the United States authorizes you to make the arrangement herein directed, for the protection of the said district, provided you judge the measure necessary, until the first day of December next, or longer, if the danger shall render the said defence indispensable.

A post and garrison to be established at the ford at the crossing of Cumberland river, of one subaltern, two sergeants, two corporals, and twenty-six privates.

For the protection of Tennessee county, and the inhabitants of Red river, running into Cumberland, one subaltern, two sergeants, two corporals, and twenty-one privates.

Davidson county, one subaltern, two sergeants, two corporals, and twenty-six privates; the chief post to be in front of Nashville.

Sumner county, one subaltern, one sergeant, two corporals, and seventeen privates.

That, besides these, two subalterns, and thirty mounted militia, be allowed the district.

Had there been any regular troops who could have been spared for this service, they would have been ordered to have performed it; but this not being the case, recourse must be had to the militia. You will, however, judge which part of the militia shall be of Mero, and which of Washington district.

Independent of the aid of the militia, the following stores are ordered from this city, via Pittsburgh, to Nashville, addressed to General Robertson, viz:

Six three and a half inch iron howitzers, with ammunition for one hundred rounds, complete, for each piece, including twenty-five grape, or case shot.

Your letter of the tenth of March has been received, and submitted to the President of the United States.

5th CONGRESS.]

No. 82.

[2d SESSION.

## THE MOHAWKS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, ON THE 12TH OF APRIL, 1798.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

A treaty with the Mohawk nation of Indians has, by accident, lain long neglected. It was executed under the authority of the Honorable Isaac Smith, a commissioner of the United States. I now submit it to the Senate, for their consideration.

JOHN ADAMS.

UNITED STATES, April 12, 1798.

*At a Treaty, held under the authority of the United States, with the Mohawk nation of Indians, residing in the province of Upper Canada, within the dominions of the King of Great Britain:*

Present, the Honorable Isaac Smith, commissioner appointed by the United States to hold this treaty; Abraham Ten Broeck, Egbert Benson, and Ezra L'Hommedieu, agents for the State of New York; Captain Joseph Brandt, and Captain John Deserentyon, two of the said Indians, and deputies to represent the said nation at this treaty.

The said agents having, in the presence, and with the approbation of the said commissioner, proposed to, and adjusted with, the said deputies, the compensation as hereinafter mentioned, to be made to the said nation, for their claim, to be extinguished by this treaty, to all lands within the said State: It is, thereupon, finally agreed and done, between the said agents, and the said deputies, as follows, that is to say:

The said agents do agree to pay to the said deputies, the sum of one thousand dollars for the use of the said nation, to be by the said deputies paid over to, and distributed among, the persons and families of the said nation, according to their usages; the sum of five hundred dollars, for the expenses of the said deputies, during the time they have attended this treaty; and the sum of one hundred dollars, for their expenses in returning, and for conveying the said sum of one thousand dollars to where the said nation resides; and the said agents do accordingly, for, and in the name of, the people of the State of New York, pay the said three several sums to the said deputies, in the presence of the said commissioner; and the said deputies do agree to cede and release, and these presents witness, that they accordingly do, for, and in the name of, the said nation, in consideration of the said compensation, cede and release to the people of the State of New York, forever, all the right or title of the said nation to lands within the said State; and the claim of the said nation, to lands within the said State, is hereby wholly and finally extinguished.

In testimony whereof, the said commissioner, the said agents, and the said deputies, have hereunto, and to two other acts, of the same tenor and date, one to remain with the United States, one to remain with the said State, and one delivered to the said deputies, to remain with the said nation, set their hands and seals, at the city of Albany, in the said State, the twenty-ninth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven.

ISAAC SMITH,	[L. S.]
ABRAHAM TEN BROECK,	[L. S.]
EGBERT BENSON,	[L. S.]
EZRA L'HOMMEDIU,	[L. S.]
JOSEPH BRANDT,	[L. S.]
JOHN DESERENTYON,	[L. S.]

*Witnesses:*

ROBERT YATES,  
JOHN TAYLOR,  
CHARLES WILLIAMSON,  
THOMAS MORRIS,  
JOHN ABEEL, his + mark, alias the Cornplanter, a chief of the Senecas.

5th CONGRESS.]

No. 83.

[2d SESSION.

## THE ONEIDAS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, MAY 3, 1798.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

His Excellency John Jay, Esq. Governor of New York, has informed me, that the Oneida tribe of Indians have proposed to sell a part of their land to the said State, and that the Legislature, at their late session, authorized the purchase; and to accomplish this object, the Governor has desired that a commissioner may be appointed to hold a treaty with the Oneida tribe of Indians, at which the agents of the State of New York may agree with them on the terms of the purchase.

I, therefore, nominate Joseph Hopkinson, Esq. of Pennsylvania, to be the commissioner to hold a treaty with the said Oneida tribe of Indians, for the purpose above mentioned.

JOHN ADAMS.

UNITED STATES, May 3d, 1798.



5th CONGRESS.]

No. 84.

[2d Session.

## THE CREEKS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MAY 3, 1798.

MR. PINCKNEY, from the committee to whom was referred the representation and remonstrance of the Legislature of the State of Georgia, reported:

That a certain tract of country, within the limits of the State of Georgia, bounded by a line beginning at the fork of the Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers, and thence running in a southwest direction, until it intersects the most southern part of St. Mary's river, thence, down the said river, to the old line, was ceded, by the Creek nation of Indians, to the said State, by a treaty held between the commissioners of said State, and of the Creek Indians, at Galphinton, on the 12th of November, 1785, which tract of country was, by the Legislature of the said State, formed into a county, by the name of Tallassee county; and the cession thereof was afterwards confirmed, at a treaty held between the same parties, at Shoulderbone, on the 3d day of November, 1786.

Your committee further report, that, by the treaty made at New York, between the United States and the Creek Indians, bearing date on the 7th day of August, 1790, a boundary line was established between the said nation of Indians and the United States, whereby the above described tract of country, named Tallassee country, was declared to be within the Indian territory.

The committee have not been able to discover upon what principle this relinquishment of the territory of the State of Georgia was assented to on the part of the United States; it is therefore to be presumed, that it was done upon principles of general policy, with the intention of establishing a permanent peace between the United States and the said nation. They are, therefore, of opinion, that compensation ought to be made to the State of Georgia for the loss of this territory, and recommend to the House to adopt the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the United States will make compensation to the State of Georgia, for the loss and damage sustained by that State, in consequence of the cession of the county of Tallassee, made to the Creek nation, by the treaty of New York, unless it shall be deemed expedient to extinguish the Indian title to the said land.

Your committee have paid particular attention to that part of the memorial which relates to the operation of the intercourse laws, and are of opinion, that part of that law requires revision and explanation; but, on account of the advanced period of the session, and the variety of important business now before the House, they recommend that such revision be postponed until the next meeting of the Legislature.

5th CONGRESS.]

No. 85.

[3d Session.

## THE CHEROKEES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 15, 1799.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

I transmit to you the treaty between the United States and the Cherokee Indians, signed near Tellico, on the second day of October, 1798, for your consideration. I have directed the Secretary of War to lay before you the journal of the commissioners, and a copy of their instructions.

JOHN ADAMS.

January 15th, 1799.

*Articles of a Treaty between the United States of America and the Cherokee Indians.*

Whereas the treaty made and concluded on Holston river, on the second day of July, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, between the United States of America, and the Cherokee nation of Indians, had not been carried into execution, for some time thereafter, by reason of some misunderstanding which had arisen: And whereas, in order to remove such misunderstandings, and to provide for carrying the said treaty into effect, and for re-establishing more fully the peace and friendship between the parties, another treaty was held, made, and concluded, by and between them, at Philadelphia, the twenty-sixth day of June, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four; in which, among other things, it was stipulated that the boundaries mentioned in the fourth article of the said treaty of Holston should be actually ascertained and marked, in the manner prescribed by the said article, whenever the Cherokee nation should have ninety days' notice of the time and place at which the commissioners of the United States intended to commence their operation: And whereas further delays in carrying the said fourth article into complete effect did take place, so that the boundaries mentioned and described therein were not regularly ascertained and marked, until the latter part of the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven; before which time, and for want of knowing the direct course of the said boundary, divers settlements were made, by divers citizens of the United States, upon the Indian lands, over and beyond the boundaries so mentioned and described in the said article, and contrary to the intention of the said treaties; but which settlers were removed from the said Indian lands, by authority of the United States, as soon after the boundaries had been so lawfully ascertained and marked as the nature of the case had admitted: And whereas, for the purpose of doing justice to the Cherokee nation of Indians, and remedying inconveniences arising to citizens of the United States from the adjustment of the boundary line between the lands of the Cherokees and those of the United States, or the citizens thereof, or from any other cause, in relation to the Cherokees; and in order to promote the interests and safety of the said States, and the citizens thereof, the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, hath appointed George Walton, of Georgia, and the President of the United States hath also appointed Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Butler, commanding the troops of the United States in the State of Tennessee, to be commissioners for the purpose aforesaid; and who, on the part of the United States, and the Cherokee nation, by the undersigned chiefs and warriors, representing the said nation, have agreed to the following articles, namely:

ARTICLE 1. The peace and friendship subsisting between the United States and the Cherokee people are hereby renewed, continued, and declared perpetual.

ART. 2. The treaties subsisting between the present contracting parties are acknowledged to be of full and operating force; together with the construction and usage under their respective articles, and so to continue.

ART. 3. The limits and boundaries of the Cherokee nation, as stipulated and marked by the existing treaties between the parties, shall be and remain the same, where not altered by the present treaty.

ART. 4. In acknowledgment for the protection of the United States, and for the considerations herein after expressed and contained, the Cherokee nation agree, and do hereby relinquish and cede to the United States, all the lands within the following points and lines, viz: from a point on the Tennessee river, below Tellico block house, called the Wildcat rock, in a direct line to the Militia spring, near the Maryville road leading from Tellico. From the said spring to the Chilhowee mountain, by a line so to be run, as will leave all the farms on Nine-mile creek to the northward and eastward of it; and to be continued along Chilhowee mountain, until it strikes Hawkins' line. Thence, along the said line, to the great Iron mountain; and from the top of which a line to be continued in a south-easterly course to where the most southwardly branch of Little river crosses the divisional line to Tugelo river: from the place of beginning, the Wildcat Rock, down the northeast margin of the Tennessee river, (not including islands) to a point or place one mile above the junction of that river with the Clinch, and from thence by a line to be drawn in a right angle, until it intersects Hawkins' line, leading from Clinch. Thence, down the said line, to the river Clinch; thence, up the said river, to its junction with Emmerly's river; and thence, up Emmerly's river, to the foot of Cumberland mountain. From thence a line to be drawn, northeastwardly, along the foot of the mountain, until it intersects with Campbell's line.

ART. 5. To prevent all future misunderstanding about the line described in the foregoing article, two commissioners shall be appointed to superintend the running and marking the same, where not ascertained by the rivers, immediately after signing this treaty; one to be appointed by the commissioners of the United States, and the other by the Cherokee nation; and who shall cause three maps or charts thereof to be made out; one whereof shall be transmitted and deposited in the war office of the United States; another with the Executive of the State of Tennessee; and the third with the Cherokee nation; which said line shall form a part of the boundary between the United States and the Cherokee nation.

ART. 6. In consideration of the relinquishment and cession hereby made, the United States, upon signing the present treaty, shall cause to be delivered to the Cherokees, goods, wares, and merchandise, to the amount of five thousand dollars; and shall cause to be delivered, annually, other goods, to the amount of one thousand dollars, in addition to the annuity already provided for; and will continue the guarantee of the remainder of their country, forever, as made and contained in former treaties.

ART. 7. The Cherokee nation agree, that the Kentucky road, running between the Cumberland mountain and the Cumberland river, where the same shall pass through the Indian land, shall be an open and free road for the use of the citizens of the United States, in the like manner as the road from Southwest point to Cumberland river. In consideration of which, it is hereby agreed, on the part of the United States, that, until settlements shall make it improper, the Cherokee hunters shall be at liberty to hunt and take game upon the lands relinquished and ceded by this treaty.

ART. 8. Due notice shall be given to the principal towns of the Cherokees, of the time proposed for delivering the annual stipends; and sufficient supplies of provisions shall be furnished by, and at the expense of, the United States, to subsist such reasonable number that may be sent, or shall attend to receive them, during a reasonable time.

ART. 9. It is mutually agreed between the parties, that horses stolen, and not returned within ninety days, shall be paid for at the rate of sixty dollars each; if stolen by a white man, citizen of the United States, the Indian proprietor shall be paid in cash; and if stolen by an Indian from a citizen, to be deducted as expressed in the fourth article of the treaty of Philadelphia. This article shall have retrospect to the commencement of the first conferences at this place in the present year, and no further. And all amosities, aggressions, thefts, and plunderings, prior to that day, shall cease, and be no longer remembered or demanded on either side.

ART. 10. The Cherokee nation agree, that the agent, who shall be appointed to reside among them, from time to time, shall have a sufficient piece of ground allotted for his temporary use.

And, lastly, this treaty, and the several articles it contains, shall be considered as additional to, and forming a part of, treaties already subsisting between the United States and the Cherokee nation, and shall be carried into effect on both sides, with all good faith, as soon as the same shall be approved and ratified by the President of the United States, and the Senate thereof.

In witness of all and every thing herein determined between the United States of America and the whole Cherokee nation, the parties hereunto set their hands and seals, in the council house, near Tellico, on Cherokee ground, and within the United States, this second day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight, and in the twenty-third year of the independence and sovereignty of the United States.

THOMAS BUTLER,  
GEORGE WALTON.

[Signed by thirty-nine chiefs and warriors of the Cherokee Indians.]

5th CONGRESS.]

No. 86.

[3d SESSION.]

### THE CHEROKEES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 17, 1799.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *January 16, 1799.*

SIR:

Conformably to orders from the President of the United States, I have the honor to lay before the Senate the following papers, viz.

1st. Copy of the instructions to Alfred Moore, George Walton, and John Steele, Esquires, commissioners for negotiating and concluding a treaty with the Cherokee nation, dated the 30th March, 1798.

2nd. A copy of additional instructions to George Walton, Esquire, and Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Butler, commissioners for the aforesaid purpose, dated the 27th August, 1798.

3rd. A talk of the President of the United States to the chiefs and warriors of the Cherokee nation, dated the 27th August, 1798.

4th. The original journal\* of the proceedings of the commissioners appointed to hold a treaty with the Cherokee Indians, under the authority of the United States.

It is requested that the journal, being a document necessary to the War Department, may be returned.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JAMES MCHENRY.

The VICE PRESIDENT of the United States.

\* The journal was returned to the War Department.

To Alfred Moore, George Walton, and John Steel.

With the following instructions from the President, you will receive a commission, under the seal of the United States, constituting you commissioners to hold and conclude a treaty with the Cherokee nation of Indians. You are, therefore, with all due speed, to repair to Knoxville, in the State of Tennessee, and from thence, to the place that may be determined on for holding the same. You will understand your commission to vest you, jointly and severally, with full powers to negotiate and conclude a treaty with the Cherokee nation, conformably to these instructions.

To prevent any unnecessary delay, the temporary agent to the Cherokee Indians, Mr. Silas Dinsmoor, has been instructed to request the Indians to be in readiness to convene at the shortest notice, at such place as he may think the most convenient for them to assemble; and which, at the same time, will most facilitate the obtaining the necessary supplies of provisions. The commandant of the troops of the United States, in Tennessee, has, likewise, been directed to hold in readiness a detachment to cover and protect the parties. The presents for the Indians, and stores for the commissioners, have also been forwarded from this place on the 12th of March, 1798.

It is expected, from these previous arrangements, that you will be in a situation, immediately after your arrival at Knoxville, to have announced by Mr. Dinsmoor, to the Indians, the day on which you will be ready to meet them.

A primary consideration will be, to dispose the minds of the Cherokees to make a sale of such part of their land as will give a more convenient form to the State of Tennessee, and conduce to the protection of its citizens. In particular, it is the desire of the President, that you should use your earliest endeavors to obtain from them, as a first stipulation, their consent to the immediate return of such settlers as had intruded on their lands, and have been removed, on the ground of such consent, being a decisive proof of their willingness to treat for the sale thereof, or any other parcel of their land; assuring them, at the same time, that no advantage whatever will be taken of the circumstance in settling the compensation.

This provisional stipulation obtained, the citizens who have been removed may be forthwith informed, in such manner as you may judge proper, that they may return to the farms which they had before occupied; warning and forbidding, at the same time, any other than former actual settlers, who have been removed, from crossing, for the purpose of settlement, the boundary lines established by the treaty of Holston, as run and marked by the commissioners lawfully appointed for that purpose.

The Governor of the territory of the United States, south of the river Ohio, who concluded with the Cherokee Indians the treaty of Holston, was instructed to endeavor to obtain, that the southern boundary should begin at the mouth of Duck river, and run up the middle of the same to its main source, and thence, by a line drawn to the mouth of the Clinch river. It appears that the Indians could not be prevailed on to consent to this line, but, inasmuch as it forms a good natural boundary, it will be proper to renew the same subject in the mode most likely to succeed in obtaining it.

You will propose, therefore, the following boundaries for the new treaty:

1st. *Red dotted line.*—A line from a point on the ridge dividing the waters of Cumberland from Tennessee river, in a southwest direction, until it strikes the mouth of Duck river; thence, down the middle of Duck river from its mouth to its main source; thence, by a line over the highest ridges of the Cumberland mountains to the mouth of Clinch, thence, down the middle of the Tennessee river, till it strikes the divisional line lately marked by the commissioners of the United States; thence, along the said line, to where it crosses Cunchee creek, running into Puckasege, the eastern branch of the Tennessee; thence, to the Great Iron mountain; thence, a southeasterly course, to where the most southerly branch of Little river crosses the divisional line leading to Tugelo river.

If this cannot be obtained, then

2nd. *A double red line.*—A line beginning at the point forty miles above Nashville, as ascertained by the commissioners, and laid down in the annexed map, thence due east, till it strikes the dotted line on Cumberland mountains; thence, along the said dotted line or mountains, to the junction of Clinch river with the Tennessee; and thence, down the middle of the Tennessee river, to the extent of the boundary, as described in the first proposition.

If this cannot be obtained, then

3rd. *A blue dotted line.*—A line beginning at a point fifty six miles from the point forty miles above Nashville, on the northeast divisional line, being one and a half miles south of the road called Walton's, or Cany fork road; thence, on a course at the same distance from the said road to where it crosses Clinch river, thence, resuming the remaining boundary, as described in the first proposition.

If this cannot be obtained, then

4th. *A double blue line.* Beginning at a point one mile south of the junction of the Clinch with the Tennessee river; thence, westerly, along the course of the road, one and a half mile south thereof, till it enters into Cumberland mountains; thence, a northeasterly course, along the ridges of the said mountains, on the west of Powel's valley and Powel's river, to the source of the river next above Clear fork, and thence, down the middle of the same, to the northeast divisional line. The Tennessee river, and the further line thence, as described in the first proposition, to be the remaining boundary.

Should the Indians agree to cede the land within the first described lines, or any greater quantity, you may stipulate a solemn guarantee to the Indians for the remainder of their country, and that the United States will cause to be paid four thousand dollars annually to the nation, in goods, implements of husbandry, machines for manufacturing, and the pay of fit persons to assist in instructing them in their use, and making and repairing the same; or otherwise, that the United States will deliver them, on signing the treaty, goods to the amount of five thousand dollars, and the further sum of twenty thousand dollars, at four equal annual instalments.

For the land within the second described lines, or any greater quantity, the same guarantee, and three thousand dollars annually, to be applied as aforesaid; or otherwise, five thousand dollars in goods, and fifteen thousand dollars in three equal annual instalments.

For the land within the third described lines, or any greater quantity, the same guarantee, and two thousand dollars annually, to be applied as aforesaid, or, otherwise, that the United States will deliver them, on signing the treaty, goods to the amount of five thousand dollars, and ten thousand dollars, in goods in two equal annual instalments.

For the land within the fourth described lines, or any greater quantity, the same guarantee, and one thousand dollars annually, to be applied, as aforesaid, or, otherwise, five thousand dollars in goods, on signing the treaty, and five thousand dollars, in goods, in the year 1799.

Should the annuity be preferred, and the five thousand dollars, in goods on hand, also insisted on, as a further consideration, you will not lose the purchase of either of the parcels by refusing it to them.

The arts and practices to obtain Indian land, in defiance of treaties and the laws, and at the risk of involving the whole country in war, have become so daring, and received such countenance, from persons of prominent influence, as to render it necessary that the means to countervail them should be augmented. To this end, as well as more effectually to secure to the United States the advantages of the land which may be obtained by this treaty, you will negotiate and conclude stipulations, to the following import:

1st. That the new lines shall be run, and marked by two commissioners; one of whom to be appointed by you, and the other by the Indians, who shall proceed immediately, and without delay, after the treaty shall be signed, to run and mark the same, where it is not defined by rivers. Three maps of the lines, thus run and marked, to be made out, one whereof, the commissioners on the part of the United States shall transmit to the Secretary for the Department of War; another to the Executive of the State of Tennessee; and the third to the Indian nation, by their commissioner.

2nd. That the nation shall, at all times, permit the President of the United States to employ military force within their boundaries, for the purpose of arresting and conveying to some one of the three next adjoining States or districts, to be proceeded against in due course of law, any person whatever, found within the same, who shall deliver to, or hold talks with them, calculated to engage the nation, or any part thereof, to act hostilely against the United States, or any foreign nation, without the consent of the United States, or against Indians residing within the territory of any foreign nation or against any Indian nation or tribe within the limits, and under the protection of the United States.

3d. That the President of the United States may cause to be arrested, and conveyed, as aforesaid, any person not employed and acting under the authority of the United States, who shall treat with the Cherokees, or any of them, for any sale, lease, or grant, of any part or parcel of their land, or for permission to settle on any part of the same.

4th. That the President may cause to be expelled from their nation any person, a citizen of the United States, or foreigner, not authorized by treaty, who shall attempt to reside or sojourn in their nation, without a permission in writing for so doing, specifying the object of such residence or sojourn, signed by the President, or such person as he may authorize to grant the same.

5th. That this treaty shall not be construed, either to affect the right or title of any person who has been removed from the Indian land, which he had thereto, at the time of his removal, nor, in any manner, to enlarge the right or claim thereto that he then possessed; and that all Indian land, purchased by this treaty, and which has not been actually occupied as aforesaid, shall remain and be subject to the operation of all the provisions of this and any former treaty, and the laws of the United States, relative to Indian country, in the same manner as if this treaty had not been made, until such time as the same land shall be sold by, and under the authority of, the United States. This provision is meant to prevent any further intrusions on any part or parcel of the land, ceded by the State of North Carolina to the United States; as also upon the land relinquished to the Cherokee Indians by the State of North Carolina, by an act of the said State, passed the 17th May, 1783, and described in the said act as follows, viz: "Beginning on the Tennessee, where the southern boundary of this State intersects the same, nearest to the Chickamauga towns; thence, up the middle of the Tennessee and Holston, to the middle of French Broad; thence, up the middle of French Broad river, (which lines are not to include any island or islands in the said river) to the mouth of Big Pigeon river; thence, up the same; to the head thereof; thence, along the dividing ridge, between the waters of Pigeon river and Puckasege river, to the southern boundary of this State: Provided, that any person or persons, who, under the laws of North Carolina, and in conformity to the regulations and provisions thereof, have entered, surveyed, located, or obtained grants of any land, (other than the land relinquished to the Cherokees as aforesaid) ceded by the said State to the United States, previous to the acceptance thereof by the United States, which said grants would have vested a good title in them, under the laws of the said State of North Carolina, if such cession had not been made to the United States, may enter upon, occupy, and possess the same, if lying within the limits of this purchase.

6th. That such military sites may be chosen, from time to time, and garrisons established, of the regular troops of the United States, within the Indian boundary, as may be thought necessary to protect their land, and carry into effect the stipulations of treaties and laws of the United States.

Should it be found impracticable to obtain Duck river for a southern boundary, or a line which will include in it the road leading from Southwest point through the Cumberland mountains, to Nashville, it will be proper to stipulate for certain parcels of land, lying on the said road, and at due distances from each other, wherein houses of entertainment may be erected for the convenience of travellers.

It will also be proper, in case the line obtained should not include in it the land on both sides of the ferry, over Clinch river, to stipulate for such an arrangement as will secure a free passage to the citizens of the United States, and prevent any higher toll being requirable by the occupant, than will afford him a reasonable compensation for keeping the same.

You will keep a journal of your proceedings, to be transmitted with the treaty.

Given at the War Office of the United States, in Philadelphia, this thirtieth day of March, A. D. 1798, and in the twenty-second year of the independence of said States.

JAMES McHENRY, *Secretary of War.*

*To George Walton, Esquire, and Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Butler.*

The negotiation with the Cherokee nation of Indians, in order to a treaty to effect certain purchases of land, under instructions from the President of the United States, dated the 30th March last, being suspended until the 3d September next, and John Steele, one of the commissioners, having declined, and Alfred Moore, another of the commissioners, having returned home, so that neither of the former commissioners, except George Walton, Esquire, can be expected to be present at the renewal of the negotiations, the President has thought proper to add, in a new commission, which will be herewith received, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Butler, to the said George Walton, Esquire, and to authorize the said commissioners jointly and severally, to renew the negotiations, and conclude a treaty with the said Cherokee nation, if practicable.

The instructions heretofore furnished to the original commissioners, and which will now be submitted to the perusal and consideration of Colonel Butler, by his associate commissioner, are understood and intended to form the basis of the principles, upon which the renewed negotiations are to be conducted.

But, if it shall be found impracticable to induce the Indians to accede to either of the first three propositions, an abandonment of them must take place, and resort had to the fourth proposition. It will, however, be very desirable, that sufficient proof should be placed in the hands of the Executive, that these propositions were only yielded to necessity; and to shew further that the fourth proposition was, if it too is to fail, urged with all possible ardor and good faith. It is not, however, believed that the latter proposition will fail. If it succeeds (with the proofs mentioned) it will establish the sincerity of the intentions of Government, and perhaps annihilate the suspicions excited by bad men, in the breasts of the Indians, as well as the frontier inhabitants.

The stipulations intended to be introduced into the treaty, to secure to the United States the full advantages of the land which may be obtained by the treaty, detailed in the former instructions, to which you will always refer, from first to sixth inclusive, are deemed important, and should be obtained, if possible. A discretion is, however, given, respecting the ferry and houses of entertainment, on the Cumberland road; the remonstrance against the latter, as becoming probably the lurking places of the most disorderly and bad intentioned whites, appears plausible.

It is not now intended to restrict you to the letter of the fourth proposition. Should the Indians not incline to sell the whole quantity of land therein specified, you will endeavor to obtain as much of it as you possibly can.

Given at the War Office of the United States, in Philadelphia, this twenty-seventh day of August, A. D. 1798, and in the twenty-third year of the independence of the said States.

JAMES McHENRY, *Secretary of War.*

*Talk of the President of the United States to his beloved chiefs, warriors, and children, of the Cherokee nation.*

**BELoved CHEROKEES:** I some time since appointed and commissioned three of my beloved men, viz. Alfred Moore, George Walton, and John Steele, to negotiate with you, for the attainment of certain objects by treaty, which I considered indispensable to the preservation of the happiness and welfare of my white and red children, and which, without injury to either, promised to perpetuate between them a lasting harmony.

You cannot be ignorant how earnestly I have desired to secure peace to your frontier, nor, of my unwearied endeavors and the great expense incurred by the United States, to prevent a certain Zachariah Cox, and others, from carrying an armed force into your country, to take possession of a part of it. You also know, that a store has been erected at Tellico, to supply you with the articles you stand most in need of, at a cheap rate, and that this establishment is entirely for your accommodation, the United States disclaiming all profit upon the business. You must, moreover, be convinced, that the United States can have your good only in view, in keeping my beloved Mr. Dinsmoor in your nation, at a considerable expense, who is charged to instruct you in the raising of stock, the cultivation of land, and

the arts which procure for the whites so many comforts and conveniences. I hope you place a just value upon what has been done, as calculated to defend your country from invasion, and make you a happier people; and that you are therefore convinced of the sincere friendship of the United States to the Cherokee nation.

I think it now proper to observe, that, as I have looked upon it as a part of my duty to attend to your interests, I am also under the strongest obligations to hear the complaints, and relieve, as far as is in my power, the distresses of my white children, citizens of the United States.

It was expected that the line established by the treaty of Holston, would have left a great proportion of the frontier white settlers within the tract of country purchased, and this was much desired, as many of these settlers were deserving people, and had made valuable improvements. It proved otherwise when the line was run; and the United States, ever disposed to observe treaties, and keep faith with the Indians, were, under the engagements of that treaty, obliged to remove a number of worthy and well-intentioned settlers from those farms you had long permitted them to occupy, because falling within the Indian line. This occasioned distress to the settlers removed, and the representation of their sufferings induced the Senate of the United States to advise a new purchase of land, to include the deserving settlers, and the Congress to grant a sum of money to pay the expenses of the treaty.

Such are the circumstances that have led to the negotiation, which has been suspended, and which I have directed to be renewed, not doubting but that my Cherokee children, when they come to consider the whole subject, will agree with me in opinion, that a sale of such lands as they can spare, without injury, and for which I have ordered a full equivalent to be paid, either at once, or annually, will be a proper and wise measure upon their part. I recommend it therefore to them to consent to the sale, and flatter myself they will not turn a deaf ear to my recommendation.

Mr. John Steele having gone to the Natchez, and it not being convenient for my beloved man, Mr. Alfred Moore, to attend the negotiation, I have entrusted the whole business of the purchase and treaty to my beloved George Walton, and my highly esteemed warrior, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Butler.

You will listen to these beloved men, and rely upon my confirming every engagement they may enter into, whether it respects land, or the maintenance of tranquillity and peace to the Cherokee nation.

*Beloved chiefs, warriors, and children, of the Cherokee nation:* I send you my best wishes, and pray the Great Spirit to preserve you long in peace, and to inspire your hearts with true wisdom.

Given at the city of Philadelphia, the twenty-seventh day of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight, and in the twenty-third year of the independence of the United States of America.

JOHN ADAMS.

By command of the President of the United States:

JAMES McHENRY, *Secretary of War.*

[5th CONGRESS.]

No. 87.

[3d SESSION.]

THE ONEIDAS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 31, 1799.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

I send you, for your consideration, a treaty with the Oneida nation of Indians, made on the first day of June, 1798, at their village.

JOHN ADAMS.

January 30, 1799.

At a Treaty held with the Oneida nation or tribe of Indians, at their village, in the State of New York, on the first day of June, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight: Present, Joseph Hopkinson, commissioner, appointed under the authority of the United States to hold the treaty; Egbert Benson, Ezra L'Hommedieu, and John Taylor, agents for the State of New York.

The said Indians having, in the month of March last, proposed to the Governor of the said State, to cede the lands hereinafter described, for the compensation hereinafter mentioned; and the said Governor having acceded to the said proposal, and advanced to the said Indians, at their desire, in part payment of the said compensation, three hundred dollars, to answer their then immediate occasions, the said cession is, thereupon, in the presence, and with the approbation of the said commissioner, carried into effect at this treaty; which hath, on the request of the said Governor, been appointed to be held for the purpose, as follows, that is to say: The said Indians do cede, release, and quit claim to the *people of the State of New York*, forever, all the lands within their reservation, to the westward and southwestward of a line from the northeastern corner of the lot No. 54, in the last purchase from them, running northerly to a button wood tree, marked on the east side "Oneida R. 1798," on the west side, "H. P. S. 1798," and on the south side, with three notches and a blaze, standing on the bank of the Oneida lake, in the southern part of a bay called Newageghkoo; also, a mile on each side of the main Genesee road, for the distance of one mile and a half, westward, to commence at the eastern boundary of their said reservation; and, also, the same breadth for the distance of three miles, on the south side, and of one mile on the north side of the said road, eastward, to commence at the eastern boundary of the said lot No. 54: *Provided and excepted, nevertheless*, That the following Indian families, viz: Sarah Docksteder, Cornelius Docksteder, Jacob Docksteder, Lewis Denny, John Denny, Jan Joost, and Nicholas, shall be suffered to possess, of the tract first abovementioned, to grounds cultivated by them, respectively, and their improvements, not exceeding fifty acres, to each family, so long as they shall reside there; and in consideration of this proviso and exception, the said Indians do further cede that a tract of twelve hundred and eighty acres, as follows, that is to say: Beginning in the southeast corner of lot No. 59, in the said last purchase, and running thence, east one mile; thence, north two miles; thence, west one mile; and thence, south two miles, shall be considered as set apart by the said nation or tribe, for the use of the said families, whenever they shall remove from where they now reside. The said agents do, for the people of the said State, pay to the said Indians, in addition to the said sum of three hundred dollars, already advanced to them, as abovementioned, the further sum of two hundred dollars, and do grant to the said Indians, that the people of the said State shall pay to the said Indians, at their said village, on the first day of June next, and on the first day of June, yearly, thereafter, the annual sum of seven hundred dollars.

In testimony whereof, the said commissioner, the said agents, and the said Indians, have hereunto and to other acts of the same tenor and date, the one to remain with the United States, another to remain with the State of New York, and another to remain with the said Indians, set their hands and seals, at the village aforesaid, the day and year first above written.

JOSEPH HOPKINSON, *Commissioner,*  
 EGBERT BENSON, }  
 EZRA L'HOMMEDIEU, } *Agents,*  
 JOHN TAYLOR, }  
*And a number of Indians.*

ALBANY, 23d April, 1798.

SIR:

During the late session of the Legislature, the chiefs of the Oneida tribe of Indians came to this city, and signified to me, that the object of their visit was to propose a sale of a part of their lands. This being communicated to the Legislature, I was authorized to appoint agents to confer with them on the subject. I herewith enclose a copy of the instrument by which they were appointed, (No. 1) and also a copy of their report to me, (No. 2.) This report was adopted and confirmed by the Legislature, and provision has been made for perfecting, in the usual forms, the agreement stated in it.

When the chiefs were about to take leave, I made to them, and gave them a copy of the speech which you will find in the enclosed paper, No. 3; and the money therein mentioned was paid to them in my presence by our agents.

We find it most convenient, that the proposed treaty should be held with them on the first day of June next, and we wish it may be held at Oneida, that all the chiefs may attend it, and because it may there be held at less expense than at any other place.

Be so obliging, sir, as to lay these representations before the President, with my request that he will be pleased to appoint a commissioner to hold the said treaty, at the time and place before mentioned.

The moment I receive information from you that the appointment is made, I shall advise the Oneidas of it, and immediately take the other measures which will be proper and necessary on the part of this State.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN JAY.

The Hon. TIMOTHY PICKERING, Esq. *Secretary of State.*

No. 1.

*The Governor of the State of New York to the Honorable Egbert Benson, Esquire, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the said State, Simeon De Witt, Esquire, Surveyor General of the said State, and John Taylor, Esquire, first Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, in and for the county of Albany, greeting:*

Whereas the chiefs of the Oneida tribe of Indians, (having come to this city for the purpose) have signified their desire to sell their claim to certain parts of the land reserved to their use: Now, therefore, in pursuance of the authority vested in me by an act of the Legislature for that purpose, made and passed the 26th of February instant, I have appointed, and hereby do appoint, you, the said Egbert Benson, Simeon De Witt, and John Taylor, and any two of you, commissioners, on the part of this State, to confer with the said chiefs, and, with precision, to ascertain and report to me, what part or parcels of the said lands they wish to dispose of, and on what terms.

[L. s.] Given under my hand, and the privy seal of the State, the 27th day of February, 1798.

JOHN JAY.

No. 2.

In consequence of your Excellency's appointment, we have met and conferred with the Oneida Indians now in this city, and respectfully report, that the intent of their visit is to make a further sale of lands, and they have offered and proposed to sell all the lands within their reservation, to the westward and southwestward of a line from the northeastern corner of lot No. 54, in the last purchase from them, running northerly to the extremity of the northeastern point of a bay on the south side of the Oneida lake, called Newageghkoo, and also a mile on each side of the main Genesee road, for the distance of one mile and a half westward, to commence at the eastern boundary of their reservation; and also the same breadth for the distance of three miles, on the south side, and for one mile on the north side of the said road; eastward, to commence at the eastern boundary of the said lot No. 54. The consideration they propose to ask, is a payment of five hundred dollars on the completion of the sale, and a perpetual annuity of seven hundred dollars; and as some time may elapse before the authority to hold a treaty, and the appointment of commissioners can be obtained from the General Government, they are very desirous to have three hundred dollars, of the five hundred dollars, advanced to them at this time, to answer their immediate occasion. They, however, still stipulate, that the State shall suffer the following Indian families, Sarah Docksteder, Cornelius Docksteder, Jacob Docksteder, Lewis Denny, John Denny, Jan Joost, and Nicholas, to possess the grounds cultivated by them, respectively, and their improvements, (not exceeding fifty acres to each family) as long as they shall reside there. And they will agree that a tract of twelve hundred and eighty acres, as follows: Beginning in the southeast corner of lot No. 59, of the said last purchase, and running thence east one mile, thence north two miles, thence west one mile, and thence south two miles, shall be considered as set apart by the nation for the use of these families, whenever they shall remove from where they now reside. It is only requisite for us further to state, that they appear determined not to part with any lands adjoining on the road, unless the State will also, at the same time, purchase from them other lands as we have described them.

EGBERT BENSON,  
JOHN TAYLOR,  
SIMEON DE WITT, } *Agents.*

No. 3.

ALBANY, 5th March, 1798.

BROTHERS OF THE ONEIDA NATION:

The agents whom I appointed for that purpose, have reported to me that they have met and conferred with you; that the intent of your visit is to make a farther sale of lands, and that you have offered and proposed to sell all the lands within your reservation, to the westward and southwestward of a line running northerly from the northeastwardly corner of lot No. 54, in the last purchase from you, to the extremity of a northeastern point of a certain bay, on the south side of the Oneida lake, called Newageghkoo; and also a mile on each side of the main Genesee road, for the distance of one mile and a half westward, commencing at the eastern boundary of your reservation, and also the same breadth for the distance of three miles on the south side, and one mile on the north side of the said road, to commence at the eastern boundary of the said lot No. 54, for the consideration of five hundred dollars on the completion of the sale, and a perpetual annuity of seven hundred dollars; but that, as some time may elapse before an authority to hold a treaty with you, and the appointment of commissioners can be obtained from the General Government, you are therefore very desirous to have three hundred dollars, of the five hundred advanced, at this time, to you, to answer your immediate occasions; that you, however, still stipulate, that the State shall suffer the following Indian families, Sarah Docksteder, Cornelius Docksteder, Jacob Docksteder, Lewis Denny, John Denny, Jan Joost, and Nicholas, to possess the grounds cultivated by them, respectively, and their improvements, (not exceeding fifty acres to each family) as long as they shall reside there; and you will agree, that a tract of twelve hundred and eighty acres, as follows: Beginning in the southeast corner of lot No. 59, of the said last purchase, and running thence, east one mile; thence, north two miles; thence, west one mile; and thence, south two miles; shall be considered as set apart by the nation for the use of these families, whenever they shall remove from where they now reside.

BROTHERS: I accept your offer and proposals, and I shall immediately apply to the President to have a treaty held, under the authority of the United States, for the purpose of perfecting and effecting the business; and I shall give you reasonable notice of the time and place of holding the treaty. In the mean time, agreeable to your desire, I shall direct the three hundred dollars to be advanced to you, for the use of your nation, and the accounts of you, expenses to be paid; and, in addition thereto, the sum of one hundred and ten dollars to be furnished to you, o your expenses home.

JOHN JAY.

The principal men of the Oneidas, whose names are hereunto subscribed, reported to the commissioner of the United States, appointed to hold the treaty with them, and to the agents of the State of New York, from a council of the nation, held after the execution of the act of cession of this date, that it was their intent that Lewis Denny and John Denny were not to have any part of the twelve hundred and eighty acres, but that the same should be divided into five lots, as nearly equal in quantity and quality as may be, and be granted by the State to Sarah Docksteder, Jacob Docksteder, Cornelius Docksteder, Jan Joost, and Nicholas, each a lot, and that they shall, severally, remove from off the ceded lands, and reside on their respective lots, as soon as conveniently may be; and that they may then sell and dispose of the same as the white people do, in fee simple.

Dated at their village, the first day of June, 1798.

JOHN SKANONDO, his + mark.  
 ANTHONY SHONONGHRIYO, his + mark.  
 PAUL TEHAVWENGARORENO, his + mark.  
 JACOB REED.

Witness: JAMES DEAN, *Interpreter.*

This is the act of the four Indian chiefs referred to in my report to the Secretary of State, dated on the 26th instant, relative to the lands set apart for certain individual Indian families.

June 27th, 1798.

JOS. HOPKINSON.

JUNE 26th, 1798.

SIR: •  
 In consequence of the appointment of the President of the United States, I have attended, as the commissioner on the part of the United States, at a treaty lately held between the State of New York, and the Oneida tribe or nation of Indians, at their village, and have superintended, in the manner prescribed by the act of Congress, entitled "An act to regulate the trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes," the execution of an act, dated the first instant, ceding to the State of New York the lands, and for the compensation therein specified. This act, together with a subsequent declaration from them, reduced to writing, and subscribed by four of their principal men, more fully explanatory of the intention of the nation, in respect to the disposition of the tract of twelve hundred and eighty acres, set apart for certain individual Indian families, accompany this report. In the course of the conferences which took place during the treaty, the Indians declared it was their will to give to Mr. Chapin, the superintendent of Indian affairs, two hundred and forty acres of the tract of one mile square, lying eastward from New Stockbridge, and reserved out of their cession in 1795, and the remaining four hundred acres to the Northern Missionary Society, in the State of New York, for the use of a minister to reside among them; and requested me to report it to the President of the United States, in order that Mr. Chapin and the Society might be enabled to take and hold the lands accordingly.

TIMOTHY PICKERING, Esq. *Secretary of State.*

JOS. HOPKINSON.

6th CONGRESS.]

No. 88.

[1st SESSION.

### PROTECTION OF THE FRONTIERS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, APRIL 22, 1800.

Mr. CLAIBORNE, from the committee appointed to "inquire into the operation of the acts making provision for the establishment of trading houses with the Indian tribes, and into the expediency of reviving and continuing the said acts in force," reported:

That the authority to maintain trading houses with the Indians expired with the last session of Congress; that, to judge of the propriety of extending this trade, the committee have asked for information from the Secretaries of War and of the Treasury, and have received the communications herewith reported:

That, under these acts, two trading houses have been established, one on the frontiers of Georgia, the other on the frontiers of Tennessee; that they have no information of the usefulness of these establishments, but what is contained in a letter from the Secretary of War, accompanying this report; that, from the irregularity of the factors in accounting (for it seems that so much of the law, which required that the agent employed at each trading post, shall make up his accounts half yearly, and transmit them to the Secretary of the Treasury, has not been attended to) the committee find it impossible to determine, with certainty, how far the scheme is practicable, without a diminution of capital, and what the ratio of diminution will be; but that the paper marked F, and herewith reported, being a summary statement of the Indian trade, from the establishment, to the ninth of January, one thousand eight hundred, will shew the amount of money advanced, and the remittances received; and also, the probability that the capital in trade will be greatly diminished, if not entirely sunk, in a very short time.

The committee, however, deem it expedient, that power should be given to employ the capital already embarked, for a limited time; but that it should not be enlarged by further draughts from the Treasury, until the establishment is better understood in its several relations; and therefore recommend to the House the following resolution:

*Resolved,* That the act, entitled "An act for establishing trading houses with the Indian tribes," ought to be revived, and continued in force for one year, and from thence, to the end of the next session of Congress, so as to authorize the further employment of the capital heretofore employed under the direction of that act.



6th CONGRESS.]

No. 89.

1st SESSION.

## ESTIMATES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MAY 5, 1800.

Mr. HARPER, from the Committee of Ways and Means, to whom were referred the estimates for the public service of the present year, having observed certain items in those estimates, under the head of "The Indian Department," which seemed to demand particular examination, reserved them for the subject of a separate report; which they now beg leave to present for the consideration of the House:

The items alluded to, occur in the following order:

1. "For defraying the cost of transportation, and other contingent charges, which may arise from the payment of the annuities to Indian tribes." For this object, the sum of 10,000 dollars is estimated.

As the whole amount of the annuities themselves, as settled by treaty, is only 15,000 dollars, the committee were at a loss to conceive, how the transportation and delivery of them could cost so great a sum as 10,000 dollars. They thought it proper, therefore, to make some inquiry on this head, at the Department of War, which was done by a letter to the Secretary, of the 7th ultimo, whereof a copy (No. 1.) is subjoined to this report.

The Secretary, in answer, enclosed to them a letter from the accountant of that department to him, the following extract from which, contains all the information that has been received by the committee:

"As relates to the expense of transporting goods to pay Indian annuities, no settlements have ever been made at this office under that head. The expense has been generally paid by the quartermaster general, or his agent; and, in some cases, by the agents of the War Department; and these accounts, previous to the 16th July, 1798, (the date of the act making alterations in the Treasury and War Departments) have been settled at the treasury; and since that period, the quartermaster's accounts are not in a situation to afford the necessary information."

It appearing from hence, that the expenses in question have been defrayed by the quartermaster general, and are included in his accounts, it is presumed that they have been paid out of the general appropriation for that department, which, probably, is sufficient for that purpose. The committee are therefore of opinion, that no separate appropriation is necessary. If there should, hereafter, be found a deficiency arising from this cause, it will be easy to make it up, when a further inquiry shall have given the House more complete information on the subject than is at present attainable. In the mean time, as the appropriations for the quartermaster's department have been liberal, there is, in the opinion of the committee, no danger of injury to the public service, from withholding the supply at this time.

2. "For contingent expenses, for presents to Indians on their visits to the seat of government, expenses attending their journeys, and during their stay at the seat of government." The estimated supply for this object is \$13,000.

This item appearing to the committee to be liable to some doubt, they included it in the above mentioned letter to the Secretary of War, and requested a particular account of the former expenses under that head. They received in answer, a statement from the accountant, transmitted through the Secretary, which, though not detailed as they had requested and did expect, is sufficient to prove that their doubts were well founded; since it appears, by that statement, that the expenses incurred for the purpose in question, during two years, 1798 and 1799, amounted to no more than 15,178 dollars and eight cents. They perceive no reason for supposing that greater expenses will be necessary in this year than in the two former, and are therefore of opinion, that an appropriation of 7,000 dollars will be sufficient.

3. "For rations to Indians at the different military posts, and within their respective nations." The sum of 22,500 dollars is estimated under this head.

The committee observing that this item had increased very much within a few years, and might still further increase to a very inconvenient extent, included it also in their letter to the Secretary of War, whom they requested to furnish them with particular information respecting it.

The information wherewith they have thus been furnished, is contained in a letter from the Secretary of War, which, together with extracts of letters from him to sundry persons, on the subject, is hereto annexed, (No. 2.) This information, extending only to the necessity of issuing rations to Indians, and to the manner in which it is done, but not to the amount of expense thereby incurred, is less satisfactory than could have been wished. Perhaps, however, it could not be rendered more so, from the manner in which the business is conducted; for it appears that the rations to Indians are, and must be, issued from the usual supply of army provisions, which are furnished by contract at the different posts, and it does not appear that a separate account is kept of those rations. This the committee conceive might and ought to be done, since it will, otherwise, never be possible to know how much money is expended in this manner.

In the mean time, as the issues to Indians are made from the army provisions, which are included in the general estimate for the subsistence of the army; and as that estimate is generally formed upon a larger number of troops than are actually in service, so as to be more than sufficient for the usual supply of the troops, the committee can see no good reason for making a separate appropriation for Indian rations, which, they suppose, may always be supplied out of the surplus of subsistence money arising from the deficiencies which always exist, in a greater or less degree, in the number of the troops in actual service.

But they are of opinion, that a direct authority ought to be given by law, for issuing those rations, and that a separate account of them ought to be required.

4. "Two thousand dollars for presents to the Choctaw nation of Indians, and their chiefs."

This expense is not authorized by law, nor stipulated by any treaty; but the Secretary of War thinks it necessary, for reasons which are touched on in the estimates themselves, and more fully detailed in some correspondences with the Indian agent in that quarter, which have been submitted to the committee. They are of opinion that the measure ought to be adopted, and beg leave to recommend it to the House.

This provision, with such others on the foregoing subjects as they think it proper to adopt, are contained in the bill herewith presented to the House.

In recommending it to the House to limit or vary the appropriations in question, the committee do not wish to be understood as implying an opinion, that more money has actually been expended under those heads than was necessary, or that any neglect or improper conduct has taken place in the management of the business, but merely that it will be better to accommodate the appropriations, both in manner and extent, to the actual expenditure.

No. 1.

COMMITTEE ROOM, April 7th, 1800.

I am directed, sir, by the Committee of Ways and Means, to request that you will be so good as to furnish me, as soon as convenient, for their use, with,

First: An account, as particular as can now be rendered, of the expenditure, in each separate year, of moneys heretofore granted by Congress, for the expense of transporting goods to pay Indian annuities; and for contingent expenses for presents to Indians on their visits to the seat of government, and expenses attending their journeys, during their stay, and on their return home; and for rations to Indians at the different military posts within their respective nations.

And secondly: Information of the manner in which those expenditures, and each of them, are made, regulated, and controlled: And of the manner in which the accounts for the said expenditures, and each of them, are kept, rendered, checked, and settled.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient very humble servant.

*The honorable the Secretary of War.*

No. 2.

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 16, 1800.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose, in pursuance of the request contained in your letter, dated the seventh instant, a letter from the accountant of the War Department, of April 9th, and another from the same, of April 14th, with his statement of moneys expended in the Indian department, for presents to Indians on their visits to the seat of Government; expenses attending their journeys, and during their stay at the seat of Government, during the years 1798 and 1799.

It may be proper to observe, generally, relative to expenditures in the Indian department, that it has been an object with the Secretary, to render less frequent the visits of Indians to the seat of Government, and to extend the influence of the United States within their nations, by the instrumentality of resident agents, and internal arrangements and measures, calculated to produce these ends. This system, which begins to operate sensibly and satisfactorily, while it aims at bettering their moral and physical condition, has a direct tendency to bring them into a narrower compass, and place them more perfectly under the management and control of the United States.

The agents employed in this work (the Governors of the Northwestern and Mississippi territories excepted) are obliged to reside constantly within the Indian nations. They have fixed allowances, and receive their instructions from the Secretary of War.

The agents, annually, or oftener, return estimates of the articles wanted in their superintendence; which, if approved of, are either purchased at the seat of Government, or elsewhere, and transmitted for distribution.

When Indians arrive at the seat of Government, a confidential person is appointed to procure lodgings for them; to superintend and inspect their conduct; to accompany them to places of entertainment; to procure for them the presents in clothing, &c. which may be ordered; and to pay all accounts arising under his superintendence. Money is advanced to him, by warrant, for these purposes, and he settles his accounts in the usual way, by producing vouchers and receipts for the expenditures. Indians, also, occasionally, receive actual money. This is paid to them by a warrant, drawn in their favor, expressive of its object, and for particular services, which require a different course.

The enclosed extracts of letters to Governor St. Clair, Major General Hamilton, and Winthrop Sargeant, Esq. Governor of the Mississippi territory, will show the existing restrictions upon the issue of rations to Indians. The Secretary would presume that the issues, for the present, ought not to be estimated higher than for the preceding year.

There is an item of two thousand dollars, for the Choctaws, under the head "Indian Department," in the estimate of appropriations, to which I request your attention. The reasons inducing to this item are explained in the estimate. The enclosed original letters, dated June 14th, August 10th, September 18th, 1799, and January 16th, 1800, from John McKee, will further elucidate the grounds of the requisition, as well as some other subjects, which are slightly noticed, relative to the Indians. They are submitted, confidentially, to the committee, and, it is requested, may be returned.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your obedient servant.

JAMES M'HENRY.

ROBERT G. HARPER, Esq. *Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means.*

*Extract of a letter from the Secretary of War to Governor St. Clair, dated*

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 30, 1799.

"Enclosed is copy of a letter to Major General Hamilton, directing him to cause you to be respected by the military, in character of Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and to enable you to give orders upon the posts for provisions to such Indians as you may think it advisable they should be issued.

I leave open a letter to the Turtle, enclosing the invoices of the stipendiary goods, for the Miami, Shawanese, Pattawatamies, Eel river, Wea, Piankeshaw, Kickapoo, and Kaskaskia Indians. You will have it forwarded to the Little Turtle, and fix, with him, the time for the distribution of the goods, and, I hope, will find it convenient to attend at their delivery.

The goods for the Wyandots, Chippewas, Ottawas, and Delawares, will be forwarded to Detroit, to be distributed to the said Indians, conformably to such directions as you may think proper to give.

It is to be understood, that certificates of the delivery of the stipends, are to be transmitted to this office, signed by the person appointed to attend to the delivery, and by one or more officers of the garrison at which the delivery is made, or by yourself, whenever you shall be present.

Should it at any time be proper to give an order to any of the Indians who may be on a visit to you, to draw provisions at any garrison, upon their route home, it will be necessary to specify in the order the number of rations, or kind and quantity of provisions required, and to observe the same rule in all other cases. I need not remark to you, that the circumstances inducing to such requisitions, ought always to be of a nature fully to justify such an application of the army provisions."

*Extract from the same, to Major General Hamilton, dated*

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 30, 1799.

"The Governor of the North Western territory, Arthur St. Clair, Esq. being, *ex officio*, superintendent of Indian affairs, within the said territory, he is to be respected as such, by all military officers within the sphere of [his jurisdiction; you will be pleased, therefore, to direct the said military officers to respect him as such, and to cause to be issued, at their respective posts, such provisions, to the Indians, as he may think it advisable should be issued to them, from time to time, and, to be executed, his instructions relative to the safe keeping and delivery of the annual stipends promised to the Indians by the treaty of Greenville."

*Extract from the same to the same, dated*

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 21, 1799.

"It has been too much a practice with the commandants of garrisons on the frontiers, to hold talks with Indian tribes, and play parts which belong exclusively to the civil officers employed to superintend the Indian affairs. This has, consequently, attracted to the garrisons numbers of Indians, and occasioned great and unnecessary ex-

penditures of the public provisions. You will be pleased to issue such instructions on the subject, as will prevent, as much as possible, the continuance of such practices, and oblige the military officers to refer the Indians, in all matters relating to their national affairs, or grievances, to the Governor of the Northwestern territory, and Governor of the Mississippi territory, or the temporary Indian agent, nearest to their post, as the case may require. It will also be proper, that you instruct the commandants of posts in the Mississippi territory, to furnish, on the order of Governor Sargeant, when the same can be spared, such rations for the Indians who may visit the said posts, as he may from time to time direct."

*Extract from the same to Winthrop Sargeant, Esq. Governor of the Mississippi Territory, dated*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 20th May, 1799.

"As it will happen, however, that the Indians, especially those nearest the settlement, will, from time to time, visit you to require advice relative to their affairs and grievances, it is proper that the expense you may incur, by furnishing them with provisions, and the pay of an interpreter, *during such visits*, should be re-imbursed; and should it be indispensable to make some trifling presents to any of them, on particular and urgent occasions, that the amount of such presents be also re-imbursed: you will, therefore, keep a regular account of all such expenditures, and transmit, annually, to the accountant of the Department of War, all bills, receipts, and vouchers, necessary to substantiate the same.

Should it, at any time, be proper to give an order to any of the Indians who may be on a visit to you, to draw a few days provisions at any garrison upon the route home, it will be necessary to specify in the order, the number of rations, or kind and quantity of provisions required.

I need not remark, that the circumstances inducing to such requisitions, ought always to be of a nature fully to justify such an application of army provisions, and that the order should always express, 'provided the commandant can spare them, without risk to his garrison.' I shall write to Major General Hamilton, to instruct the commandants on the Mississippi accordingly."

6th CONGRESS.]

No. 90.

[2d SESSION.]

### INDIAN TRADE.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEB. 5, 1801.

Mr. CLAIBORNE, from the committee appointed to inquire into the expediency of carrying on any further trade with the Indians, on a capital furnished by the United States, reported:

That, in pursuance of the laws heretofore passed by Congress, on that subject, two trading houses or factories have been established; one in the State of Tennessee and another in the State of Georgia; and, of the sums appropriated by Congress, the sum of ninety thousand one hundred and fifteen dollars ninety cents, has been drawn from the treasury, for the purpose of forming those establishments, and purchasing and conveying goods, suitable for trade with the Indians of the Cherokee and Creek nations: That the laws aforesaid expired on ———, and no law was passed at the last session of Congress to continue the establishment and trade aforesaid; although the committee, to whom the subject was then referred, reported, that it was expedient to continue the trade.

*The committee further report:*

That, from the accounts in the Treasury Department, rendered by the persons who superintend those establishments or factories, the present state of this trade cannot be ascertained; and, although this trade may have produced some advantages, in attaching the Indians to the Government of the United States, by affording them necessities, and avoiding the animosities which might be produced by the abuses of private traders; yet, those have not been of such magnitude as to justify, in the opinion of the committee, any extension or increase of the capital stock, however proper it may be to continue the trade, on the stock now vested, for some time longer.

The committee, unwilling to abandon institutions of public utility, and convinced that the establishment of Indian houses, with proper management, would contribute to the attainment of important advantages; and not having ascertained, with any precision, how far the present establishment may be maintained without loss to the United States, therefore recommend the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That it is expedient to provide, by law, for the continuance of the trade and trading houses, heretofore, by law established, on the capital already drawn from the treasury, for one year, and from thence to the end of the next session of Congress; and that provision should be made in such law, for the better regulation of said trading houses, and prescribing the duties of the agents employed therein.

7th CONGRESS.]

No. 91.

[1st SESSION.]

### GENERAL VIEW.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, DECEMBER 8, 1801,

*By message from the President of the United States, of which the following is an extract:*

"Among our Indian neighbors, also, a spirit of peace and friendship generally prevails, and I am happy to inform you, that the continued efforts to introduce among them the implements and the practice of husbandry, and the household arts, have not been without success; that they are become more and more sensible of the superiority of this dependence, for clothing and subsistence, over the precarious resources of hunting and fishing; and, already, we are able to announce, that, instead of that constant diminution of numbers, produced by their wars and their wants, some of them begin to experience an increase of population."

*A sketch of the present state of the objects under the charge of the principal agent for Indian affairs South of the Ohio.*

**THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.**—The Indians of the Creek agency have been prevailed on, by the agent, to conform, in a considerable degree, to his ideas on this subject. Once a year, and generally in the month of May, the towns are invited by the agent to send a deputation, to meet on a given day, to compose a national council. To this council the agent makes a report of the state of the nation, suggests his ideas of what is proper for them to do, and applies for compensation and satisfaction for offences committed in violation of their treaty stipulations with us.

The number of deputies who attend cannot hitherto be restrained to a given number, but they seldom exceed five or six from a town. At first, it required a continued attention to the chiefs, to make them comprehend the utility of such a plan, and the necessity of carrying its decisions into effect. Heretofore, every town, tribe, or family, provided its own regulations, and those of a general tendency were left to the government of public agents, who used temporary expedients only; among the most powerful and persuasive of which were the pressure of fear from without and presents.

The council appoint a speaker, who remains in office without limitation as to time. All propositions are debated until they are agreed to or postponed; the agreement is called the will of the nation, and is expressed by the speaker, publicly, to all the chiefs, and to the agent for Indian affairs, who records such parts as interest any of their neighbors, red or white.

The council, when convened, sit night and day; the public buildings is their place of lodging as well as business, and they debate as much in the night as in the day. They lie down, when they are sleepy; when hungry they eat; and when any thing important is under debate they attend to it.

The agent furnishes beef, corn, beans, and salt, and the town where the council meet, furnishes butchers, cooks, and waiters. The expense of a meeting is something less than four hundred dollars. I doubt not, in a few years, it will be a useful instrument to approximate them to a more civilized state, and give the United States a more commanding influence over them. One of the interpreters and assistants to the agent, a half breed and chief of the land, remains constantly in the council during their sitting, and the agent has a right to enter and speak when he pleases.

**Raising of stock.**—This is more relished by the Creeks than any part of the plan devised for their civilization. They are now eagerly acquiring cattle, by every means in their power. The country is a fine range for them, summer and winter; every town has some acquired, mostly during the Revolutionary war between the United States and Great Britain, by the traders, Tories, (here a banditti of plunderers) or by the war parties of Indians. Cattle, till lately, were not held in much estimation; but since the failure of supplies from hunting, they are resorted to, as the substitute, and bear a pretty good price. Cows and calves are rated at ten dollars, and steers for beef, by age, at two dollars and fifty cents per year. The country is fine for hogs, but the want of fences, scarcity of corn, from the present state of agriculture, and inattention of the Indians, both of which is necessary to keep them from running wild, and being too much infested with wolves, tigers, and wild cats, is for the present a bar to their increase. Horses are in general use, but small; liable, within a few years, to a distemper, called here the yellow water. The agent has, the last winter, introduced some sheep; they are in the care of an assistant and interpreter, a half breed, and promise to do well. There is another flock, the property of Mr. Barnard, an assistant and interpreter, among the Lower Creeks, of several years standing, which increase fast, and have fine wool. He has goats, also, which do well. Stock of all kinds require salt, except where they have moss or cypress ponds, or are within sixty miles of the sea coast.

**Agriculture.**—The improvements in this are slowly progressive. The agent has prevailed on several of the towns, who had exhausted the lands in their neighborhood by culture, to settle out in villages; this practice is increasing, and all of them fence their fields. There has been a demand this season for plows, and seventy have been issued out of those sent by the Secretary of War, and fifty of them are in use by Indians. There is a nursery of peach trees in the Lower Creeks, and one has been lately established among the Upper Creeks: and the Indians begin to accept of, and to plant them: nearly five thousand have been raised and distributed since the arrival of the agent. The nurseries are increased, and will be kept up to the demand; they are hitherto raised by the agent and his assistants, without any expense to the agency. Cotton is raised in several places, but in small quantities, by Indians; it does well throughout the agency. The green seed is in general use, and well suited to the northern half of the agency; and the sea island cotton, from two successive experiments, promises to do well on the southern half. Some cotton has been sent to market. Flax does well, and the next season will be cultivated in several places. There is much rich swamp land, fine for it, and sufficiently dry in the season, for its growth. Wheat, barley, rye, and oats, have been introduced, and fairly tried. The three first do well; but the springs being generally dry, oats have failed. The early white and brown wheat is ripe by the middle of May. Apple trees, grape vines, raspberries, and the roots, herbs, and vegetables, usually cultivated in good gardens, have lately been introduced, and they all thrive well.

**Manufactures.**—The present spring, the agent has delivered to Indian women, one hundred pair cotton cards, and eighty spinning wheels. There are eight looms in the nation, four of them wrought by Indian or half breed women, and the remainder by white women. There is a woman employed as an assistant, to teach the Indian women to spin and weave, and the agent has appointed, as a temporary assistant, a young Englishman, from a manufactory in Stockport, in England, who can make looms and spinning wheels, and every thing appertaining to them, and he understands weaving. He will in a few days have a ninth loom set up, at the residence of the agent. The women have this spring adopted this part of the plan with spirit, and have promised to follow the directions of the agent with exactitude. Three Indian women of one family, who have been spinning for two years only, have clothed themselves well, and acquired some hogs and cattle; are proud of the exertions they have made, and are, by their conduct, a stimulus to their country women. One of the looms, and two of the spinning wheels, in use, were made by an Indian chief, for his own family.

The chiefs, who were apprehensive, at first, that, if their women could clothe and feed themselves by their own exertions they would become independent of the degraded state of connexion between them, have had proofs that the link is more firm in proportion, as the women are more useful, and occupied in domestic concerns.

Oil, of hickory nut and acorns, was in use in small quantities among the Indians, as an article of food. In the year 1797, the agent, finding that the hickory trees were mixed through the waving land, and abounded on the flats, made an effort to encourage this manufacture; he offered three fourths of a dollar a quart for the oil that should be made that year, of hickory nuts, and could procure a few bottles only. In 1798 he received eight gallons. In 1799 he purchased thirty gallons, and the last winter he fixed the price at one dollar a gallon, and the manufacture has increased to three hundred gallons, actually delivered for market. Some has been sent to Mobile, and sold at two dollars, and a trader is now descending the Alabama, on his way to New Orleans, with a pass from the agent, with two hundred and forty gallons of the oil.

The process of making this oil is simple, and susceptible of improvement. The nuts are dried and pounded up, then put into boiling water, stirred up for a while, set by, from the fire; the oil rises to the top, is brushed off with feathers, and then boiled. The black jack acorn is the best of the acorn oil, and in more estimation, among the Indians, than the hickory nut oil. Coarse earthen pots and pans, garters, ornamented with beads, basket sifters, and fans, ingeniously made, of split cane, and moccasins, close the list of their manufactures.

*Precautions preventative of the commission of crimes, in aid of the exertions of the old chiefs.*

In the fall season, every hunting party, in going out, report themselves to the head-men of the town, and one of them is appointed the chief, to be answerable for the conduct of his companions. In all practicable cases, the chief applies to the agent, states the intention of his party, and receives a certificate of the fact, recommending him to the friendly attention of such white people as he may meet; and, on the return of the party in the spring, a report is made to the agent, by all these chiefs, in person, by some of their companions, or by some of their towns people, stating where they have been; what they have seen, and what they have done. This is a very important regulation;

it gives the agent a correct view of occurrences throughout the extended range of the hunters, and enables him, with inconceivable speed, to prevent or correct crimes or abuses. In further aid, the sale of horses has an additional corrective to "the special licence" to buy. All Indians having horses to sell are now bound to report them to the agent, and receive from him a certificate, describing the horse, naming the owner, and that the property is good. So far, this regulation seems infallible on the Indian side, and would be so, but, on the white side, the practice does not correspond with the law. The people on the frontiers purchase horses from the Indians without special license, and without asking any thing about the true owner. Horses found on the Indian lands, near the plantations of their owners, are frequently taken up by the Indians, carried across the river, and sold for a small part of their value only, and the Indians frequently report those sales to the agent, describing the horse, where taken up, and where sold, and this has, in several instances, enabled the agent to give information which has directed the true owner to the discovery of his horse. As no aid has hitherto been furnished by my fellow-citizens on the northeastern frontier, to correct this abuse, no prosecutions have taken place, for the want of that proof which they could give.

*Trade.*—Since the death of Mr. Price, pro-agent of war, there has been no licence renewed, as, from my instructions, the agent of war in Georgia was to grant them. All the licences granted by Mr. Price have long since expired, and this has been thrice repeated by me, to the Secretary of War, without receiving any directions. As soon as the licences expired, the agent passed a general regulation for the traders to continue their trade, notwithstanding, until further advised by him.

As the factor for the United States at fort Wilkinson, was not authorized to trade in cattle and hogs, the agent has given permits to people, recommended to him to be of good character, to trade for cattle and hogs only, and these permits are limited to the annual season for beef and pork. This regulation was deemed indispensable, as the want of dealers in cattle and hogs, and of course a market for them, deranged our plan of civilization in one of the most important parts of it.

*Public Establishments.*—There are two: one among the Lower, and the other among the Upper Creeks. The two blacksmiths, promised under the 8th article of the treaty of Coleraine, reside at them. The smiths are instructed to mend only, and not make any thing but by order of the agent. In the spring they are restricted to implements of husbandry, and at other seasons they attend equally to any work brought them. White people pay for their work, and this constitutes a small fund for coal, wood, and small articles wanted in the shops, and is reserved for that purpose. The smiths receive each twenty six dollars per month and the value of one ration per day, at the contract price on the frontiers; and the strikers ten dollars per month, and the value of a ration a day, paid quarterly.

*The manner of administering justice.*—When the national council are convened, all the white people are ordered to attend on a given day. Three of the most respectable are appointed by the agent to hear and decide on all cases between white people, with the right of appeal to him. In all cases between a white man and an Indian, the agent hears and decides himself. The judgments have hitherto been carried into effect, without doing more than giving them to the parties, and without costs. But, to render this mode complete, there must be an officer appointed to carry the judgments into effect, and provision must be made to punish thefts, &c. all of which should proceed from the legislative provision of our Government.

*Expenditures in the Creek Agency.* The pay of the agent is fixed by the Secretary of War; and a sum limited for the assistants, which is assigned to them by the agent. The limitation has in no instance been exceeded. Quarterly, an estimate is made, specifying the precise objects of expenditure; the contingencies certified by a gentleman who pays them, on the order of the agent, and duplicates of the whole signed by the agent; one of which is sent on to the Secretary of War, on whom a bill is drawn, as heretofore advised, at ten days' sight, in favor of the United States' factor, for the amount. In some cases, and not unfrequently, the principal part of contingencies is paid by the agent, out of the stipend allowed by the United States to the Creeks—such as the keeping of warriors among the Seminoles to watch their movements, the apprehending and punishing horse thieves, and in some instances, the premium of two dollars and fifty cents allowed for all horses delivered to the agent, where it is ascertained that they were stolen by Indians, (except the thief informs against himself) twelve dollars and fifty cents allowed for the delivery of runaway negroes, where it has been ascertained that they have been induced to do so by Indians, and the sending runners to the neighboring Indians, on affairs relative solely to Indians.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

7th CONGRESS.]

No. 92.

[1st Session.]

### CHEROKEES, CHICKASAWS, CHOCTAWS, AND CREEKS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 23, 1801.

Gentlemen of the Senate:

The States of Georgia and Tennessee being peculiarly interested in our carrying into execution the two acts passed by Congress on the 19th of February, 1799, and 13th May, 1800, commissioners were appointed early in summer, and other measures taken for the purpose. The objects of these laws requiring meetings with the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Creeks, the enclosed instructions were prepared for the proceedings with the three first nations. Our applications to the Cherokees failed altogether. Those to the Chickasaws produced the treaty now laid before you for your advice and consent, whereby we obtained permission to open a road of communication with the Mississippi territory: the commissioners are, probably, at this time, in conference with the Choctaws. Further information having been wanting, when these instructions were formed, to enable us to prepare those respecting the Creeks, the commissioners were directed to proceed with the others. We have now reason to believe the conferences with the Creeks cannot take place till the spring.

The journals and letters of the commissioners, relating to the subject of the treaty now enclosed, accompany it.

TH: JEFFERSON.

December 22, 1801.

*A treaty of reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience, between the United States of America and the Chickasaws.*

The President of the United States of America, by James Wilkinson, Brigadier General in the service of the United States, Benjamin Hawkins, of North Carolina, and Andrew Pickens, of South Carolina, commissioners of the United States, who are vested with full powers, and the Mingo, principal men, and warriors, of the Chickasaw nation, representing the said nation, have agreed to the following articles:

ART. 1. The Mingo, principal men, and warriors, of the Chickasaw nation of Indians, give leave and permission to the President of the United States of America, to lay out, open, and make, a convenient wagon road through their land, between the settlements of Mero district, in the State of Tennessee, and those of Natchez, in the Mississippi territory, in such way and manner as he may deem proper; and the same shall be a highway for the citizens of the United States, and the Chickasaws. The Chickasaws shall appoint two discreet men to serve as assistants, guides, or pilots, during the time of laying out and opening the road, under the direction of the officer charged with that duty, who shall have a reasonable compensation for their service: Provided, always, that the necessary ferries

*Southern  
Highway  
Removal  
Roads*

over the water courses, crossed by the said roads, shall be held and deemed to be the property of the Chickasaw nation.

ART. 2. The commissioners of the United States give to the Mingo of the Chickasaws, and the deputation of that nation, goods to the value of seven hundred dollars, to compensate him and them, and their attendants, for the expense and inconvenience they may have sustained, by their respectful and friendly attention to the President of the United States of America, and to the request made to them in his name, to permit the opening of the road. And as the persons, towns, villages, lands, hunting grounds, and other rights and property of the Chickasaws, as set forth in the treaties or stipulations heretofore entered into between the contracting parties, more especially in and by a certificate of the President of the United States of America, under their seal of the first of July, 1794, are in the peace, and under the protection of the United States, the commissioners of the United States do hereby further agree, that the President of the United States of America shall take such measures, from time to time, as he may deem proper, to assist the Chickasaws to preserve, entire, all their rights against the encroachments of unjust neighbors, of which he shall be the judge; and also to preserve and perpetuate friendship and brotherhood between the white people and the Chickasaws.

ART. 3. The commissioners of the United States may, if they deem it advisable, proceed immediately to carry the first article into operation: and the treaty shall take effect, and be obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall have been ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, we, the plenipotentiaries, have hereunto subscribed our names and affixed our seals, at Chickasaw Bluffs, the twenty-fourth of October, 1801.

JAMES WILKINSON, *Brigadier General.* [L. s.]  
 BENJAMIN HAWKINS, [L. s.]  
 ANDREW PICKENS. [L. s.]

[Signed by the Mingo and sixteen of the principal men and warriors of the Chickasaw nation.]

*Instructions to William R. Davie, James Wilkinson, and Benjamin Hawkins, Esquires, Commissioners of the United States, to hold conferences, and sign a treaty, or treaties, with the several nations of Indians, herein mentioned.*

GENTLEMEN:

The President of the United States having appointed you commissioners, on the part of the United States, to hold conferences with several of the Indian nations, on the east side of the Mississippi river, south of the Ohio, and within the territory of the United States, and, as it is desirable that the negotiations on the several points to be treated of, should be commenced without unnecessary delay, it is the wish of the President, that you should assemble at the military post, at Southwest Point, in the State of Tennessee, on the first day of August next, then and there to confer, conformably with the following instructions, with such of the principal men of the Cherokee nation, as may meet you on the part of the said nation.

The objects of your negotiations, at that post, will be, to endeavor to obtain the consent of the Cherokees to the following proposals, viz:

*First.* That they cede to the United States all that part of the land now remaining to them, agreeably to the several treaties, made between them and the United States, which lies to the northward of a direct line, to be run from a point or place mentioned in the treaty of Tellico, of the 2d of October, 1798, on the Tennessee river, one mile above its junction with the Clinch, to the point at or near the head of the west fork of Stone's river, on the ridge which divides the waters of Cumberland from those of Duck river, which is struck by a southwest line from the point below where the Kentucky road crosses the Cumberland river, as described in the treaty of Holston.

*Second.* That the Tennessee river shall be the boundary from its mouth to the mouth of Duck river; that Duck river shall be the boundary, thence, to the mouth of Rock creek; and that a direct line shall be run, for a continuation of the boundary, from the mouth of Rock creek to the point on the ridge that divides the waters of the Cumberland from those of Duck river, as above described.

*Third.* That a road be opened, of which the citizens of the United States shall have a free and unmolested use, from the boundary line to a tract or parcel of land of five miles diameter, on the Tennessee river, below the Muscle shoals, at the mouth of Ocochappo, or Bear creek, reserved to the United States by the treaty, made at Hopewell, with the Chickasaws, and thence, towards Natchez, (with permission to establish two or three white families on said road) to the commencement of the Choctaws' claim.

*Fourth.* Should the Indians refuse to cede to the United States any of the lands above designated, you will endeavor to prevail upon them to cede all the land that lies northward of the road, from the Knoxville to the Nashville settlements, run conformably to the treaty of 1791, or, if they should be unwilling to grant this, a strip of land, from one to five miles in width, to include the said road, in its whole extent, across their lands.

Should you not succeed in attaining the first object of your mission, you will endeavor to procure the consent of the Indians to our establishing three or four white families at such points on the road, across their lands, from the Knoxville to the Nashville settlements, which they granted to the use of the United States, by the treaty of 1791, as the United States may designate.

Should you succeed or fail in attaining the first and second objects, you will, nevertheless, endeavor to procure the consent of the Indians to the third, viz: for opening a road from the boundary to the Tennessee, and thence onward, as above mentioned.

On obtaining the consent of the Indians to the three first above stated proposals, or the alternatives marked "fourth," you are authorized to engage, that the United States shall pay to them, annually, in goods suitable for their use, the sum of one thousand dollars, in addition to the annuities now paid them, and a sum not exceeding five thousand dollars, immediately, in cash, or such goods as they may designate.

For their consent to the two above stated less important objects, viz: the establishing three or four white families on the road across their lands, and the opening the road from the boundary line to the Tennessee, and thence to the commencement of the Choctaws' claim, (to the latter of which, the consent of the Chickasaws may also be necessary, as hereinafter mentioned) you are authorized to engage, on behalf of the United States, that the United States shall pay the Indians such moderate sum as you may judge expedient.

It is to be observed, that, by the treaty above quoted, made at Hopewell, on the Keowee, 10th of January, 1786, with the Chickasaws, the United States have a reservation of a tract or parcel of land for the establishment of a trading post on (though not mentioned in the treaty doubtless) the Tennessee river, at the mouth of Ocochappo, or Bear creek, to be laid out in a circle, the diameter of which shall be five miles on the said river. It is presumed that it must have been understood, that the United States should be entitled to a road to and from the said post, as, without such right, the reservation would be of no use.

It is stated, that both the Cherokee and Chickasaw nations claim the land on both sides of the Tennessee river, for a considerable distance; if this be correct, the consent of the Chickasaws to the opening the said road must be obtained, as well as that of the Cherokees.

When you shall have terminated your discussions with the Cherokees, you will please to proceed, in such way as you shall deem most advisable, to the Chickasaw bluffs, to endeavor to obtain from the principal men of the Chickasaw nation, who may meet you there, the consent of the nation to opening the above described road, and to establishing two or more white families on it.

After completing your negotiation with the Chickasaws, you will proceed to Natchez, to hold a treaty with the Choctaws. The Choctaws may be considered one of the most powerful nations of Indians within the limits of the United States; and a pacific and friendly disposition in and towards them should be cultivated, as well from principles of policy as of humanity.



All fair and proper means should be exerted to evince to them a really friendly disposition on the part of the Government of the United States, and to fortify their minds against the artful and mischievous insinuations and practices of adventurers, who, too frequently, obtrude themselves into their and other nations. It is of importance that the Indian nations generally within the United States should be convinced of the certainty in which they may, at all times, rely upon the friendship of the United States, and that the President will never abandon them, or their children, whilst their conduct towards the citizens of the United States and their Indian neighbors shall be peaceable, honest, and fair.

It must be observed, that the Choctaws received, in the course of the last year, from the Government of the United States, presents to the amount of two thousand dollars, and that an appropriation of the like sum has been made for the same purpose for the present year, although that nation have no claim to such a grant, founded on any treaty or authorized agreement. It was understood that they had taken some expression of Mr. Ellicot's for a promise to this effect, and it may be proper and politic to continue making them an annual grant, perhaps of the same sum; but it must be impressed on their minds, that they have given not only no equivalent, but actually nothing at all for it; that they are indebted for what they have received to the generosity of the United States, and not to their justice; that the grants must be viewed as presents, and not as compensation; that they may be continued or discontinued at the pleasure of the United States, without giving the Choctaws a right to claim the one, or complain of the other; and that it might be proper for them to grant a something, though an equivalent be not asked in return.

It is stated that the citizens of the Mississippi territory have been subjected to some vexations by the great number of Indians encamped among them at the distribution of those presents. You will inquire into the propriety of having all future distributions made within the Indian boundary.

In addition to the explanation and enforcement of the conciliatory disposition and friendly intentions of the United States, you will endeavor to obtain the consent of the Choctaws with reference to the above mentioned views of the presents which they have received, to our opening a road from the point, where the road from the reserved circle shall strike their land through their country to the Natchez, and permission for three or four white families to settle on the said road within their country, for the accommodation of travellers and our post riders, on such reasonable conditions as you may deem proper.

On Dunbar's map, a line is run northward from the 31st degree of north latitude, near the 91st degree of west longitude from Greenwich, the lands between which and the Mississippi, were, heretofore, ceded to the British Government. Although no doubt exists of this fact, it may be impolitic to require from the Choctaws a direct acknowledgment of it; you will, however, consider, and speak of it as indubitable; and endeavor, indirectly, to draw from them an acknowledgment of its authenticity. This they will not refuse, unless they should believe a doubt to exist of it in our minds.

To confirm a pacific and friendly disposition in the Indian tribes, generally, towards the United States, should, at all times, be considered an important object, and is recommended as such to your best exertions; and the result of inquiries into the present state of society among them, made with the advantages which you will possess whilst in their countries, with a view of ascertaining the effects of the measures pursued by our Government towards them, will be highly useful.

In all your negotiations under these instructions, you will pay the strictest attention to the disposition manifested by the Indians, on the several points to which you are to draw their assent. The ill humor which propositions for further cessions sometimes awaken in them, may be, in a greater or lesser degree, excited by those which you are herein charged with making.

It will, therefore, be incumbent on you to introduce the desires of the Government, in such a manner as will permit you to drop them, as you may find them illy received, without giving the Indians an opportunity to reply with a decided negative, or raising in them unfriendly and inimical dispositions.

You will state none of them in the tone of demands; but, in the first instance, merely mention them as propositions which you are authorized to make, and their assent to which, the Government would consider as new testimonials of their friendship. From the manner in which they shall receive your first overtures, you will be enabled to judge with what prospect of success you may press the respective points committed to you.

Measures have been taken for furnishing, at the several times and places at which conferences are to be held, provisions for yourselves and your attendants, as well as the necessary quantities of goods for the Indians, with whom the several above mentioned negotiations are to be entered into, and for supplying with rations such of them as may attend; the distribution of all these will be made under your directions, and additional quantities of goods, in the event of your success, may be had from the factory at Tellico; the contractor for those districts, Alexander D. Orr, Esquire, is directed to furnish you, on your requisitions, with such other articles as you may need for yourselves and attendants, or additional quantities of rations for the Indians.

Your compensation will be eight dollars per day, from the date of your leaving your respective homes until your return, and all your necessary expenses will be reimbursed by the Government.

Given under my hand, and the seal of the War Office of the United States, at Washington, this twenty-fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one.

HENRY DEARBORN, *Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 3, 1801.

GENTLEMEN:

Having been mistaken as to some part of the line between the Cherokees and the white people, the President, on further reflection, has thought proper to direct, that the second object of your conference with the Cherokees, viz: the alteration of the boundary line from the Ohio, between the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, should be suspended, and you will consider that part of your instructions suspended accordingly, as well in its relation to the Cherokees as the Chickasaws; and, as by information lately received, it is evident that the Cherokees have testified much dissatisfaction, on hearing that the Government were about to request them to cede more land, it is the wish of the President that you should treat the subject with great tenderness, and that you should not *press* them on any other subjects than those which relate to roads, and settlers thereon. You will impress upon them the belief, that the United States have no desire to purchase any of their land, unless they are quite willing to sell; that we are not in want of lands, but only wish to be accommodated with such roads as are necessary to keep up a communication with all parts of the United States, without trespassing on the lands of the red people.

It is suggested, that the Indians will oppose our request for opening roads, for the two following reasons: that their cattle and horses will travel too far from home in such roads, and be driven away, and stolen by the white people, who may travel on said roads.

To obviate these objections, it may be proper to agree, on the part of the United States, that no white people shall be allowed to travel on the road to Natchez, except such as shall have procured passes from our agents at Tennessee and at Natchez, which passes shall be countersigned by the men who may be stationed at the several houses to be established on the roads, and that gates shall be erected at some of the bridges on that road, and maintained by the United States, to prevent the horses and cattle of the Indians from straying far from home.

I am, gentlemen, &c.

HENRY DEARBORN, *Secretary of War.*

WILLIAM R. DAVIE,  
JAMES WILKINSON, and  
BENJAMIN HAWKINS, Esqrs.

P. S. Please to correct an error in the first section of your instructions, by inserting the word "below," between the words, "from the point," and "where the Kentucky road," &c.

NOTE.—William R. Davie, Esq. named in the preceding instructions, having declined accepting the appointment, Andrew Pickens was appointed to fill the vacancy.



To James Wilkinson, Benjamin Hawkins, and Andrew Pickens, Esquires.

*Removed*

GENTLEMEN:

Your negotiations at fort Wilkinson, in Georgia, with the Creek nation of Indians, will be directed to the subjects, and agreeably to the instructions following, viz:

1st. You will endeavor to obtain from the Creeks a cession to the United States of the district of territory in Georgia, known by the name of Tallassee county; this will be your primary object; and as it is considered of great importance, you are authorized to engage that the United States will pay them, for their consent to such a cession, a sum not exceeding twelve thousand dollars, and an annuity, in addition to that at present paid them, in cash, or such goods suitable for their use, as they may designate, to the amount of, not exceeding two thousand dollars.

It is left to your discretion to increase or decrease the immediate payment, or the annuity, in proportion to these sums, as will be most agreeable to the Indians.

2d. You will ascertain whether the consent of the Creeks can be obtained, to cede to the United States the tract of land, lying between the Oakmulgee and Oconee rivers, and commonly called the Oakmulgee fork; and if attainable, on what terms. You will make report of the result of your inquiries on this subject, but decline entering into any engagement, until you shall receive further instructions.

3d. By the treaty of August 7th, 1790, a mode was agreed upon between the Creeks and the United States, by which the head or source of the main south branch of the Oconee river should be ascertained, and a decision has been had accordingly, whether correctly or incorrectly, is a matter of doubt. But certain persons, among whom is a Colonel Wofford, had previously settled near the Currahee mountain, on lands which, they state, they have great reason to believe, would have fallen within the United States' line, if it had been run to the true head, or source of the main south branch of the Oconee aforesaid. By the decision, their settlements are at the mercy of the Indians, and it is desirable that you should use your endeavors to prevail upon the Indians so far to change the present line as to include the settlements of Colonel Wofford, and those in his immediate vicinity, within the United States, for such reasonable sum as you may think proper.

It may be worthy of observation, that the deputation from the Cherokee nation, lately at the seat of Government, stated that the Cherokees had claims to the last mentioned lands. In cases of controversies between the Indians, respecting the divisional lines of their countries, it must always be difficult for us to ascertain the validity of their respective claims, and inadvisable for us to interfere, except in cases like the present.

You will be pleased, if by you considered of sufficient consequence, to investigate the subject, by making such inquiries, among the Cherokees as well as the Creeks, as will lead to a true knowledge of their respective rights to the lands in question.

The Creeks being a powerful and proud nation, and great jealousies having at different times arisen between them and the frontier inhabitants, all prudent means in your power should be exerted to reconcile them, and to remove every obstacle to their mutual friendship; and every assurance of the protection and friendship of the President, which you were authorized to make to the other Indian nations, should be tendered to the Creeks also. The information which you may obtain relative to the conduct and views of Bowles, may enable you to fortify the minds of the Creeks against his mischievous prospects, if he should continue at-large in their vicinity.

A quantity of goods for the Indians, and articles for your own use, will be forwarded to Mr. Joseph Clay, at Savannah, from whence they may be easily conveyed to fort Wilkinson; in the event of your success, additional quantities of goods will be transmitted immediately, to fulfil your engagements.

[L. s.] Given under my hand, and the seal of the War Office, at Washington, the 17th day of July, A. D. 1801.

H. DEARBORN, Secretary of War.

CHICKASAW BLUFFS, October 25th, 1801.

SIR:

We arrived here on the 18th instant, and on the 21st we commenced our conference, with a full and respectable deputation from the Chickasaw nation, headed by their Mingo or king.

We found this people, like all others of their kind, under similar circumstances—jealous of our views, and alarmed for their rights of territory; but their confidence in Government had not been shaken, and we experienced little difficulty in accomplishing the treaty which we have the honor to transmit you, under cover, for the consideration of the President and the Senate.

Perceiving the deputation to be strongly opposed to the proposition to introduce licensed establishments on the road, for the accommodation of travellers, we waived that point, without hesitation, because we are persuaded such accommodations will be provided by the natives themselves, or by the whites who have been admitted among them, as soon as the highway is completed.

We enclose you the minutes of our conference, for the satisfaction of the Executive, and, also, an inventory of the goods delivered on the occasion, taken from an invoice of articles, amounting to two thousand six hundred and ninety-six dollars, which, with two hundred gallons of whiskey, and one thousand pounds of tobacco, comprehends all the goods and merchandise we have yet received for the purposes of the commission.

To aid and inform the officers who may superintend the construction of the proposed road, and to prevent misunderstandings, we have advised that two Indians, recommended by the deputation, should be employed to attend those officers until the guide line is established, and that the resident agent of the nation should accompany them. We are also of opinion, that interpreters may be necessary with the working parties, until a clear understanding of our engagements with the nation may be generally diffused. It is easier to prevent difficulties with people jealous, tenacious, and ignorant, than to remove them after their occurrence.

It seems fortunate the Cherokees did not consent to open a road from Nashville to the Tennessee, because we find the proposed route embraced by the limits of the Chickasaws, which have been clearly defined in that quarter, and explicitly recognised in a declaration of President Washington, bearing date the 1st July, 1794, now in possession of the nation, and corresponding with the authentic copy under cover, which has been furnished us by the Mingo. The whole deputation manifested great anxiety on this subject, and expressed a strong desire that we should acknowledge this declaration, and renew the assurances attached to it; and it was on this ground, to prevent distrust, and to evince the integrity of Government, that we entered into the stipulation contained in the second article, viewing it, in effect, as the mere repetition of an obligation which existed in full force.

We with pleasure bear testimony to the amicable and orderly disposition of this nation, whose greatest boast is, "that they have never spilt the blood of a white man;" but, with these dispositions, they are not so far advanced in the habits of civilization as their neighbors, the Cherokees, though they discover a taste for individual property, have made considerable progress in agriculture, and in stocking their farms, and are desirous to increase their domestic manufactures.

The enclosed schedule of their wants, which the deputation have requested us to submit to the Executive, strongly marks their views and their providence. "We are about to raise cotton," said a chief; "we shall want canoes to carry it to market, and adzes are necessary to build them." We, with great deference, submit these claims of the Chickasaws to the consideration of Government, and, were it not presumptuous, we would earnestly recommend to the councils of our country, a steady perseverance in that humane and beneficent system, which has for its object the civilization, and consequent salvation, of a devoted race of human beings. The prospects of success become daily more flattering, but, to ensure it, an extension of the means, and a reform in the application, may become necessary.

It occurs to us, that it may be salutary to compel all white persons who traverse the Chickasaw country, to confine themselves to the highway proposed to be opened, for which end, the authority of the National Legislature may be found expedient.

We have taken measures to convene the Choctaws at Loftus' Heights, on the grounds of convenience and economy to the public, and of accommodation to the inhabitants, and we expect to meet them in council about the 20th proximo.

With perfect respect, we are, sir, your obedient, humble servants,

J. A. WILKINSON.  
BENJAMIN HAWKINS.  
ANDREW PICKENS.

The Hon. HENRY DEARBORN, *Secretary of War.*

*Minutes of a conference, held at the Chickasaw Bluffs, by General James Wilkinson, Benjamin Hawkins, and Andrew Pickens, Esquires, Commissioners of the United States; with the king, chiefs, and principal men, of the Chickasaw nation, on the 21st, and concluding on the 24th of October, eighteen hundred and one.*

The parties being assembled, the following address was delivered by General Wilkinson, on the part of the commissioners:

*King, Chiefs, and Principal Men, of the Chickasaw nation:*

You are now addressed by commissioners from the United States, who have been appointed by your father, the President, to meet you in council, and to confer with you on subjects interesting to your own welfare, and to that of the citizens of the United States.

BROTHERS: Your father, the President, takes you by the hand, and invites you to look up to him as your friend and father; to rely in full confidence on his unvarying disposition to lead and protect you in the paths of peace and prosperity, and to preserve concord between you and your white brethren, within the United States.

BROTHERS: We invite you to state to us freely, the situation of your nation, and what you wish on the part of your father, the President, to better your condition, in trade, in agriculture, and in manufactures, that we may state the same for the consideration of Government. We invite you to open your minds freely to us, and to set forth your wishes and all your wants. When we hear from you the true state of your affairs, we shall be able to assist you with our advice, our attention, and our friendship.

BROTHERS: On the part of your white brethren, we have to represent to you, that the path from the settlements of Natchez (through your nation) to those of Cumberland, is an uncomfortable one, and very inconvenient to them in its present unimproved condition; and we are directed to stipulate with you, to make it suitable to the accommodation of those who may use it, and at the same time beneficial to yourselves.

We are your friends, and the representatives of your father, the President.

After some explanations as to the accommodation to be established on the road, Major Colbert, a chief, observed, that no answer could be given to day; that they would have to consult with each other, and when they had made up their minds, they would speak to the commissioners.

October 22.—The council being convened, Major Colbert requested the commissioners to explain fully the views of the President, with respect to the road, which was accordingly done. The Indians then went into a discussion of the subject among themselves. The commissioners being about to withdraw, Major Colbert observed, the Indians wished to settle the business as soon as possible. After some time spent in deliberation, in their own language, the king spoke as follows:

I am very glad to hear the commissioners hold such language, that does not require the cession of land, or any thing of that kind. I consider the propositions to be made for the benefit of my women and children.

Major Colbert, being fully empowered by the council, gave its determination in the following words:

The nation agrees, that a wagon road may be cut through its land, but does not consent to the erection of houses for the accommodation of travellers. We leave that subject to future consideration, in order that time may enable our people to ascertain the advantages to be derived from it. In the mean time, travellers will always find provisions in the nation, sufficient to carry them through.

The council then adjourned.

October 24.—The council met, and the treaty being deliberately read and interpreted, by sentences and paragraphs, was signed by the contracting parties.

JAMES WILKINSON,  
BENJAMIN HAWKINS,  
ANDREW PICKENS.

*Invoice of goods delivered the Chickasaw nation, agreeably to treaty, the 24th of October, 1801,*

200 lbs. Rifle Powder,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 60 00
500 lbs. Lead,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40 80
1000 Gun Flints,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10 00
2 pieces Stroud,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40 00
40 Blankets,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	59 20
100 Shirts,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	136 00
6 Rifles,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	84 00
30 Axes,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26 00
36 Hoes,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22 00
1 dozen black silk Handkerchiefs,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12 80
2 pieces Calico, 28½ yards, a 2s. 6d.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9 50
2 pieces Pulicats, a 35s. 7½d.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8 16
2 dozen Scalping Knives, a 15s.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 00
50 gallons Whiskey, a 50 cents,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25 00
5 kegs for do. a 50 cents,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 50
200 lbs. Tobacco, a \$6 25,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12 50
1 piece grey Coating, 22 yards, a 6s. 6d.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38 50
1 piece striped do. (No. 4.) 47 yards, a 8s. 6d.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	53 25
3 Rifles,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	42 00
								696 21
								6
								\$702 21

Add one gun,

6

\$702 21

JAMES WILKINSON,  
BENJAMIN HAWKINS,  
ANDREW PICKENS.

MISSISSIPPI, CHICKASAW BLUFFS, *October 27, 1801.*

SIR:

The Chickasaws having agreed we should open the proposed road, I have issued the necessary orders to Colonel Butler, and have ordered eight companies of the 2d regiment of infantry, to ascend the Tennessee, as soon as water craft can be provided. I expect four companies will be in motion soon after my orders reach the cantonment, as I have directed the corps to proceed in two divisions, for the sake of despatch.

I find, on inquiry, and from observation, that the route by Bear creek is an improper one, as the bottoms, on both sides the Tennessee, are inundated for a considerable distance during the floods, and the ground over which it passes, is hilly and much broken. I am, at the same time, informed by Major Colbert, that a good way, and a good crossing, may be found a little further to the eastward, which will shorten the distance.

I have, for these reasons, and to secure a correspondence in the operations of the several cutting parties, with the advice of the commissioners, employed the agent of the Chickasaw nation, Mr. Samuel Mitchell, with two confidential Indians, to commence at the Indian boundary, north of the Tennessee river, and to mark a guide line through the Chickasaw country, by which, the superintending officers are to be governed in their course; this will involve some expense, but it is certainly necessary, and, in my opinion, it will be profitable, as it will secure a uniform course over the best ground, and will obviate the effects of dissension, caprice, or incapacity, among the officers in command, at the several points of operation. But, you may rest assured, that neither this, nor any other expense, shall be extended a dollar beyond the limits of utility and propriety.

We leave this place to-morrow, and expect to be in conference with the Choctaws about the 20th proximo, at Loftus' Heights, our barrier post on this river; and should they accede to the proposition for opening the road, of which I have no doubt, six companies will be put to work at the skirts of the settlements of Natchez, under the command of Colonel Gaither.

I am perplexed by Colonel Hawkins' idea, of the impracticability of assembling the Creeks before the spring; but, should this be the case, I will endeavor to avail myself of the interval, personally to inspect the beginnings of the several working parties, and to examine the route which may be surveyed and marked by Mr. Mitchell.

The garrison of one company at this place is remarkably healthy. I have heard, casually, of the death of Captain Smith, of the 3d regiment, at the barrier post, but have understood that the troops enjoyed health.

With perfect respect and regard, I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,

JAS. WILKINSON.

The Hon. HENRY DEARBORN, *Secretary of War.*

7th CONGRESS.]

No. 93.

[1st SESSION.]

## TRADE.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, JANUARY 28, 1802.

*Gentlemen of the Senate**and of the House of Representatives:*

I lay before you the accounts of our Indian trading houses, as rendered up to the 1st day of January, 1801, with a report of the Secretary of War thereon, explaining the effects and the situation of that commerce, and the reasons in favor of its further extension; but it is believed, that the act authorizing this trade expired so long ago as the 3d of March, 1799; its revival, therefore, as well as its extension, is submitted to the consideration of the Legislature.

The act regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, will also expire on the 3d day of March next. While on the subject of its continuance, it will be worthy the consideration of the Legislature, whether the provisions of the law inflicting on Indians, in certain cases, the punishment of death by hanging, might not permit its commutation into death by military execution; the form of punishment, in the former way, being peculiarly repugnant to their ideas, and increasing the obstacles to the surrender of the criminal.

These people are becoming very sensible of the baneful effects produced on their morals, their health, and existence, by the abuse of ardent spirits: and some of them earnestly desire a prohibition of that article from being carried among them. The Legislature will consider whether the effectuating that desire would not be in the spirit of benevolence and liberality, which they have hitherto practised towards these, our neighbors, and which has had so happy an effect towards conciliating their friendship. It has been found, too, in experience, that the same abuse gives frequent rise to incidents tending much to commit our peace with the Indians.

It is now become necessary to run and mark the boundaries between them and us in various parts. The law last mentioned has authorized this to be done; but no existing appropriation meets the expense.

Certain papers explanatory of the grounds of this communication are herewith enclosed.

TH: JEFFERSON.

January 27, 1802.

AGENT FOR INDIAN FACTORIES' OFFICE,  
United States' Arsenal, on Schuylkill, November 11th, 1801. }

SIR:

I herewith enclose you a statement of the Indian factories' accounts up to the 1st of January, 1801, agreeably to returns received from the factories to that period. In June last, there was forwarded to the Georgia factory, an invoice of merchandise, amounting to five thousand five hundred and twelve dollars and seventy-six cents; at the same time, one to the Tellico factory, amounting to five thousand two hundred and ninety-seven dollars and thirty-three cents; also, the articles in the care of Colonel Meigs, which I have directed the factor to receive, agreeably to your orders, amounting to two thousand six hundred and fifty dollars and thirty-one cents. This is the season for their making the remittances of peltry, &c.

Mr. Wright informs, that the trade at fort Wilkinson is in a flourishing state, and that he has a much greater quantity of peltry to remit this winter, than he has ever had before at any one time. Accounts from Mr. Hooker, the factor at Tellico, are not so favorable; he observes, in his last letters, "business has been dull for some time past."

Agreeably to the within statements, there is an increase of capital, (including one-third advance on the original cost of the merchandise remaining at the factories) viz: of the Georgia factory's, fifteen thousand seven hundred and forty dollars and eighty-three cents; of Tellico factory's, three hundred and nine dollars and fifty-three cents; which increase, on account of both factories, would have been much greater, had the peltry been disposed of to advantage in Philadelphia. Instead of its having been sold as soon as received, while it was in good order, it has been deposited in Mr. Tybout's cellar, (the person to whom the sales were entrusted to be made) where a considerable part of it has been suffered to remain, until worm-eaten and rotten, and then sold for one half its original cost; and some, rendered entirely unfit for sale, has been thrown upon the common.

The great disproportion of gain between the two factories is owing to the mode of transportation to either place, as all the merchandise forwarded to Tellico, as well as the peltry received from there, are transported the whole of the way by land, at a high carriage; whereas, the remittances, to and from the Georgia factory, are shipped to Savannah, and from thence, forwarded to the factory by wagons, which route reduces the freight and land carriage of articles, to and from the latter place, to less than one-third of the cost of transportation, on account of the Tellico factory.

WILLIAM IRVINE.

Dr.		<i>Tellico Factory in account with United States.</i>		Cr.	
1801 Jan. 1	To amount merchandise purchased in Philadelphia, and forwarded to the factory, \$55,066 13			1801 Jan. 1	By nett sales of furs and peltries, received from the factory, from its first establishment to date, inclusive, per account of the same, rendered by A. Tybout, - - - \$42,976 69
	To amount merchandise purchased by David Henly, and amount drawn for, payable in Philadelphia, - - - 5,078 24				By amount of bills of exchange duly received and paid into the treasury, - - - 15,240 09
	To amount contingent expenses of the factory, defrayed at Philadelphia, - - - 19,860 59	\$60,144 37			By peltry remaining in the care of Andrew Tybout, estimated at - - - 4,981 73
	To amount of debts due by the factory, - - - 8,018 29				By merchandise remaining at the factory, at prime cost in Philadelphia, per inventory, - - - 10,171 74
	Profit and loss, nett gain, - - - 309 53				By peltry remaining at factory, - - - 676 22
					" cash " " " 1,977 66
					" furniture " " " 181 75
					" buildings, cost, and valued at 2,199 10
					" debts due the factory, - - - 6,515 22
					By one-third advance on merchandise remaining at the factory, inventoried at prime cost in Philadelphia, to cover amount transportation, &c. - - - 3,390 58
		\$88,322 78			\$88,322 78

UNITED STATES' ARSENAL, November 11, 1801.

Errors excepted.

WM. IRVINE.

Dr.		<i>Georgia Factory in account with United States.</i>		Cr.	
1801 Jan. 1	To amount of merchandise purchased in Philadelphia, and forwarded to the factory, - - - \$73,435 73			1801 Jan. 1	By amount nett sales of peltries received from the factory, from its first establishment to date, inclusive, per account of the same rendered by A. Tybout, - - - \$32,545 43
	To amount contingent expenses of the factory, paid in Philadelphia, - - - 15,219 90				By bills of exchange duly received and paid into the treasury, - - - 11,383 90
	To amount debts due by factory, - - - 2,108 56				By peltry remaining in the care of A. Tybout, - - - 1,084 00
	Profit and loss, nett gain, - - - 15,740 83				By merchandise from London, - - - 4,676 57
					By " remaining at the factory, per inventory, at prime cost in Philadelphia, - - - 23,874 96
					By peltry remaining at Savannah, - - - 4,000 00
					By debts due the factory, - - - 20,981 84
					By one-third advance on merchandise at the factory, inventoried at prime cost, - - - 7,958 32
		\$106,505 02			\$106,505 02

UNITED STATES' ARSENAL, November 11, 1801.

Errors excepted.

WM. IRVINE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, December 8, 1801.

The Secretary of War has the honor of submitting, for the consideration of the President of the United States, the following statement and observations on the subject of the establishment of trading-houses with the Indians, from a careful examination of which, it appears—

That Congress, in March, 1795, appropriated \$50,000, and in April, 1796, the additional sum of \$150,000, to be applied, under the direction of the President of the United States, to the purpose of carrying on trade with the Indian nations; and that, in consequence, one trading-house was opened on the frontiers of Georgia, and another on the boundary between the State of Tennessee and the Cherokee nation; that, for these objects, the sum of \$90,000 only, has yet been drawn from the treasury; and that the business of these two houses has been so managed, as, from the best information to be obtained, not only to save the original stock from diminution, but even to increase it about three or four per cent.

As far as the system has been carried into operation, it appears to have had a very salutary effect on the minds of the Indians, and there can be but little doubt remaining, but that a much more extensive distribution of the fund, among the several Indian nations, would be attended with all the good effects that were originally contemplated by the Government, and might be made without any diminution of the fund.

The several nations of Indians appear extremely desirous of participating in the advantages, which result from their being enabled to procure supplies, made under the immediate direction of the Government, from a confidence that they will be fairly and honestly dealt with, and that they will not so frequently be subjected to the inconveniences of travelling a great distance to an uncertain market, and of being imposed on in their dealings.

The intercourse which grows out of such establishments, has a powerful tendency towards strengthening and confirming the friendship of the Indians to the people and Government of the United States, and towards detaching them more and more from the influence of neighboring Governments.

All which is respectfully submitted.

H. DEARBORN.

*Extract of a letter from J. Edgar Esqr. relative to the execution of a Delaware Indian, dated at*

KASKASKIAS, November 20th, 1802.

"The information I allude to above, is, that about fifty Indians of the Delaware nation are assembled on the river Mississippi, and have declared that, if the prisoner should be hanged, they would kill every white man they met with. They appear to be dissatisfied chiefly with the mode of execution; our own Indians are also dissatisfied, and have uttered some murmurs; under those circumstances, I am of opinion, that the most prudent step we can take is to prepare ourselves for any thing that may happen."

*Extract from a talk delivered by the Little Turtle to the President of the United States, January 4th, 1802.*

"FATHER: Should this request be granted, nothing shall be wanting, on the part of your children, the chiefs, to introduce husbandry among their children, if the United States will furnish them with the proper utensils. But, father, nothing can be done to advantage unless the great council of the Sixteen Fires, now assembled, will prohibit any person from selling any spirituous liquors among their red brothers.

"FATHER: The introduction of this poison has been prohibited in our camps, but not in our towns, where many of our hunters, for this poison, dispose of, not only their furs, &c. but frequently of their guns and blankets, and return to their families destitute.

"FATHER: Your children are not wanting in industry; but it is the introduction of this fatal poison which keeps them poor. Your children have not that command over themselves, which you have, therefore, before any thing can be done to advantage, this evil must be remedied.

"FATHER: When our white brothers came to this land, our forefathers were numerous and happy; but, since their intercourse with the white people, and owing to the introduction of this fatal poison, we have become less numerous and happy."

7th CONGRESS.]

No. 94.

[1st SESSION.]

ST. REGIS AND SENEÇAS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, FEBRUARY 2, 1802,

*By message from the President of the United States, making sundry nominations, of which the following is an extract:*

"John Taylor, of New York, to be commissioner to hold a treaty between the State of New York, as explained in a letter from the Governor of New York, an abstract of which is enclosed; also, to be commissioner to hold a convention between the Seneca Indians and the agent of the Holland Land Company, for the purpose of reconveying to the Senecas, certain parcels of their former lands, as explained in a letter from the said agent, a copy of which is enclosed."

[EXTRACT, FROM THE WAR OFFICE.]

"His Excellency Governor Clinton, in his letter of the 26th of November last, addressed to the Secretary of War, states that the St. Regis tribe of Indians had proposed ceding a tract of land, one mile square, including a ferry, to the State of New York; to sanction which cession, he requests that a commissioner may be appointed, on the part of the United States, to attend at Albany, where the business would be closed the present winter."

PHILADELPHIA, 27th December, 1801.

SIR:

At a treaty held in the county of Ontario, and State of New York, under the authority of the United States, the 15th of September, 1797, by Jeremiah Wadsworth, Esq. a commissioner appointed by the President of the United States, the Seneca nation of Indians released their native rights in a tract of country, situate in the county of Ontario, and State of New York, to Robert Morris, Esq. of the city of Philadelphia, a large proportion of which is now vested in a certain association, or company, called the Holland Land Company, for whom I am the agent or attorney.

At this treaty, the Indians reserved the native right to certain tracts of country on which they now reside, the bounds of which are particularly defined in their deed of cession. Since the treaty, their reservations have been surveyed, and it is now alleged by them, that the lands intended to be reserved by them, are not wholly included within those bounds.

To promote the harmony which has hitherto subsisted between the Indians and the settlers on the adjoining lands, on a representation of the facts, I did not hesitate promising, that, if the Government assented to the exchange, I would execute a deed, confirming the bounds of their reservation, conformably to their wishes. This has tended to increase their anxiety, and they have actually executed a deed, and sent it to me, to be executed on the part of the Holland Land Company.

By referring to the act of Congress, of 3d of March, 1799, section 12, I find this conveyance would be of no validity, and that I should be transgressing the laws of the United States to execute the same, and, of course, incurring the penalties of that law. A letter written by me, directed to the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the nation, explaining my motives for delaying the execution of this deed, would probably not prove very satisfactory to them; and I am advised that the President of the United States, should it even meet his approbation, cannot, without a treaty being first held, give this conveyance effect. The only mode that I can then pursue, will be, to delay the

*Revised  
N.Y.*

delivery of this conveyance till a treaty is held. To satisfy the Indians in the interim, it would be useful to show that I had applied to Government to confirm this conveyance, but that the delivery of the same, until a treaty was held, would be incompatible with the laws of the United States.

If, on reflection, this course should appear proper to you, may I solicit you, in your official capacity, to communicate the same to me? Your letter I will immediately forward to the Indians, and I trust, it will be satisfactory to them.

With much consideration, I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

PAUL BUSTI.

The Hon. JAMES MADISON, *Secretary of State, Federal City.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 9th February, 1802.

SIR:

The Secretary of State has just put into my hand, your note of yesterday, in answer to which, I can only say, that the treaties alluded to are to be holden at the expense of the parties applying for them, and that I have no other information, respecting the wishes of the Indians, than that which is contained in the documents transmitted with the message.

I am, sir, with great respect, your most obedient servant,

H. DEARBORN.

Hon. URIAH TRACY, *Esquire.*

[7th CONGRESS.]

No. 95.

[1st Session.]

### CHEROKEES, CHICKASAWS, CHOCTAWS, AND CREEKS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 9, 1802.

*Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:*

In compliance with your resolution of the 2d instant, I have to inform you that, early in the preceding summer, I took measures for carrying into effect the act passed on the 19th of February, 1799, and that of the 13th of May, 1800, mentioned in your resolution. The objects of these acts were understood to be, to purchase from the Indians, south of the Ohio, some portions of land peculiarly interesting to the Union, or to particular States, and the establishment of certain roads to facilitate communication with our distant settlements: commissioners were accordingly appointed to treat with the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Creeks. As these nations are known to be very jealous on the subject of their lands, the commissioners were instructed, as will be seen by the enclosed extract, to enlarge, restrain, or even to suppress propositions, as appearances should indicate to be expedient. Their first meeting was with the Cherokees. The extract from the speech of our commissioners, and the answers of the Cherokee chiefs, will show the caution of the former, and the temper of the latter; and that, though our overtures to them were moderate, and respectful of their rights, their determination was, to yield no accommodation.

The commissioners proceeded then to the Chickasaws, who discovered, at first, considerable alarm and anxiety, lest land should be asked of them; a just regard for this very friendly nation, whose attachment to us has been inviolable, forbade the pressure of any thing disagreeable on them; and they yielded with alacrity, the road through their country, which was asked, and was essential to our communication with the Mississippi territory.

The conferences with the Choctaws are probably ended, but, as yet, we are not informed of their result; those with the Creeks are not expected to be held till the ensuing spring.

TH. JEFFERSON.

February 8, 1802.

*Extract from instructions given to William R. Davie, James Wilkinson, and Benjamin Hawkins, commissioners on the part of the United States, for holding conferences and signing a treaty or treaties with several Indian nations inhabiting the country east of the river Mississippi, and south of the river Ohio, within the territory of the United States.*

"In all your negotiations, under these instructions, you will pay the strictest attention to the disposition manifested by the Indians on the several points to which you are to draw their assent. The ill humor which propositions for further cessions sometimes awaken in them, may be, in a greater or lesser degree, excited by those which you are herein charged with making.

"It will, therefore, be incumbent on you to introduce the desires of the Government in such a manner as will permit you to drop them, as you may find them illy received, without giving the Indians an opportunity to reply with a decided negative, or raising in them unfriendly and inimical dispositions.

"You will state none of them in the tone of demands, but, in the first instance, merely mention them as propositions, which you are authorized to make, and their assent to which, the Government would consider as new testimonials of their friendship. From the manner in which they shall receive your first overtures, you will be enabled to judge with what prospect of success you may press the respective points committed to you."

*Extract from the speech of the commissioners of the United States to the chiefs of the Cherokees, assembled at Southwest Point, September 4th, 1801.*

BROTHERS:

Your white brethren, who live at the Natchez, at Nashville, and in South Carolina, are very far removed from each other, and have complained to your father, the President, that the roads by which they travel are narrow, and obstructed by fallen timber, with rivers and creeks, which prevent them from pursuing their lawful business, with his red children and with each other.

BROTHERS: To remove these difficulties, and to accommodate his red children, your father is desirous to open wide these roads; but, as they pass over the lands of his red children, he first asks their consent to the measure, and is willing to pay them an equivalent for the indulgence to his white children.

BROTHERS: Your white brethren have also complained to your father, that, on these long roads, they have no place for rest or accommodation, which exposes them and their horses to much inconvenience and suffering. To remove this complaint, your father is desirous that his red children would consent to establish houses of entertainment and ferries, on these roads, to be kept by persons appointed by himself, who shall give security for their good behavior, and pay such annual rent to his red children, as may be agreed upon.

Roads

**BROTHERS:** This is a small request, made by your father; it is intended not to extinguish your rights, but to give value to your land, and make it immediately productive to you, in the manner of your ferry over Clinch river.

**BROTHERS:** You have been alarmed by songs of lying birds, and the talks of forked tongues. You have heard that your father would press you for further concessions of land, and, it has been said by some, even as far as the Big river. You will know, hereafter, how to listen to such thieves, liars, and mischief-makers, and will treat them as they deserve.

**BROTHERS:** Listen to us, and hear the truth. We stand up in this place between you and our white brethren, and we are ready to speak from the one to the other. Your white brethren want land, and are willing to pay for it. If you have any to sell, they will buy it from you, and if you can agree on the terms. But if you are not disposed to sell any land, not one word more shall be said on the subject.

*Doublehead's reply:* The chiefs now have heard the talk of a father; and the sun is now lowering, and at the same hour to-morrow, we will deliver an answer; and the answer we shall give will be short, and we hope there will be no more of it: and we hope the commissioners will not insist on making a reply.

*Commissioners.*—When we have heard what you have to say, we shall know whether to reply or not.

The council adjourned, to meet again the next day, at one o'clock, P. M.

5th.—The commissioners met the chiefs, agreeably to adjournment, at one o'clock, P. M. when

*Double head* rose, and spoke as follows:

We shall commence to-day, notwithstanding the indisposition of one of the commissioners of the United States, and some of our own.

I am now going to speak. It is but yesterday that we heard the talk of our father, the President, and, to-day, you will hear ours. You are appointed by the United States to tell us the means devised for our interest; this was planned eight years past, for the welfare of our nation, big and small, done by our father, the President, who is now no more. It seems, it is by this plan, that means have been provided, to take care of the red people; and the present President, it seems, cherishes the same good wish towards us, which is pleasing to us, and we hold to it. I think that the new President ought to listen to our talks, and not throw them aside. We hope his good disposition towards us, will continue, that our children may live in peace; and you, who are authorized by the President, have said, we ought not to listen to the crooked talks of those that are about us. In behalf of my nation, I am authorized to speak to you. There are a number of land speculators among you, who say we want to sell lands; we hope you will not pay regard to them, as they give them out for the sake of getting property. We hope you will not listen to these talks. The chiefs, the head-men of these frontiers, are, themselves, interested in these speculations, and they will give you fine talks, which are meant to deceive, as they are for their own interest. We think it a shame, that the land sellers should impose on the Government, and say, that we want to dispose of our lands, when we do not. When you first made these settlements, there were paths which answered for them; the roads you propose, we do not wish to have made through our country. Our objections to these roads, are these: a great many people, of all descriptions, would pass them, and that would happen which has recently happened, and you would labor under the same difficulties you do now. We mean to hold fast the peace which is subsisting between you and us; to preserve this, we hope you will not make roads through our country, but use those which you have made yourselves: I mean within your own limits. There is a road we have consented to be made from Clinch to Cumberland, and another, the Kentucky trace. I expect you will think we have a right to say yes or no, as answers, and we hope you will say no more on this subject; if you do, it would seem as if we had no right to refuse. You, who are picked out by the Government, from among the first and best men of the United States, we hope you will take our talks, and assist us. Likewise, you, who are placed on our borders, to see our rights maintained, that we may not be plagued by those people who want land. We consider General Wilkinson the general of the army of the United States, and we hope he will not insist on any thing here, as we look to him as children do to their father; we remember the former talks: we were told the general was to preserve our lands, and not to let us be imposed upon. I am now done speaking for this day, and hope you will not say any thing more about lands or about the roads.

*The Commissioners' reply.*—What has passed between us shall be faithfully reported to the President, who knows best how to estimate it.

The commissioners, having business with other nations, will leave this as soon as the boats are prepared to take them down the river.

*Chulcoah*, addressing himself to Colonel Hawkins, spoke thus:

I will now address myself to the man (meaning Colonel Hawkins,) who was appointed by our former father, the President, who was to use every exertion for our benefit. I have been to the seat of Government, where you come from, and I hope you will have those people removed, to where they formerly lived, (meaning those on the Currahee mountain.) Those people who live on our lands deceive the Government, therefore, to ascertain our claims, we wish to remove those people, (meaning Wofford,) and that those lines were run by order of Government.

You, yourself, run these lines, and we hope this inconvenience will be removed, as the General of the army is present. There are now upwards of fifty families settled over the lines, which you did run. These things we have mentioned, and we know he has deceived the Government; he attended at the councils, at Will's town, and there received orders to remove in three months; he afterwards attended the council at Oosetenauleh, and received a like order. This is all I have to say to the commissioners, and I hope things will be done as we have requested.

*Chuilatague* (Double Head:) I am going to speak again, and hope these gentlemen of Tennessee will listen well; there is no doubt you remember the talks of Tellico, which we remember; we shall not forget the talks of the United States; but I suppose they are forgotten by the State of Tennessee, as I have mentioned, we recollect the talks of Government, that the parties have distressed each other, and kept their prisoners. The State of Tennessee has some, and have not kept to the talks of the Government; they have some of our prisoners who are not returned, whereas, on our part, we have delivered all within our bounds. As I have mentioned already this object, which we have given proof of, as to any thing our people have done, the debt has not remained long, and in these, we give our proofs of friendship. As I have said, we don't forget these debts; there are two which the whites owe us, killed in Cumberland; and these debts seem to increase, as blood has been spilt lately near to where we have met the commissioners; we wish the State of Tennessee would exert herself, night and day, and pay that blood which they owe us. We shall therefore wait for these payments, which we will never forget, and shall think of these debts night and day. There are a great number of warriors, (meaning of the whites) who can soon have one person taken and executed. As we know the dispositions of those chiefs, (meaning of the State of Tennessee) we do not suppose they mean to be out-done by one individual. Exert yourselves, and follow our advice, when our people do wrong, that peace may be preserved. That is all I have to say to my friends and brothers.



7th CONGRESS.]

No. 96.

[1st SESSION.]

## THE CHOCTAWS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, MARCH 10, 1802.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

I now submit, for the ratification of the Senate, a treaty entered into by the commissioners of the United States, with the Choctaw nation of Indians; and I transmit therewith, so much of the instructions to the commissioners as related to the Choctaws; with the minutes of their proceedings, and the letter accompanying them.

TH: JEFFERSON.

March 10, 1802.

*A Treaty of friendship, limits, and accommodation, between the United States of America and the Choctaw nation of Indians.*

Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States of America, by James Wilkinson, of the State of Maryland, Brigadier General in the army of the United States, Benjamin Hawkins, of North Carolina, and Andrew Pickens, of South Carolina, commissioners plenipotentiary of the United States on the one part, and the Mingoës, principal men, and warriors, of the Choctaw nation, representing the said nation in council assembled, on the other part, have entered into the following articles and conditions, viz:

ARTICLE 1. Whereas the United States in Congress assembled, did, by their commissioners plenipotentiary, Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, and Joseph Martin, at a treaty held with the chiefs and head men of the Choctaw nation, at Hopewell, on the Keowee, the third day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, give peace to the said nation, and receive it into the favor and protection of the United States of America; it is agreed by the parties to these presents, respectively, that the Choctaw nation, or such part of it as may reside within the limits of the United States, shall be and continue under the care and protection of the said States; and that the mutual confidence and friendship which are hereby acknowledged: to subsist between the contracting parties, shall be maintained and perpetuated.

ART. 2. The Mingoës, principal men, and warriors, of the Choctaw nation of Indians, do hereby give their free consent, that a convenient and durable wagon way may be explored, marked, opened, and made, under the orders and instructions of the President of the United States, through their lands; to commence at the northern extremity of the settlements of the Mississippi territory, and to be extended from thence, by such route as may be selected and surveyed, under the authority of the President of the United States, until it shall strike the lands claimed by the Chickasaw nation; and the same shall be and continue, for ever, a highway for the citizens of the United States and the Choctaws; and the said Choctaws shall nominate two discreet men from their nation, who may be employed as assistants, guides, or pilots, during the time of laying out and opening the said highway, or so long as may be deemed expedient, under the direction of the officer charged with this duty, who shall receive a reasonable compensation for their services.

ART. 3. The two contracting parties covenant and agree, that the old line of demarcation, heretofore established by and between the officers of his Britannic Majesty and the Choctaw nation, which runs in a parallel direction with the Mississippi river, and eastward thereof, shall be retraced and plainly marked, in such way and manner as the President may direct, in the presence of two persons to be appointed by the said nation; and that the said line shall be the boundary between the settlements of the Mississippi territory and the Choctaw nation. And the said nation does, by these presents, relinquish to the United States, and quit claim forever, all their right, title, and pretensions, to the land lying between the said line and the Mississippi river, bounded south by the thirty-first degree of north latitude, and north by the Yazoo river, where the said line shall strike the same; and on the part of the commissioners it is agreed, that all persons who may be settled beyond this line shall be removed within it, on the side towards the Mississippi, together with their slaves, household furniture, tools, materials, and stock, and that the cabins or houses erected by such persons shall be demolished.

ART. 4. The President of the United States may, at his discretion, proceed to execute the second article of this treaty; and the third article shall be carried into effect as soon as may be convenient to the Government of the United States, and without unnecessary delay on the one part or the other, of which the President shall be the judge; the Choctaws to be seasonably advised, by order of the President of the United States, of the time when, and the place where, the re-survey and re-marking of the old line, referred to in the preceding article, will be commenced.

ART. 5. The commissioners of the United States, for and in consideration of the foregoing concessions on the part of the Choctaw nation, and in full satisfaction for the same, do give and deliver to the Mingoës, chiefs, and warriors, of the said nation, at the signing of these presents, the value of two thousand dollars in goods and merchandise, nett cost of Philadelphia, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, and they further engage to give three sets of blacksmith's tools to the said nation.

ART. 6. This treaty shall take effect and be obligatory on the contracting parties, so soon as the same shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof.

In testimony whereof, the commissioners plenipotentiary of the United States, and the Mingoës, principal men, and warriors, of the Choctaw nation, have hereto subscribed their names and affixed their seals, at fort Adams, on the Mississippi, this seventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, and of the independence of the United States the twenty-sixth.

JAMES WILKINSON,  
BENJAMIN HAWKINS,  
ANDREW PICKENS.

[Signed by the Mingoës, principal men, and warriors, of the Choctaw nation of Indians.]

LOFTUS' HEIGHTS, FORT ADAMS, on the Mississippi, December 18th, 1801.

SIR:

After some unexpected delay on the part of the Choctaws, we opened our conference with a respectable representation from the Upper and Lower towns, which comprehend the mass of the nation, and a partial deputation from the six towns, which continue their attachment to Spain, and are now at New Orleans, on the invitation of the Governor, as we are informed.

This humble, friendly, tranquil, pacific people, opposed but few obstacles to our views, and we yesterday concluded a treaty with them, which we now transmit you for the consideration of the President and the Senate.

Our minutes, which we herewith forward to you, will explain, in detail; the course of the conference held on this occasion, and may, we hope, give satisfaction. We forbore to press for the establishment of houses of entertainment on the road, from respect to the objections of the chiefs, and from the conviction (founded on minute inquiry) that it would be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to give protection to such solitary, sequestered settlements, (when made by citizens of the United States) against the rapacity and abuse of vicious, mischievous individuals, to be found in every community, civil and savage.

The obvious expediency of the thing suggested to us the proposition for opening a road to the settlements of the Tombigby and Mobile, and we have no doubt we should have succeeded, if the six towns, through which the present trace passes, had been fully represented. Having received no instructions on this subject, we did not consider ourselves authorized to reply to the objections of the council, but connected with it. We will beg leave to submit to the consideration of the Executive the policy and propriety, not to say necessity, of devising some plan by which the extinguished claims of the natives on the Mobile, Tombigby, and Alabama rivers, may be ascertained and fixed. Uninclosed settlements have been made on those waters; they have been formed into a county by the late Governor of the Mississippi territory, and are progressing; they are now thinly scattered, along the western banks of the Mobile and Tombigby, for more than seventy miles, and extend nearly twenty-five miles upon the eastern borders of the Mobile and Alabama. The whole population may be estimated at five hundred whites, and two hundred and fifty blacks, of all ages and sexes. The land east of the Mobile and Alabama rivers is claimed by the Creeks; that which lies west of those rivers, by the Choctaws. These nations view with jealousy and inquietude the progression of the above settlements; individuals among them acknowledge that concessions of soil were made to the British Government long since, and the whole appear anxious to have the lines fairly defined, and their limits established. We believe this to be reasonable, and we are persuaded it is necessary to avert mischief.

The recognition of the old line to bound our right of settlement on the east in this quarter, and the stipulations which have been founded thereon, we consider of some moment, because it appears to be a questionable point whether that line was ever extended further south than the Homochitto river, which would leave a considerable portion of the population of the territory on the lands of the Indians; and, therefore, to obviate eventual difficulties, we embraced the occasion to obtain from the nation a formal relinquishment of their claims, under specific limits. The equivalent we have given, to legitimate the contract into which we have entered, has been taken from the residue of the invoice for two thousand six hundred and ninety-six dollars' worth of goods, out of which we paid the Chickasaws seven hundred dollars, and we trust this allowance may not be deemed profuse.

The Choctaw nation, in point of physical powers, is at least on a level with its neighbors, and its dispositions, in relation to the whites, are more tractable, and less sanguinary, than those of its kind; yet, it has been long buried in sloth and ignorance. But the destruction of game has diminished the resorts of their ancestors, and the chase has become a precarious resource for the support of life. Goaded by penury, and pressed by the keenest wants to which animal nature is exposed, their sufferings seem to have roused their dormant faculties, and the rising generation, urged by these powerful motives, and encouraged by the examples of the Creeks on one side, and the Chickasaws on the other, have rent the shackles of prejudice, and, in spite of the repugnance of their old chiefs, are now casting their eyes to the earth for sustenance and for comforts. A very few families have commenced the culture of cotton, and it is not manufactured by more than twelve in the whole nation, whose population exceeds fifteen thousand.

At this conference, for the first time, the bounty of the United States has been implored, and we were supplicated for materials, tools, implements, and instructors, to aid their exertions, and to direct their labors. These circumstances induce us to cherish the hope, that, by the liberal and well directed attention of Government, these people may be made happy and useful; and that the United States may be saved the pain and expense of expelling or destroying them. It is a singular fact, perhaps it is without example, and therefore it is worthy of record, that this council should not only reject a quantity of whiskey intended as a present to them, but should have requested that none might be issued before, during, or after, the conference.

We have deemed it expedient to recommend, that an interpreter should attend the two deputies of the nation who are to accompany the troops to be engaged on the road, and we beg leave to offer the suggestion, that travellers who pass through the Indian country should be confined to this route, so soon as it is opened.

With great consideration and respect, we are, sir, your most obedient servants,

JAMES WILKINSON.  
BENJAMIN HAWKINS.  
ANDREW PICKENS.

The Hon. HENRY DEARBORN, *Secretary of War.*

*Extracts from instructions given to James Wilkinson, Benjamin Hawkins, and Andrew Pickens, Esquires, who were appointed commissioners, on the part of the United States, to hold a treaty or treaties with the several nations of Indians, on the east side of the river Mississippi, south of the Ohio, and within the territory of the United States, dated June 24, 1801.*

"After completing your negotiation with the Chickasaws, you will proceed to Natchez, to hold a treaty with the Choctaws. The Choctaws may be considered one of the most powerful nations of Indians within the limits of the United States; and a pacific and friendly disposition in, and towards them, should be cultivated, as well from principles of policy as of humanity.

"All fair and proper means should be exerted to evince to them a really friendly disposition on the part of the Government of the United States, and to fortify their minds against the artful and mischievous insinuations and practices of adventurers, who, too frequently, obtrude themselves into their and other nations.

"It is of importance that the Indian nations, generally, within the United States, should be convinced of the certainty in which they may, at all times, rely upon the friendship of the United States; and that the President will never abandon them, or their children, whilst their conduct, towards the citizens of the United States, and their Indian neighbors, shall be peaceably honest and fair.

"It must be observed, that the Choctaws received, in the course of the last year, from the Government of the United States, presents to the amount of two thousand dollars, and, that an appropriation of the like sum has been made, for the same purpose, for the present year; although that nation have no claim to such a grant, founded on any treaty or authorized agreement. It was understood that they had taken some expression of Mr. Ellicot's for a promise to this effect; and it may be proper and politic to continue making them an annual grant, perhaps of the same sum; but, it must be impressed on their minds, that they have given not only no equivalent, but, actually, nothing at all for it; that they are indebted for what they have received to the generosity of the United States, and not to their justice; that the grants must be viewed as presents, and not as compensation; that they may be continued or discontinued, at the pleasure of the United States, without giving the Choctaws a right to claim the one, or complain of the other; and that it might be proper for them to grant a something, though an equivalent be not asked in return.

"It is stated, that the citizens of the Mississippi territory have been subjected to some vexations by the great number of Indians encamped among them, at the distributions of these presents. You will inquire into the propriety of having all future distributions made within the Indian boundary.

"In addition to the explanation and enforcement of the conciliatory disposition and friendly intentions of the United States, you will endeavor to obtain the consent of the Choctaws, with reference to the above mentioned views of the presents, which they have received, to our opening a road from the point, where the road, from the reserved circle, shall strike their land, through their country, to the Natchez, and permission for three or four white families to settle on the said road, within their country, for the accommodation of travellers and our post riders, on such reasonable conditions as you may deem proper.

"On Dunbar's map, a line is run northward from the 31st degree of north latitude, near the 91st degree of west longitude from Greenwich, the lands between which and Mississippi were, heretofore, ceded to the British Government; although no doubt exists of this fact, it may be impolitic to require from the Choctaws a direct acknowledgment of it; you will, however, consider and speak of it as indubitable, and endeavor, indirectly, to draw from them an acknowledgment of its authenticity. This they will not refuse, unless they believe a doubt of it to exist in our minds.

“To confirm a pacific and friendly disposition in the Indian tribes, generally, towards the United States, should, at all times, be considered an important object; and is recommended as such to your best exertions; and the result of the inquiries into the present state of society among them, made with the advantages which you will possess whilst in their countries, with a view of ascertaining the effects of the measures pursued by our Government towards them, will be highly useful.

“In all your negotiations, under these instructions, you will pay the strictest attention to the disposition manifested by the Indians on the several points to which you are to draw their assent. The ill humor, which propositions for further cessions sometimes awaken in them, may be, in a greater or lesser degree, excited by those, which you are herein charged with making. It will, therefore, be incumbent on you, to introduce the desires of the Government, in such a manner, as will permit you to drop them, as you may find them illy received, without giving the Indians an opportunity to reply with a decided negative, or raising in them unfriendly and inimical dispositions. You will state none of them in the tone of demands, but, in the first instance, merely mention them, as propositions which you are authorized to make, and their assent to which the Government would consider as new testimonials of their friendship. From the manner in which they shall receive your first overtures, you will be enabled to judge with what prospect of success you may press the respective points committed to you.

“Measures have been taken for furnishing, at the several times and places, at which conferences are to be held, provisions for yourselves and your attendants, as well as the necessary quantities of goods for the Indians, with whom the several above mentioned negotiations are to be entered into, and for supplying with rations such of them as may attend; the distribution of all these will be made under your directions; and additional quantities of goods, in the event of your success, may be had from the factory at Tellico. The contractor for those districts, Alexander D. Orr, Esquire, is directed to furnish you, on your requisitions, with such other articles as you may need for yourselves and attendants, or additional quantities of rations for the Indians.”

*Minutes of a conference between Brigadier General James Wilkinson, Benjamin Hawkins, and Andrew Pickens, Esquires, commissioners of the United States, and the principal chiefs of the Choctaw nation of Indians, held at Fort Adams, on the Mississippi, the 12th day of December, 1801.*

The conference commenced.—The interpreters being called forth, and warned to correct each other, and after having gone through the ceremonies of the pipe, General Wilkinson addressed them, in the name of the commissioners, as follows:

*Mingoes, Chiefs, and Principal Men, of the Choctaw nation:*

You have all heard of the death of your father, the great Washington, and you have, no doubt, wept for the loss. Since we experienced that heavy misfortune, the people of the Sixteen Fires, assembled in their great national council house, have thought proper to select our beloved chief, Thomas Jefferson, to be President of the United States.

**BROTHERS:** Open your ears, and listen well. Your new father, Jefferson, who is the friend of all the red people, and of humanity, finding himself at the head of the white people of the Sixteen Fires, immediately turned his thoughts to the condition of his red children, who stand most in need of his care, and whom he regards with the affection of a good father.

**BROTHERS:** Your father the President of the United States, being far removed from you, by the intervention of deep rivers, high mountains, and wide forests, finds it impossible to look upon you with his own eyes, or to speak to you from his own lips. He has, therefore, appointed two of his beloved men, Colonel Hawkins, and General Pickens, with myself, to meet you in council, and to confer with you on several subjects interesting to yourselves, and to your white brethren of the Sixteen Fires. We are happy to see you. We, on his behalf, and in his name, take you by the hand, and we congratulate you on your safe arrival here.

**BROTHERS:** The President of the United States invites you to look up to him as your friend and father, to rely in full confidence on his unvarying disposition to lead and protect you in the paths of peace and prosperity, and to preserve concord between you and your neighbors. In his name, we promise you, that you may at all times rely upon the friendship of the United States, and that he will never abandon you or your children, while your conduct towards the citizens of the United States, and your Indian neighbors, shall be peaceable, honest, and fair.

**BROTHERS:** We invite you to state to us freely, the situation of your nation, and what you wish, on the part of your father the President, to better your condition in trade, in hunting, agriculture, manufactures, and stock-raising; that we may represent the same for his consideration. We wish you to open your minds freely to us, and to set forth all your wishes and all your wants, that we may learn the true state of your condition, and be able to assist you with our advice, our attentions, and our friendship.

**BROTHERS:** On the part of your white brethren, we have to state to you, that the path from the settlement of Natchez through your nation, towards Cumberland, is an uncomfortable one, and very inconvenient to them, in its present unimproved condition; and we are directed to stipulate with you, to make it suitable to the accommodation of those who may use it, and at the same time, beneficial to yourselves. Your brethren, the Chickasaws, have heard our request on this subject, and they have consented that we should open a road through their lands to those of your nation; and we now ask your consent, that we may continue the same road through your lands, to the settlements of this territory. We propose, for the accommodation of travellers, and for your own interests, that houses of entertainment and ferries, should be established on the road, and that they may be rented by you to such persons as your father the President may appoint to keep them. The ground, the houses, and the money, arising from the rents, to be for the use of your nation, and subject to its disposal; and that not more than one family be suffered to live at the same place.

**BROTHERS:** Since the King of Spain has given up this district to the United States, a necessity has arisen for frequent communications between your white brethren, who live in the neighborhood of the Mississippi, and those who have settled on the Tombigby; and it follows, that people are constantly travelling across your country, from one place to the other. Under such circumstances, to prevent disagreement and mischief, we recommend to your consideration the expediency of having but one road of communication between these settlements, to be opened and improved after the same manner, and on the same terms, as that proposed from the settlements of this territory to the Chickasaw nation.

**BROTHERS:** We come not to ask lands from you, nor shall we even ask for any, unless you are disposed to sell; and your father will assist and protect you in the enjoyment of those you claim; but, to prevent future misunderstandings, and to confine the settlers of this territory within the line long since run between you and them, we recommend it should be traced up, and marked anew, while men can be found, who were present at the survey, and assisted in making it: for, if all those witnesses should die before this is done, then disputes may arise between you and your white brethren, respecting this boundary, and mischiefs may ensue.

**BROTHERS:** For several years past, your father, the President of the United States, has sent you a present of goods, as a token of his friendship, which will be continued the present year. But you must recollect that you have never given any equivalent for this strong evidence of his paternal regard; and you must bear in mind, that you are indebted for it to his generosity more than to his justice. Should this bounty be continued to you in future, you ought to be grateful for it; and should it be discontinued, you will have no cause to complain, as you have never given any thing to the United States in return.

**BROTHERS:** We wish you to let this talk sink deep into your hearts; we wish you to take time, and reflect seriously on it; and when you have made up your minds, we shall listen to you with pleasure, in the hope that you may

enable us to make an agreeable report to our common father, the President of the United States, and in the mean time, we shall be happy to contribute to your accommodation, and the good of your nation.

December 13.

TUSKONAHOPHA, a chief of the Lower towns, informed the commissioners that there were seven chiefs from different towns, and requested, in their behalf, that they might be heard separately, that each might speak for his own town; and that, after they had spoken, the young warriors might be heard, and the same attention paid to their talks that would be to those of the old chiefs.

TUSKONAHOPHA then spoke: To-day I meet the commissioners here, who have delivered to us the talks from the President, and I am well pleased with his talks, that I have received from my beloved brothers the commissioners, for the welfare of my nation. I take you three beloved men by the hand, and hold you fast. You three commissioners, who have visited the Cherokees and Chickasaws, one request which you ask of my nation, the cutting of a road, I grant. I grant it as a white road, as a path of peace, and not as a path of war; one which is never to be stained. I understood yesterday, that my father the President allowed me an annual present, and it never should be taken from me. It must have been a mistake of his officers, as I never have received any annual allowance. He must have given it to some other of my red brethren. I deny having received any annual gift. It has been told to the chiefs of the nation, through the interpreters, that their father allowed them an annual present for their nation.

I forgot something when I spoke of presents, which I will now mention. We have received presents from our father the President; part at the Walnut Hills, and part at Natchez. I, myself, and a few other chiefs, and a few warriors, went to the Walnut Hills, and the presents were but very small. I do not know whether these presents were concealed from us or not; but I know we got but few, not worth going after. A company of the war chiefs and warriors received, the last spring past, a few presents at the Bluffs; that is all; if there have been any other given, it must have been to idle Indians, who are straggling about, and do not attend to the talks of the chiefs of the nation.

There is an old boundary line between the white people and my nation, which was run before I was a chief of the nation. This line was run by the permission of the chiefs of the nation, who were chiefs at that time; they understood, when that line was run, that they were to receive pay for those lands; but they never have received pay for those lands. These chiefs, here present, acknowledge the lands to be the white people's land; they hold no claim on it, although they never received any pay for it; they wish the lands to be marked anew, and that it be done by some of both parties, as both should be present; (meaning red and white people.)

TOO-YE-HOO-MUH, from the same district, then spoke. I thank the President, my father, for sending you three beloved men here, to speak to me. I take you by the hand, hold you fast, and am going to speak to you. I grant this road to be cut, which the chief who spoke before me granted. I grant the road only; you may make it as firm, as good, and as strong, as you will; there are no big water courses on it, and there is no occasion for canoes or ferries. I speak now concerning an old line, which was run when I was a boy; I wish for this line to be traced and marked anew; I do not know where the line is; I have been informed, by some of the young men of my nation, that there are white people and stock over it. We, chiefs of the nation, wish, if any are over our lines, that they may be moved back again by our brothers, the officers of the United States, and that they would move them back, with their stock.

MINGO-POOS-EOOS, of Chickasaw half town. I am an old acquaintance here; I came here with other chiefs of the nation, not to differ with them, but to join them in whatever they do. I understand this business plainly; you three, sitting here, were sent by our father, the President, to speak to our nation. My talks are not long. I am here, before you three beloved men. I am a man of but few words in my town; it is the lowest but one in my nation. My talks are not long; I hope this will be considered as if I had said a great deal. The first time I ever saw my friend, the General, (Wilkinson) he appeared as if he wished to say a great deal; I objected, I was but one; I am a well wisher; the day will come when we head men will see each other. The road through our land to Tombeckbe, it is not in my power to grant; there are other chiefs who hold claims on those lands; my claim is but short. The white people travel the line of limits; they are free to use that, and any of the small paths.

OKAR-CHUMBE, of the Upper town, spoke thus: I see you to day, in the shade of your own house. I am a poor distressed red man; I know not how to make any thing; I am in the place here from the Upper towns; my uncle was the great chief of the nation; he kept all paths clean and swept out; long poles of peace, a number of officers and chiefs in his arms; he is gone, he is dead, he has left us behind. You three beloved men in my presence, I am glad to see you; you may be my father for what I know; the Great Spirit above is over us all. I hold my five fingers, and, with them, I hold yours; mine are black, but I whiten them for the occasion. I understood your great father, Washington, was dead, and that the great council got together and appointed another in his stead, who has not forgot us, and who loves us as our father Washington did; and I am glad to hear our father, the President, wishes that the sun may shine bright over his red children. The Chickasaws are my old brothers; you visited them, and talked to them, before I saw you here. I understood you asked them for a big path to be cut, a white path, a path of peace, and that they granted it to you, as far as their claims extend. I grant it likewise. There are no big water-courses, there are no big rivers, nor creeks, and, therefore, no occasion for canoes, nor is there any occasion for horse boats. It is not our wish that there should be any houses built; the reason I give is, that there is a number of warriors who might spoil something belonging to the occupiers of those houses, and the complaints would become troublesome to me, and to the chiefs of my nation. I speak next of the old line; I wish it to be traced up, and marked over again; I claim part in it; those people who are over it, I wish back again, for fear they may destroy the line, and it be lost. I have done.

PUCK-SHUM-UBBEE, from the Upper towns, then spoke: The old line that the other chiefs repeated, as far as I understood from my forefathers, I will name its course, and the water-courses it crosses, beginning at the Homochitto, running thence nearly a northwest course, until it strikes the Standing-pines creek; thence, crosses the Bayou Pierre, high up, and Big Black; from thence, strikes the Mississippi at the mouth of Tallahatche, (Yav-zoo.) That line I wish may be renewed, that both parties may know their own. There are people over, or on the line; it is my wish they may be removed immediately. Where the line runs, along the Bayou Pierre, some whites are settled on this line, and some over it; those over, I wish may be removed; if there are none over, there is nothing spoiled. From the information I have received from my forefathers, this Natchez country belonged to red people; the whole of it, which is now settled by white people. But you Americans were not the first people who got this country from the red people. We sold our lands, but never got any value for it; this I speak from the information of old men. We did not sell them to you, and, as we never received any thing for it, I wish you, our friends, to think of it, and make us some compensation for it. We are red people, and you are white people; we did not come here to beg; we brought no property with us to purchase any thing; we came to do the business of our nation and return.

The other chiefs have granted you this road. We do not wish the white people to go alone to make the road; we wish a few of the red people, and an interpreter, to go with them. We, of the Upper towns district, a large district, I speak for them now: there is but one interpreter in our nation; he is a long distance from us; when we have business to do, we wish to have our interpreter near. It is the wish to have, for the Upper towns, an interpreter from among the white people who live with us, that we may do our business with more satisfaction with the chiefs of the district. I have another request to ask of you, for the distresses of our nation; a blacksmith, who can do our work well, for the Upper towns district. Another thing I have to request, for our young women, and half breeds; we want spinning wheels, and somebody to be sent among them to teach them to spin. I have nothing more to say; I have complied with the request of the commissioners; I have done. Further I have to ask, concerning the blacksmith and tools; if the man leaves us, let him leave his tools, and that they may remain with us, as the property of the Upper towns district.

E-LAU-TAU-LAU-HOO-MUH spoke thus: I am a stranger; this is the first time I ever saw the Americans. I came here, I am sorry that it appeared cloudy, but it has cleared off, (alluding to the cloudy weather, which cleared off just as he began to speak.) I understood, by what I have heard, that you are authorized by our father to come and talk to us. I am glad to take you by the hand, which I do, kindly, and am glad our father, the President, thinks of his red children. It is my wish, with the rest of the old chiefs, that the line may be marked anew. There is a number of water courses in our land, and I wish the white people to keep no stock on them, or to build houses. I am done; my talk is short, and I will shake hands with you.

The interpreter then stated, that the chiefs directed him to inform the commissioners, the young warriors wished to be indulged with making their talks on paper, at their encampment, if that would do, and to be supplied, for that purpose, with paper. It was ordered accordingly, and the commissioners adjourned.

*The communications made from the deputation from the Choctaws, in their camp, to the commissioners of the United States, through their agent, Colonel John M. Kee, on the 15th December, 1801.*

BUC-SHUN-ABBE. I am a factor, and have been so for a long time; my merchant is in Mobile; I have traded for him till I am become old. I am a man of one heart, and of one mind. White people make a number of fine things; my mind is not to be changed for these fine things; and, if the people at Mobile are not able to supply us, I do not wish to look to other people to supply us. We are old; we cannot take all the supplies that may be offered to us; the trade of the Choctaw nation is my object; I do not look for any trade from this quarter. We wish that no people may, from this quarter, cross the road we have granted, with trade to us; we receive our supplies from another quarter, and must make our remittances there. There are a number of people wanting to trade, from this quarter. We do not wish the people of Bayou Pierre, and Big Black, and Walnut hills, to purchase skins from the red people. We do not apply for that trade; 'tis a trade interfering with ours, and stealing our property, who trade from other places. These people may introduce a trade of liquor amongst us, that may cause the death of red people, which has happened lately, at Natchez, for which we are sorry. I want our father to send us iron wedges, and hand-saws, and augers.

MINGO HOM-MASSA-TUBBLEY. I understand our great father, General Washington, is dead, and that there is another beloved man appointed in his place, and that he is a well wisher and lover of us four standing nations of red people. Our old brothers, the Chickasaws, have granted a road from Cumberland, as far south as their boundary; I grant a continuance of that road, which may be straightened; but the old path is not to be thrown away entirely, and a new one made. We have been informed, by the three beloved men, that our father, the President, has sent us on a yearly present, we know nothing of. There are three other nations; perhaps some of them have received it. Another thing our father, the President, has promised us, without being asked, that he would send people among us, to learn our women to spin and weave; he has made us these promises; I will not ask for men, I ask for women, to learn our women. These women may first go amongst our half breeds, and learn them, and the thing will then extend itself; one will learn another, and the white women may return to their own people again. I want people qualified well to teach our women, not people that know nothing. I understand that such things are to be furnished us; I wish, therefore, as we have half breeds, and others accustomed to work, that ploughs may be sent us, weeding hoes, grubbing hoes, axes, hand-saws, augers, iron wedges, and a man to make wheels, and a small set of blacksmith's tools, for a red man. Father (the President of the United States:) We have a number of warriors who use their guns for a living; I understand your goods are cheap; I wish you to send us on a supply trade; I do not want this trade here; this is a strange land; I want the store at fort Stoddart, or fort St. Stephens. Father: I hold your talks strong, I hope you will hold ours fast, also; (i. e. grant what we ask.) I wish the old marks of the line of separation between us and the whites, to be marked over; and as our father has said he will send us on something every year, I hope it will be continued, although we have never received it. I hope our father will comply with my request, as we have been informed by his beloved men, that he is disposed to afford us aid.

We came here sober, to do business, and wish to return so, and request, therefore, that the liquor which we are informed our friends had provided for us, may be retained in store, as it might be productive of evil.

HOEHE HOMO. This is the talks of the chiefs and warriors; I am one of the children of the President, who have seen him in his own house; I saw my father in the great beloved council house in Philadelphia; he is now dead, and I am informed there is another father to the red people appointed, to keep up the great council house. I have taken by the hand, these three beloved men, sent by my father, the President, to meet the Choctaws; I have received his talk by them, and put it in my heart, and send this mine in return. With the other chiefs, I have granted permission to the commissioners to open the white road of peace asked for. Father, when you receive this, I hope you will hold it fast; the chain of friendship, like an iron chain, should never be broken. I have but a short talk, and hope it will be remembered.

SHAPPA HOMO. I was present when my father, the President, talked with the Choctaws, Creeks, Cherokees, and Chickasaws, and four Northern nations, and heard his good advice to his children. When I was in the beloved house, all talks and all paths were whitened with every nation; I am well pleased that they are kept white yet; I am glad there are some people alive yet, who, belonging to that white house, wish to take care of the red people. We give up this road; it is not to be settled by white people.

EDMOND FULSOME. Mingo Hom-Massa-tubba's talk is mine, except, that he has forgot to ask for cotton cards; my people already make cloth; I know the advantage of it, and request that good cotton cards may be sent us.

ROBERT McCLOURE. A gin is a thing I asked for long ago; it was once offered to my nation, and refused by our chiefs; I asked for it last July, but have received no answer; I now ask for it again; if this will be granted, I wish to know, soon. I am glad to hear it is the wish of our father, the President, to teach us to do such things as the whites can do. The sooner those things are supplied, the better, for, by long delay, they may grow out of our young people's minds. We, half-breeds and young men, wish to go to work, and the sooner we receive those things, the sooner we will begin to learn. I want a blacksmith sent to the Lower town district, with a good set of tools, which may not be at the disposal of the smith, but remain with us, should he go away. Some of our young people may learn to use these tools, and we wish them to remain for the use of the district. My reason for asking this, is, that our interpreter may die, and our agent be recalled by his superior, and another sent us, who may not live at the same place, and may wish to remove the tools; we wish them to remain to us and our children. We red people do not know how to make iron and steel; we wish our father to send us these, with the smith, &c. And when presents are sent on, we wish a true inventory of all the presents, that we may know when we are cheated, and that the invoice may be lodged with one of our chiefs.

17th December. The chiefs met the commissioners of the United States in the council chamber, and were addressed by the latter.

MINGOES, CHIEFS, AND PRINCIPAL MEN of the Choctaw nation:

We have heard the talks you delivered to us the 13th, and we have since received your written address of the 15th. Those talks and this address have sunk deep into our hearts; they give us great pleasure, and must prove highly satisfactory to your father, the President of the United States, to whom we shall faithfully transmit them, because he will perceive therefrom, that his red children of the Choctaw nation are wise, just, dutiful, and affectionate.

**BROTHERS:** We are sorry to be informed, that the goods heretofore forwarded to you by your father, the President of the United States, have been delivered to improper characters, and have not reached your hands. We will take care that those which his bounty may hereafter dispense to you, shall be faithfully delivered. But, to prevent misunderstandings, we think proper to repeat to you, that, although this bounty will be extended to you this present year, and may be hereafter continued at the discretion of your father, the President, yet, you must not look upon it as a right, or to claim it as a debt; because you have never given any thing for it.

**BROTHERS:** We shall faithfully report to your father, the President, your wants and your wishes, as set forth in your written address to us, and we have no doubt, he will give attention to them, and will endeavor to ameliorate your condition. On our own parts, we promise you every attention to your true interests, and that we will use our best exertions to promote all your laudable pursuits, and to advance your solid happiness.

**BROTHERS:** Your father, the President, knows as well how to reward his good children, as he does to punish the bad. He has, therefore, authorized us to give to you, at this time, some arms and ammunition for your hunters, and some goods for your old men and women, as a proof of his friendship, and as an equivalent for your dutiful attentions to his request, respecting the roads and the old line of demarcation.

**BROTHERS:** To avoid future misunderstandings, we, the commissioners of the United States, have deemed it expedient to commit to record, the agreement entered into with you, the mingoes, chiefs, and warriors, of the Choctaw nation, at this time. By this measure, we propose to prevent wicked men from encroaching upon the rights of either party, to inform those who may come after us, and to keep a line forever, of the good work of this council. We will now read and interpret this record to you, and we shall be ready to explain any doubts or difficulties which may arise, and a fair copy shall be lodged with your nation, to be appealed to, should occasion ever render it necessary.

The treaty being then deliberately read by General Wilkinson, and interpreted, paragraph by paragraph, was signed and sealed, and a duplicate delivered to the head chief of the Choctaw nation.

The treaty is in the following words: [Vide the original.]

*18th December.* In conformity with the directions of the commissioners, the whole deputation of the Choctaw nation attended at the council chamber, and received from the commissioners, the goods promised, being the value of \$2,038, exclusive of tobacco, with which the Indians appeared to be well pleased, and they parted with the commissioners with apparent good humor. In addition to the provisions they had received, the commissioners ordered them to be furnished with twelve rations each, for the path home.

I certify this to be a true copy from the original.

ALEX. MACOMB, JUN.

*Secretary to the commission.*

7th CONGRESS.]

No. 97.

[1st SESSION.]

THE SIX NATIONS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, MARCH 10, 1802.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

The Governor of New York has desired that, in addition to the negotiations with certain Indians, already authorized, under the superintendance of John Tayler, further negotiations should be held with the Oneidas, and other members of the confederacy of the Six Nations, for the purchase of lands in, and for, the State of New York, which they are willing to sell, as explained in the letter from the Secretary of War, herewith sent. I have, therefore, thought it better to name a commissioner to superintend the negotiations specified, with the Six Nations, generally, or with any of them.

I do, accordingly, nominate John Tayler, of New York, to be commissioner for the United States, to hold a convention or conventions between the State of New York and the confederacy of the Six Nations of Indians, or any of the nations composing it.

This nomination, if advised and consented to by the Senate, will comprehend and supersede that of February 1st, of the same John Tayler, so far as it respected the Seneca Indians.

TH. JEFFERSON.

*March 9th, 1802.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *5th March, 1802.*

SIR:

Governor Clinton, by his letter of the 20th ultimo, requests that a commissioner, on the part of the United States, might be appointed to attend a treaty with the Oneida Indians, for the purchase of about ten thousand acres of land, which that nation is desirous of selling, and which has, heretofore, been leased out to white people.

The Six Nations have also expressed a wish to dispose of a narrow strip of land, which they consider as useless to them, bordering on Niagara river, and a small tract near the former Cayuga settlement.

Accept, sir, the assurance of my high respect and consideration.

H. DEARBORN.

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

7th CONGRESS.]

No. 98.

[2d SESSION.]

THE ONEIDAS AND SENEICAS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 28, 1802.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

I lay before you, a treaty which has been concluded between the State of New York and the Oneida Indians, for the purchase of lands within that State:

One other, between the same State and the Seneca Indians, for the purchase of other lands within the same State:



One other, between certain individuals, styled the Holland Company, with the Senecas, for the exchange of certain lands in the same State:

And one other, between Oliver Phelps, a citizen of the United States, and the Senecas, for the exchange of lands in the same State, *with sundry explanatory papers*; all of them conducted under the superintendance of a commissioner, on the part of the United States, who reports that they have been adjusted with the fair and free consent and understanding of the parties. It is, therefore, submitted to your determination, whether you will advise and consent to their respective ratifications.

TH. JEFFERSON.

December 27, 1802.

*At a Treaty held with the Oneida nation or tribe of Indians, at their village in the State of New York, on the fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and two.*

Present, John Tayler, Esq. agent appointed under the authority of the United States, to hold the treaty, and Ezra L'Hommedieu and Simeon De Witt, agents for the State of New York. The said Indians having, by their sachems, chiefs, and warriors, in the month of March last, proposed to the Governor of the said State, to cede the lands hereinafter described, for the compensation hereinafter mentioned; and the said Governor, together with the surveyor-general of the said State, and Ezra L'Hommedieu, Esq. an agent appointed by the said Governor, pursuant to concurrent resolutions of the Senate and Assembly of the said State, bearing date the 23d and 24th days of February last, having acceded to the proposal of the said sachems, chiefs, and warriors, and on the 5th day of the said month of March, executed a provisional agreement with them, for the cession and purchase of the same, and advanced to them, at their desire, in part payment of the said compensation, three hundred dollars, to answer the immediate occasions of the said Indians; the said cession is, thereupon, in the presence, and with the approbation of the said commissioner, carried into effect at this treaty, which hath, on the request of the said Governor, been appointed to be held for the purpose, as follows, that is to say:

The said Indians do cede, release, and quit claim to the people of the State of New York, forever, the several tracts or parcels of land hereinafter described, being parts of the lands heretofore reserved to the said Oneida nation of Indians, to wit: All that certain tract of land, beginning at the southwest corner of the land lying along the Genesee road, and which was ceded in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight, by the said Oneida Indians, to the people of the State of New York, and running thence along the last mentioned tract easterly, to the southeast corner thereof; thence southerly, in the direction of the continuation of the east bounds of said last mentioned tract, to other lands heretofore ceded by the said Oneida nation of Indians, to the People of the State of New York; then along the same, westerly, to a part of said last mentioned land, called the "Two mile strip;" and thence along the same, northerly, to the place of beginning. Also, another tract of land, bounded on the south by the Genesee road, on the north, by a line drawn parallel to said road, and at the distance, on an average, of half a mile to the northward thereof, and extending from the west bounds of a tract of one hundred acres, now ceded, and including Myndert Van Eps Wemple's house; westerly to the lands heretofore ceded as aforesaid: *Provided*, That the north bounds of the last described tract, shall be run with such right angular offsets, as to leave the Indian houses, near the northwesterly corner of said tract, twenty chains distant from the same. Also, one hundred acres, to be laid out in a square, and to extend, each way, from the house of said Myndert Van Eps Wemple, along the said Genesee road, fifteen chains, and northerly from said road, fourteen chains, and southerly from said road, twenty chains. Also, all that part of the land heretofore reserved by the said Oneida nation of Indians, along the Fish creek, which lies to the northward of the bridge over said creek, commonly called and known by the name of Bloomfield's bridge.

The said agents do, for the People of the State of New York, in conformity to the said provisional agreement, pay to the said Indians, in addition to the said sum of three hundred dollars, already advanced to them as above mentioned, the further sum of six hundred dollars, and do grant to the said Indians, that the People of the said State shall, annually, forever hereafter, on such day and place, as are, or shall be appointed for the payment of other annuities to the said Indians, pay to the said Indians the sum of three hundred dollars. And the said agents do further grant to the said Indians, that the People of the State of New York, out of the lands above described, and hereby ceded to them, shall grant to Sarah Dockstader, one hundred acres, to be laid out in a square, adjoining the "Two mile tract," on the road commonly called Klock's road, as the said one hundred acres shall be laid out by order of the surveyor-general, with the approbation of the said Sarah, to be held to her during her natural life, and thereafter to her heirs in fee; and also, to Michael Kern, one hundred and fifty acres, so as to include the house in which he now resides, with the other improvements made by him around the same.

In testimony whereof, the said commissioner, the said agents, and the said Indians, have hereunto, and to other acts of the same tenor and date, the one to remain with the United States, another to remain with the State of New York, and another to remain with the said Indians, set their hands and seals, at the village aforesaid, the day and year first above written.

JOHN TAYLER,  
EZRA L'HOMMEDIEU, &c.

*At a Treaty held at the city of Albany, in the State of New York, on the twentieth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and two, with the Seneca nation of Indians, by their sachems, chiefs, and warriors, whose names are hereunto subscribed, and seals affixed, duly deputed, authorized, and empowered, by the said Seneca nation of Indians, for the purpose:*

Present: John Tayler, Esquire, commissioner appointed under the authority of the United States, to hold the treaty, and his Excellency George Clinton, Esquire, Governor of the said State of New York.

The said Seneca nation of Indians, by their said sachems, chiefs, and warriors, agreeably to the authority, in them vested by the said nation, for the consideration hereinafter mentioned, do sell, cede, release, and quit claim, to the People of the said State of New York, all that tract of land, of one mile wide, on Niagara river, extending from Buffalo creek to Stedman's farm, including Black Rock, and bounded to the westward by the shore or waters of said river. The said Seneca nation of Indians reserving to themselves, nevertheless, the right and privilege of encamping their fishing parties on the beach of said river, for the purpose of fishing, which is the common right of both parties, and to be enjoyed without hindrance or interruption from either; and while there encamped, to use the drift-wood for fuel, but not to trespass on, or injure, the proprietor or proprietors of the adjacent lands. The said Seneca nation of Indians reserving also, to themselves, the right (which they now enjoy) of passing the ferry across the said Niagara river, at or near Black Rock, or at such other place in the vicinity, where such ferry may hereafter be established and kept, free of ferrage or toll, at all seasonable times, when the boats are crossing with other passengers or freight. And the said George Clinton, Governor aforesaid, doth, for the people of the said State of New York, pay to the said Seneca nation of Indians, the sum of two hundred dollars; and doth grant to the said Indians, that the People of the said State of New York shall pay to them, or their order, at the city of Albany, the further sum of five thousand three hundred dollars; and also, to the value of five hundred dollars, in chintz, calico, and other goods, suitable for their women, on the fifteenth day of February, now next ensuing, in full of the purchase money for said tract of land. And the said Governor doth further grant to the said Indians, that the people of the said State of New York, out of the lands above described, and hereby ceded to them, shall grant to Jasper Parrish, and to his heirs and assigns, forever, one mile square, to begin at the mouth of a creek, known by the name of Scoy-gu-quoides creek, nearly opposite the head of the Grand Isle, on the easterly side of the waters of the outlet of lake Erie, and to run from thence,



up the said creek, as it winds easterly, to the line of the Massachusetts pre-emption; thence along the same, northerly one mile, thence westerly to the waters of the said outlet, and thence along the same to the place of beginning; and also, to Horatio Jones, and to his heirs and assigns, forever, one mile square, to begin at the most easterly corner of the above described lot, in the line of the Massachusetts pre-emption, and to run from thence along the same northerly one mile, then westerly to the waters of the outlet of lake Erie, thence along the same to the northerly corner of the aforesaid lot, and thence along the northerly bounds thereof to the place of beginning. And the said Governor, at the request of said Indians, expressed by their chiefs and warriors, and from a desire of accommodating them, doth engage, that it shall be recommended to the Legislature, to provide, by law, for the passing of the said Seneca and other Indians of the said Six Nations, on their own proper business, on and along any turnpike-road, which may be hereafter established from the town of Canadarque to Buffalo creek, or its vicinity, or over any bridge that may be erected between those places, toll free.

In testimony whereof, the said commissioner, the said Governor, and the said chiefs and warriors of the Seneca nation of Indians, have hereunto, and to other acts of the same tenor and date, the one to remain with the United States, another to remain with the State of New York, and another to remain with the said Indians, set their hands and seals, at the city of Albany aforesaid, the day and year first above written.

JOHN TAYLER,  
GEORGE CLINTON, &c.

STATE OF NEW YORK, ss.

I, James Kent, one of the justices of the supreme court of judicature, do certify, that, on the twenty-first day of August, in the year one thousand eight hundred and two, before me came Jasper Parrish, to me known, and I having satisfactory evidence that he knew John Tayler, George Clinton, Honayavus, alias Farmer's Brother, Sog-goo-yawauthaw, alias Red Jacket, Sau-kying-walaghta, alias the Young King, Kaw-je-a-ga-onh, alias Heap of Dogs, Jesh-kaa-ga, alias Green Grass or Little Billy, Kallendewana, alias Pollard, Kuskoda, alias Standing Twig, Kun-nunda-gua, alias Fire Town, Sun-non-gais, alias Long Horns, and Kienthowa, alias In the Fields, by his oath before me, in which he swears that he knows them, and, being further sworn, said, that he saw the said several grantors above named execute the within deed; and that he and Simeon De Witt, Abraham Bloodgood, and Benjamin De Witt, signed it as witnesses; and I, finding no erasures or interlineations therein, do allow it to be recorded.

JAMES KENT.

*This indenture, made the thirtieth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and two, between the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the Seneca nation of Indians, of the first part, and Wilhem Willink, Pieter Van Eeghen, Hendrick Vollenhoven, W. Willink, the younger, J. Willink, the younger, (son of Jan) Jan Gabriel Van Staphorst, Roel, of Van Staphorst, the younger, Cornelius Vollenhoven, and Hendrick Seye, all of the city of Amsterdam, and Republic of Batavia, by Joseph Ellicott, Esquire, their agent and attorney, of the second part:*

Whereas, at a treaty, held under the authority of the United States, with the said Seneca nation of Indians, at Buffalo creek, in the county of Ontario, and State of New York, on the day of the date of these presents, by the Honorable John Tayler, Esquire, a commissioner appointed by the President of the United States, to hold the same, in pursuance of the constitution, and of the act of the Congress of the United States, in such case made and provided, a convention was entered into, in the presence and with the approbation of the said commissioner, between the said Seneca nation of Indians and the said Wilhem Willink, Pieter Van Eeghen, Hendrick Vollenhoven, W. Willink, the younger, J. Willink, the younger, (son of Jan) Jan Gabriel Van Staphorst, Roel, of Van Staphorst, the younger, Cornelius Vollenhoven, and Hendrick Seye, by the said Joseph Ellicott, their agent and attorney, lawfully constituted and appointed for that purpose: Now, this indenture witnesseth, that the said parties of the first part, for and in consideration of the lands hereinafter described, do hereby exchange, cede, and for ever quit claim to the said parties of the second part, their heirs and assigns, all those lands, situate, lying, and being in the county of Ontario, and State of New York, being part of the lands described and reserved by the said parties of the first part, in a treaty or convention held by the Honorable Jeremiah Wadsworth, Esquire, under the authority of the United States, on the Genesee river, the 15th day of September, 1797, in the words following, viz: "Beginning at the mouth of the Eighteen Mile, or Kogh-quaw-gu creek; thence a line or lines to be drawn parallel to lake Erie, at the distance of one mile from the lake, to the mouth of Cataraugus creek; thence a line or lines extending twelve miles up the north side of said creek, at the distance of one mile therefrom; thence a direct line to the said creek; thence down the said creek to lake Erie; thence along the lake to the first mentioned creek; and thence to the place of beginning." Also, one other piece at Cataraugus, "Beginning at the shore of lake Erie, on the south side of Cataraugus creek, at the distance of one mile from the mouth thereof; thence running one mile from the lake; thence, on a line parallel thereto, to a point within one mile from the Con-non-daw-we-gea creek; thence up the said creek one mile, on a line parallel thereto; thence on a direct line to the said creek; thence down the same to lake Erie; thence along the lake to the place of beginning;" reference being thereunto had will fully appear, together with all and singular the rights, privileges, hereditaments, and appurtenances, thereunto belonging, or in any wise appertaining; and all the estate, right, title, and interest, whatsoever, of them, the said parties of the first part, and their nation, of, in, and to, the said tracts of land above described; to have and to hold, all and singular the said granted premises, with the appurtenances, to the said parties of the second part, their heirs and assigns, to their only proper use, benefit, and behoof, for ever. And, in consideration of the said lands, described and ceded as aforesaid, the said parties of the second part, by Joseph Ellicott, their agent and attorney, as aforesaid, do hereby exchange, cede, release, and quit claim to the said parties of the first part, and their nation, (the said parties of the second part reserving to themselves the right of pre-emption) all that certain tract or parcel of land, situate as aforesaid, beginning at a post marked No. O, standing on the bank of lake Erie, at the mouth of Cataraugus creek, and on the north bank thereof; thence along the shore of said lake, N. 11°, E. 21 chains; N. 13°, E. 45 chains; N. 19°, E. 14 chains, 65 links, to a post; thence east, one hundred and nineteen chains, to a post; thence south, fourteen chains, twenty-seven links, to a post; thence east, six hundred and forty chains, to a post standing in the meridian, between the 8th and 9th ranges; thence along said meridian, south, six hundred and seventeen chains, seventy-five links, to a post standing on the south bank of Cataraugus creek; thence west, one hundred and sixty chains, to a post; thence north, two hundred and ninety chains, twenty-five links, to a post; thence west, four hundred and eighty-two chains, thirty-one links, to a post; thence north, two hundred and nineteen chains, fifty links, to a post standing on the north bank of Cataraugus creek; thence down the same, and along the several meanders thereof, to the place of beginning: To hold to the said parties of the first part, in the same manner and by the same tenure as the lands reserved by the said parties of the first part, in and by the said treaty or convention, entered into on Genesee river, the 15th day of September, 1797, as aforesaid, were intended to be held.

In testimony whereof, the parties to these presents have hereunto, and to two other indentures of the same tenor and date, one to remain with the United States, one to remain with the said parties of the first part, and one other to remain with the said parties of the second part, interchangeably set their hands and seals, the day and year first above written.

JOSEPH ELLICOTT,  
Attorney for the Holland Company.

Done at a full and general treaty of the Seneca nation of Indians, held at Buffalo creek, in the county of Ontario, and State of New York, on the thirtieth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and two, under the authority of the United States. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the day and year aforesaid.

JOHN TAYLER.

*At a Treaty held under the authority of the United States, at Buffalo creek, in the county of Ontario, and State of New York, between the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the Seneca Nation of Indians, on behalf of said nation, and Oliver Phelps, Esquire, of the county of Ontario, Isaac Bronson, Esquire, of the city of New York, and Horatio Jones, of the said county of Ontario, in the presence of John Tayler, Esquire, commissioner, appointed by the President of the United States for holding said treaty:*

*Know all men by these presents:* That the said sachems, chiefs, and warriors, for, and in consideration of, the sum of twelve hundred dollars, lawful money of the United States, unto them in hand paid by the said Oliver Phelps, Isaac Bronson, and Horatio Jones, at or immediately before the sealing and delivery hereof, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, have, and by these presents do, grant, remise, release, and forever quit claim, and confirm, unto the said Oliver Phelps, Isaac Bronson, and Horatio Jones, and to their heirs and assigns, all that tract of land commonly called and known by the name of Little Beard's Reservation, situate, lying, and being in the said county of Ontario, bounded on the east by the Genesee river and Little Beard's creek, on the south and west by other lands of the said parties of the second part, and on the north by Big Tree Reservation, containing two square miles, or twelve hundred and eighty acres, together with all and singular the hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever, thereunto belonging, or in anywise appertaining, to hold to them, the said Oliver Phelps, Isaac Bronson, and Horatio Jones, their heirs and assigns, to the only proper use and behoof of them, the said Oliver Phelps, Isaac Bronson, and Horatio Jones, their heirs and assigns, forever.

In testimony whereof, the said commissioner, and the said parties, have hereunto, and to two other instruments of the same tenor and date, one to remain with the United States, one to remain with the Seneca nation of Indians, and one to remain with the said Oliver Phelps, Isaac Bronson, and Horatio Jones, interchangeably set their hands and seals, dated the thirtieth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and two.

Done at a full and general treaty of the Seneca nation of Indians, held at Buffalo creek, in the county of Ontario, and State of New York, on the thirtieth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and two, under the authority of the United States. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the day and year aforesaid.

JOHN TAYLER.

ALBANY, 19th July, 1802.

SIR:

I have the honor to transmit you, for the approbation of the President, the result of a treaty held with the Oneida nation of Indians, at the request of the Governor of the State of New York, for the purchase of a part of their reserved lands. Also of two other treaties, held with the Seneca nation of Indians; the first, at the request of the Holland Land Company, the other, at the request of Oliver Phelps, Esquire, both for the exchange of lands, the pre-emption right of which had been ceded by the State of New York to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The application of the Holland Company, you will recollect, was mentioned in your letter to me, enclosing the commission for holding of treaties with those Indians. I have, therefore, signed the duplicates, and delivered them to the parties; but, as the latter was not noticed in that letter, or in any other official communication to me, I have signed the copy herewith transmitted only, and shall retain the duplicates, until I am directed by you to deliver them to the parties; indeed, I should have wholly declined holding the latter treaty, had not Mr. Phelps assured me that he had corresponded with you on the subject, and that you considered the holding of it by me as fully authorized by my commission.

Agreeable to your instructions, I communicated the purport of both the above applications to Governor Clinton, to which he had no objections.

The Governor will, I presume, inform you of the failure of the negotiations of his agents, for the purchase of the land of Black Rock; and I cannot help declaring, that the conduct of the Indians on that occasion, appeared to me to be very uncandid and exceptionable, and which, from the observations I was enabled to make, I am induced to ascribe to some improper influence.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

JOHN TAYLER.

The Hon. H. DEARBORN, *Secretary of War.*

ALBANY, 23d August, 1802.

SIR:

I have the honor to transmit to you, enclosed, a treaty held by me, at the request of his Excellency Governor Clinton, with the Seneca nation of Indians, for the extinguishment of their claim to the lands on Niagara river, including Black Rock, for the approbation of the President; and to assure you, that the business was conducted with the greatest fairness and cordiality.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your most obedient servant.

JOHN TAYLER.

The Honorable HENRY DEARBORN.

ALBANY, July 24th, 1802.

SIR:

I take the liberty to represent to you, that, in the centre of a tract of land, which I own, on the west side of the Genesee river, the Seneca nation of Indians had a small reservation of two square miles, called Little Beard's reservation; that the settlers on my land, and the Indians, from their different practices respecting their cattle, and various other matters, were mutually troublesome; and that, in consequence of this, the Indians were desirous of making an exchange of land with me, and taking an equal quantity adjoining some of their larger reservations; that, at the time it was expected that, at the request of the State of New York, a commissioner, on the part of the United States, would be appointed to attend the late treaty with the Seneca nation, I wrote to the Hon. De Witt Clinton, and to the present Postmaster General, requesting them to represent these facts to the Secretary of War, with a view to have it a part of the commission of the gentlemen who should be appointed, to attend the treaty which should be holden between the Indians and myself, respecting this reservation; that Mr. Clinton informed me, by letter, that the matter had been stated agreeable to my request; and that the commissioner would be authorized accordingly; and that, depending on this, I supposed it was intended to have been included in the commission, although, on examining it, there appears to be nothing explicit on the subject. That, situated as this business was, Judge Tayler attended a treaty which I held for the purpose of making the exchange mentioned; that we easily came to an agreement, as our interests and views coincided; and that the commissioner on the part of the United States, signed the papers which were intended to carry our bargain into effect, in the manner he has represented, or will represent to you.

I hope this transaction may meet with your approbation, and, in order to accommodate the parties, without the delay and expense of another treaty, be carried into full effect, by obtaining the sanction of the President.

I am, with respect, your humble servant,

OLIVER PHELPS.

HENRY DEARBORN, Esq.

PHILADELPHIA, 9th August, 1802.

Sir:

At the treaty held under the authority of the United States, on the Genesee river, in the year 1797, the right of the native Indians to a large tract of country, situate within the State of New York, and owned principally by a company of gentlemen in Holland, usually called the Holland Land Company, was extinguished by purchase, the Indians reserving, nevertheless, to their own use, certain tracts within the ceded country, described by specific boundaries.

Among the lands thus reserved, a tract, usually called the Cattaraugus reservation, was afterwards found to be located in a manner inconvenient to the Indians, which has occasioned, from them, frequent application to the agents of the company for an exchange of it for other lands belonging to the company, the native right to which was ceded by the same treaty. From a desire to secure the friendship, and conciliate the good will of the Indians, these applications have been favorably regarded; but the difficulty and expense of holding a treaty, in the manner prescribed by the laws of the United States, and of the States of New York and Massachusetts, have hitherto rendered it impracticable to carry into effect the friendly and accommodating disposition of the company on this subject.

At the treaty lately held, for another purpose, at Buffalo creek, the importunities of the Indians to effect this exchange were renewed, and Joseph Ellicott, Esq. the agent of the company in that country, actuated by a desire to remove this constant source of complaint and dissatisfaction, (having no opportunity, previously, to consult with me on the subject) without my privity, availed himself of the presence of the commissioner of the United States, to enter into the agreement, of which I have the honor to enclose you a copy, and which, I presume, has been, before this, submitted to the President.

As, by the deed of cession between New York and Massachusetts, any grantee under the latter State is restricted from making any purchase of the native Indians, unless in the presence, and with the approbation of, a superintendent, to be appointed of that State; and as, by an act of the Legislature of the State of New York, any contract for the sale, or other disposition of any lands within that State, without the authority and consent of the Legislature, is declared void, and the party making it, subject to punishment, it would seem, that the agreement thus made by Mr. Ellicott, although with the approbation of the commissioner of the United States, is of no binding force, unless it shall be sanctioned by some future act of the Legislatures of Massachusetts and New York.

As this would be an object of essential importance, not only to the Holland Company, by saving to them the expense of another treaty, for the same object, but also to every other person who may be interested in the success of future negotiations with these Indians, by preventing that loss of confidence which would necessarily ensue, from what might appear to them a want of good faith, should the terms of an agreement, thus solemnly made under the authority of the General Government, not be adhered to, I take the liberty to suggest, for your consideration, the propriety of submitting this instrument to the respective Legislatures of New York and Massachusetts, for their approbation.

If such a measure, on the part of the Government, should not appear improper, I flatter myself with the hope, that it will receive their attention. The Holland Company, whom I represent, have a strong interest, in common with all other landholders in this remote frontier country, to secure the confidence, and conciliate the good will of the savages; but, beyond this, they can derive no advantage from the success of the application which I have now the honor to make.

I have the honor to be, your most obedient humble servant,

PAUL BUSTI, *General Agent of the Holland Land Comp'y.*

The Hon. HENRY DEARBORN, Esq. *Secretary of War.*

ALBANY, 21st August, 1802.

Sir:

I have the pleasure to inform you, that I yesterday effected the purchase of the lands on the Niagara river, including Black Rock, from the Seneca nation of Indians, and now stand ready to make a cession of such part of it to the United States, as may be necessary for the establishment of a military post there, on the terms and conditions prescribed in the act of our Legislature, authorizing such cession, a copy whereof is herewith transmitted.

The Indians, as you will perceive by the copy of the treaty, committed the management of it to a number of their principal and most influential chiefs; and as I transacted the business on the part of the State, personally, it afforded me a favorable opportunity of removing from their minds the unjust prejudices which had been excited against the erection of a fortress in that quarter, and which was the cause of their inconsistent and reprehensible conduct at their late meeting with my agents at Buffalo creek; and I flatter myself this opportunity has been improved to advantage, as they now appear to be reconciled to the measure, and to see it in its true points of view, as calculated for our mutual protection and defence, and I am persuaded they will return to their nation impressed with this favorable sentiment.

A recent unfortunate event, which has taken place at New Amsterdam, (a settlement near Buffalo creek) the murder of a white man by one of those Indians, (of which, I find by the communications made to me, the President is apprised) has occasioned a degree of alarm and apprehension among the inhabitants of that and the adjacent frontier settlements, and much anxiety among the Indians for the fate of the murderer, who stands committed in the county gaol at Canadarque, on warrant from a magistrate, to answer for the offence. This unhappy affair took place when the chiefs were at Canadarque, on their way hither. The inhabitants of that place treated them with hospitality and kindness, and the sheriff suffered the culprit to quit his prison, and mix with his friends, during the few days they tarried there. And, on their departure, they, very honorably, complied with their engagements, by delivering him up to the custody of the sheriff. The chiefs offered several reasons to me why the prisoner ought to be liberated. They alleged, that, by our treaty with them, the crime was not cognizable in our courts, but punishable by their laws and customs; that five different murders had been committed, in cold blood, by our people, on theirs; that all these had been commuted for, and settled by presents from the President to the relations of the persons murdered, with which their nation was satisfied; and that this was the first murder committed by any of their people on ours, and this was perpetrated by a man intoxicated with strong liquor, in passion, for threats uttered against him; and concluded by requesting that, if he could not be pardoned, that he might be liberated from prison on bail. I endeavored to convince them, and I have reason to believe, not without effect, that their construction of the treaty was not the true one; that the settlements by presents, or commutation, for the murders committed on their people, was inapplicable to the present case, as they were sanctioned by the consent of their nation, and were conformable to their own laws and customs, but repugnant to ours; that the Governors had not the power of pardoning a murderer, and that the crime was not even bailable by our law. But I promised them, at the same time, that the confinement of the prisoner should be as humane and liberal as his safe-keeping would admit; that his friends should have liberty to visit him; and that I would faithfully communicate all they had mentioned to me, in extenuation of his crime, to our Legislature, who alone had power to pardon the offender, and that, if convicted in their recess, I would suspend his execution until they met, to give them an opportunity to take his case under their consideration. I also gave them assurances, that I would take every measure in my power to prevent private revenge, or retaliation, for this offence, of which they appeared to be fearful. In coming to this explanation with them, I mentioned the propriety of its preceding the completion of the treaty for the purchase of the lands, lest their

deliberations might be influenced by expectations that I could not realize. By this arrangement of the business, I was enabled to form a better judgment of the impressions my conduct had made upon them. With respect to the alarm which the murder has occasioned among the inhabitants of our frontiers, I presume it will cease the moment preparations commence for the military establishment at Black Rock; and which, as well from its great importance to the Union, as for the safety of the inhabitants in that quarter, I conclude, will meet with no delay. The actual execution of the deed of cession, I presume, need not retard the commencement of the business, as no obstacle can occur to prevent its completion.

The enclosed letter from Mr. Ellicott, and petition from the inhabitants, will give you a full and circumstantial account of the murder, and of the turbulent conduct of the Indians, both previous and subsequent to that unhappy event. You will pardon the trouble I give you by this lengthy detail, as it may serve, in some measure, to relieve the President from the anxiety which the unfortunate event to which it relates must have produced; and believe me to be, very respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,

GEORGE CLINTON.

The Hon. HENRY DEARBORN.

An Act for holding a treaty with the Seneca nation of Indians, establishing a military post near lake Erie, and for other purposes Passed March 19th, 1802.

Whereas it is necessary that a treaty be held with the Seneca nation of Indians, to extinguish their claims to lands east of Lake Erie, to enable this State to cede their jurisdiction, or sell to the United States a sufficient quantity of the said land, at the eastern extremity of Lake Erie, at a place called the Black Rock, as may be sufficient for the establishment of a military post: Therefore,

*Be it enacted by the People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly,* That it shall and may be lawful for the person administering the Government of this State, or his agent or agents, to hold a treaty (on the part of the People of this State) with the Seneca nation of Indians, to extinguish their claim to the whole, or such part of their lands, at the east end of lake Erie, of one mile wide on Niagara river, from Buffalo creek to Stedman's farm, including Black Rock, with so much land adjoining as shall be sufficient for establishing a military post, on such payments and annuities as he or they shall judge most conducive to the interest of this State.

*And be it further enacted,* That it shall and may be lawful for the person administering the Government of this State, for and on behalf of this State, to convey to the United States, after the extinguishment of the claim of the said Indians as aforesaid, in fee simple, such part of the said land, at the eastern extremity of lake Erie, at a place called Black Rock, as may be sufficient for the establishment of a military post; the United States paying therefor the expense of holding the said treaty, or such part thereof as the person administering the Government of this State shall judge reasonable: *Provided always,* that nothing in the foregoing grant to the United States shall be construed, so as to prejudice the right of portage of the People of this State, along the said river, through the tract of land which may be so conveyed, and the privilege of a road along the shore of lake Erie; and of a ferry across the Niagara river, at Black Rock. *And provided further,* that such conveyance shall in no wise prevent the execution of any process, civil or criminal, issuing under the authority of this State, within the bounds of the land so to be conveyed; and such conveyance shall expressly contain such condition.

*And be it further enacted,* That it shall and may be lawful for the person administering the Government of this State, or his agent or agents, at the said treaty, to purchase from the Cayuga and Onondaga nations of Indians, all, or such part of their lands, called their reservation lands, on such terms as he or they may deem expedient.

*And be it further enacted,* That it shall and may be lawful for the person administering the Government of this State to draw from the treasury, a sum not exceeding five thousand dollars, for defraying the expense of the said treaty, and for paying such part of the purchase money for the said lands as may be necessary.

*And be it further enacted,* That, in holding the said treaty, it shall and may be lawful for the person administering the Government of this State, or his agent or agents, to stipulate with the said Seneca nation for the granting to Jasper Parrish and Horatio Jones, such quantity of land, not exceeding one mile square to each of them, separately, and to their respective heirs and assigns, forever, at such place or places, within the tract of one mile wide, on Niagara river, as aforesaid, as shall at such treaty be agreed on.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE, of the State of New York, August 21st, 1802.

I certify the preceding to be a true copy of the original act, now on file in this office.

BENJAMIN FORD, Deputy Secretary.

ALBANY, 26th January, 1803.

GENTLEMEN:

I had the honor of receiving, this morning, your letter of the 17th instant, enclosing a copy of the treaty made on the 30th of June, 1802, between the Seneca nation of Indians, and Oliver Phelps, and others. I do not find any thing exceptionable in this treaty; it is probable the irregularity in the application to the commissioners of the United States, may have arisen from the circumstance of the land purchased at this treaty, being part of a tract, the pre-emption of which was ceded by this State to Massachusetts. In these cases, as there is no particular law of the State authorizing such treaties, the application for the appointment of a commissioner on the part of the United States is not made as usual, by the Governor, nor has he any agency in the business, further than to see that nothing is done to interrupt the public peace.

I am, with great respect, your most obedient servant,

GEORGE CLINTON.

The Honorable GOUVERNEUR MORRIS and DE WITT CLINTON, Esquires.

7th CONGRESS.]

No. 99.

[2d SESSION.]

THE CREEKS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 28, 1802.

Gentlemen of the Senate:

I lay before you a treaty which has been agreed to by commissioners, duly authorized on the part of the United States, and the Creek nation of Indians, for the extinguishment of the native title to lands in the Tallassee county, and others, between the forks of Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers, in Georgia, in pursuance of the convention with that State, together with the documents explanatory thereof; and it is submitted to your determination whether you will advise and consent to the ratification thereof.

December 27, 1802.

TH: JEFFERSON.

*Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States of America, by James Wilkinson, of the State of Maryland, brigadier-general in the army of the United States, Benjamin Hawkins, of North Carolina, and Andrew Pickens, of South Carolina, commissioners plenipotentiary of the United States, on the one part, and the kings, chiefs, head-men, and warriors, of the Creek nation, in council assembled, on the other part, have entered into the following articles and conditions, viz:*

ARTICLE 1. The kings, chiefs, head-men, and warriors, of the Creek nation, in behalf of the said nation, do, by these presents, cede to the United States of America, all that tract and tracts of land, situate, lying, and being within and between the following bounds and the lines and limits of the extinguished claims of the said nation, heretofore ascertained and established by treaty, that is to say; beginning at the upper extremity of the high shoals of the Apalachy river, the same being a branch of the Oconee river, and on the southern bank of the same; running thence a direct course to a noted ford of the south branch of Little river, called by the Indians Chat-to-chuc-cohat-chee; thence a direct line to the main branch of Commissioner's creek, where the same is intersected by the path leading from the Rock Landing to the Oakmulgee old towns; thence, a direct line to Palmetto creek, where the same is intersected by the Uchee path, leading from the Oconee to the Oakmulgee river; thence, down the middle waters of the said creek to Oconee river, and with the western bank of the same to its junction with the Oakmulgee river; thence, across the Oakmulgee river, to the south bank of the Altamaha river, and down the same at low-water mark, to the lower bank of Goose creek; and from thence by a direct line to the Mounts, on the margin of the O-ke-fin-ocau swamp, raised and established by the commissioners of the United States and Spain, at the head of the St. Mary's river; thence, down the middle waters of the said river, to the point where the old line of demarcation strikes the same; thence, with the said old line, to the Altamaha river, and up the same to Goose creek: And the said kings, chiefs, head-men, and warriors, do relinquish and quit claim to the United States, all their right, title, interests, and pretensions, in and to the tract and tracts of land within and between the bounds and limits aforesaid forever.

ARTICLE 2. The commissioners of the United States, for and in consideration of the foregoing concession on the part of the Creek nation, and in full satisfaction for the same, do hereby covenant and agree with the said nation, in behalf of the United States, that the said States shall pay to the said nation, annually, and every year, the sum of three thousand dollars, and one thousand dollars for the term of ten years, to the chiefs who administer the Government, agreeably to a certificate under the hands and seals of the commissioners of the United States, of this date, and also twenty-five thousand dollars in the manner and form following, viz: ten thousand dollars in goods and merchandise, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged; ten thousand dollars to satisfy certain debts due from Indians and white persons of the Creek country to the factory of the United States; the said debts, after the payment aforesaid, to become the right and property of the Creek nation, and to be recovered for their use in such way and manner as the President of the United States may think proper to direct. Five thousand dollars to satisfy claims for property taken by individuals of the said nation from the citizens of the United States, subsequent to the treaty of Coleraine, which has been, or may be, claimed and established agreeably to the provisions of the act for regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and, to preserve peace on the frontiers: And it is further agreed, that the United States shall furnish to the said nation two sets of blacksmiths' tools, and men to work them, for the term of three years.

ARTICLE 3. It is agreed by the contracting parties, that the garrison or garrisons which may be found necessary for the protection of the frontiers, shall be established upon the land of the Indians, at such place or places as the President of the United States may think proper to direct, in the manner and on the terms established by the treaty of Coleraine.

ARTICLE 4. The contracting parties to these presents do agree that this treaty shall become obligatory, and of full effect, so soon as the same shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, by, and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof.

In testimony whereof, the commissioners plenipotentiary of the United States, and the kings, chiefs, head-men, and warriors, of the Creek nation, have hereunto subscribed their names, and affixed their seals, at the camp of the commissioners of the United States, near fort Wilkinson, on the Oconee river, this sixteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and two, and of the independence of the United States the twenty-sixth.

JAMES WILKINSON.  
BENJAMIN HAWKINS.  
ANDREW PICKENS, &c.

It having been stipulated, among other things, by and between the commissioners of the United States and the kings, chiefs, head-men, and warriors, of the Creek nation, in council assembled, in the treaty this day concluded, that the United States shall pay, annually, for the term of ten years, one thousand dollars to the chiefs who administer the Government of the Creek nation, agreeably to a certificate under the hands and seals of the commissioners of the United States,

We have agreed that the said sum shall be paid to ten chiefs of the Upper, and ten of the Lower Towns, the speaker in the national council, which has been established as a part of the plan of civilization, agreeably to the orders of Government, to receive one hundred and fifty dollars; the three first chiefs seventy dollars, and the remainder to be equally divided among the remaining sixteen chiefs, to be paid at the same time, and in the same way and manner, as shall be provided for the payment of the annuity of three thousand dollars to the Creek nation.

In testimony whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names, and affixed our seals, at our camp, near fort Wilkinson, on the Oconee river, this sixteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and two.

JAMES WILKINSON.  
BENJAMIN HAWKINS.  
ANDREW PICKENS, &c.

ALEXANDER MACOMB, Jun. *Secretary to the Commission.*

COMMISSIONERS' CAMP, NEAR FORT WILKINSON, *July 15th, 1802.*

SIR:

We have the honor to enclose you a duplicate of our letter, of the 17th ultimo, the day after which, General Pickens returned to his family, submitting to us the fulfilment of that stipulation of the treaty, which required prompt execution on our part.

A fair, equitable, and satisfactory distribution of the goods, was as necessary as it was difficult, amidst the distinct claims and pretensions of twenty-seven towns and eight villages; and this toilsome task devolved on the Superintendent for Indian Affairs. We were detained until the 1st of the month, for the goods purchased in Augusta, amounting to about four thousand dollars, which, added to those sent to Mr. Clay last autumn, with sundry articles drawn from the factory, and about one thousand dollars' worth of axes, hoes, and salt, enabled us to complete the payment of the ten thousand dollars, conditioned for in the treaty; and the rear of the Indians took leave of us the 5th instant, with much apparent satisfaction.

Anterior to, and pending this interval, several circumstances occurred, which appear worthy of special remark, but have heretofore escaped notice; we, therefore, think it proper to present them to the consideration of Government, at this time.

After our preliminary address to the Indians, on the 29th of May, such difficulties and divisions ensued in their councils, as prevented their coming to any conclusion; during this period, several private conferences were held by the old chiefs, with the superintendent and the commissioners, in which they explained those difficulties, asked advice, and assured us that the land below the Rock Landing and south of the Altamaha, belonged to certain disaffected tribes, who reside low down on Flint river and the Chattahoochee, and had declined attending the conference. They expressed their apprehensions, that, should they sell this land, or any part of it, the chiefs and warriors of those tribes might be incensed, and, out of revenge, would attack our frontier, and spill blood, in order to involve the nation in misfortunes, and, therefore, they intreated of us not to press them on this point, and we felt little difficulty in acquiescing, from respect to the force of their reasons, and because we had discovered that the citizens of the State held those tracts in light estimation, when compared to the lands above the Rock Landing.

We think another particular well worthy regard, which was frequently noticed by the Indians, in their private conferences and their public talks; it is their reliance on the military for protection, and their desire to have them posted on their lands, in front of our settlements. We consider this proposition liberal and judicious, in its relation to the Government as well as the Indians: for, by abstracting the troops from the frontier settlers, the principles of subordination and discipline may be more effectually enforced, and those animosities, broils, and debaucheries, which are inseparable from a connexion between them, may be prevented; besides, it will have a natural tendency to familiarize the Indians to the idea of a concession of the lands, in rear of the establishment, and will restrain the dangerous and destructive intercourses of the Indians, with our disorderly citizens, from whom they derive naught but their vices and bad habits. The removal of the garrison from fort Wilkinson, may be done at little expense, and appears indispensable to the restoration of temperance, regularity, and order, and to dissolve the sinister intrigues and connexions of a licentious soldiery, and a neighborhood, formed principally by army followers. A suitable spot for a position has been examined on Commissioner's creek, about sixteen miles in advance of the present occupancy, and in front of the boundary proposed by the late treaty; but Colonel Hawkins indulges expectations, he may be able, at the ensuing national council, which you will observe we have been invited to attend, to prevail with the Indians to suffer the establishment to be made south of the Oakmulgee river, on boatable water, where it is his desire to condense the trade of the Indians on this frontier, as well as with private adventurers as with the factory.

In the course of our negotiations, a deputation from the Cherokees presented themselves to Colonel Hawkins and General Pickins, on the subject of the encroachment of the whites, between the Tugelo, and the Apalachy rivers; but they professed that their main business was to adjust their southern boundary with the Creeks, which was accordingly done, in presence of the commissioners, and in the manner and form exhibited in the agreement under cover, which we consider a desirable event, as it clearly defines their respective claims, the uncertainty of which has heretofore perplexed the measures of Government.

We desire to call the attention of the Executive to another subject of our conference, which is of importance, as it relates to the concord and tranquility of the Creeks and our settlements, on the Tombeckby and the Mobile rivers; you will perceive that the trespasses of the whites in that quarter, are complained of by Efauf Haujo, (the Mad Dog) in his talk the 9th ultimo, and that Hopoi Micco, on the same day, delivered the following declaration on the same subject, viz:

"It is not stock, only, we complain of; we find that houses are built on our lands, and fields are cleared and cultivated; we shall wait a reasonable time, to give an opportunity to the officers of Government, whose business it is to attend to such things, to move these people off, under the expectation that they will do it; and if they do not move off, we shall consider these things as our property, and act accordingly." Since the treaty, Efauf Haujo, who was the speaker and first chief of the nation, has abdicated his station to this Hopoi Micco, and transferred the seat of the national councils from Tuckaubatchee to Acheaubofau, the town in which his successor resides. The conduct of this chief at the late conference, and the superintendent's intimate knowledge of his character, warrant us in pronouncing him the most sagacious and the most influential chief of his nation: intent on the plan of civilization, desirous to introduce a regular and efficient government among his people, decisive in all his purposes, and a stranger to the ordinary habits and propensities of his kind. The superintendent has cause to believe that these complaints are well founded, and, to prevent the consequences menaced by the speaker for the nation, we earnestly recommend that inquiry may be made, and redress granted, as soon as may comport with the convenience of the Executive. While on this subject, we will beg leave to suggest the policy and expediency of ascertaining, without delay, the limits of the concessions heretofore made to the British, in that quarter, by the natives. The old settlers contend, and the Indians do not deny, that concessions were made, but the precise bounds have not yet been discovered, though we are persuaded they may be, by due inquiry.

We believe that the result of our negotiations gives general satisfaction and we have to regret two circumstances only, which occurred while they were depending: the theft of several Indian horses by the whites, and the stabbing of a white man by a young warrior. In the first case, we discovered a correspondence between the citizens and two soldiers; the facts have been ascertained, and the two last are in confinement; we have taken measures to secure the two first, and we hope the property may be recovered. In the last case, an Indian ignorantly or wantonly fell out with a negro, a scuffle ensued, the master came to the assistance of the negro, and the Indian, being hard pressed, drew his knife and stabbed his antagonist through the tendinous expansion of the muscles above the knee; after which, he fled, and has not since been heard of. The wounded man was quartered in the garrison, where every attention was paid to him, and he is now in a fair way of recovering the use of his limb.

From whatever we have seen or heard, we believe a solid foundation has been laid for a salutary reform in the habits and manners of this people; and we have no doubt, that, by due perseverance in the systems which have prevailed, the great work of their civilization may be accomplished. The philanthropist and the friend of humanity will rejoice to hear, that the Creek nation, which, six years since, (excepting a morsel of corn and a few vegetables, raised by their women) lived entirely by the chase, and dissipated their hard earned skins for rum and gewgaws, have recently appropriated one thousand dollars for axes, hoes, and salt; the last article, principally, to cure their domestic meats in their proper season, and to nourish their stock.

The factor, who has supplied provisions and other articles for the treaty, is making up his accounts for examination, and we expect they will be ready in a few days; after which, we shall despatch Lieutenant McComb to the seat of Government, for the settlement of his accounts, and shall leave this place, in pursuit of our respective duties.

We are, with perfect respect, &c.

JAMES WILKINSON,  
BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

The Honorable HENRY DEARBORN, *Secretary of War.*

*Journal of the commissioners of the United States, for holding conferences with the Indian nations, south of the Ohio.*

May 8th, 1802.—The commissioners having assembled, and after examining their instructions, wrote the following letter of acknowledgment to the Secretary of War:

FORT WILKINSON, May 10, 1802.

SIR:

We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 12th ultimo, covering instructions for our Government, pending our conference with the Creek nation, to which we shall pay strict regard, and you may rest assured no exertion, on our part, shall be omitted, to accommodate the views of the Executive, and to make the desired impressions on the public mind of the State of Georgia.



The importance of the objects for which we are to treat, suggests difficulties to us, but we will struggle to surmount them, and, in the mean time, we take the liberty to recall your attention to the third article of our instructions, which directs us to obtain the consent of the Creeks, if practicable, to the extension of the present boundary, between Tugelo and Apalachy rivers; should we succeed in the pending negotiation, to obtain this concession from the Creeks, it will be considered by the Cherokees as a trespass on their territory, and will actually include a considerable tract, claimed by them, and heretofore disclaimed by the Creeks, particularly to Colonel Hawkins, the commissioner of the United States, and the commissioners of Georgia for running the line before mentioned. These commissioners, beginning at the Apalachy, and proceeding northward towards the Tugelo, found the attending chiefs of the Creeks averse to accompanying them further than the Middle fork of the Oconee river; but, at the pressing instance of Colonel Hawkins, they proceeded as far as the Currahee mountain, beyond which, they positively refused to march a step, into a country, which, to use their own language, they "neither knew nor claimed." For confirmation of these facts, we refer to the treaty of Hopewell, and to the personal knowledge of Colonel Hawkins and General Pickens, and we beg leave to add, that the settlement of Colonel Wofford, which consists at present of about sixty families, is included by the claims of the Cherokees, and not by the claims of the Creeks.

We are induced to believe, cash will be most acceptable to the Indians, for any concession they may make, and we are persuaded it may be rendered most useful to them.

The suspension of the negotiation for a short period, will not be difficult, or unfavorable to the views of Government.

With high consideration and respect, we have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servants,

JAMES WILKINSON,  
BENJAMIN HAWKINS,  
ANDREW PICKENS.

To the Honorable HENRY DEARBORN, *Secretary of War.*

FORT WILKINSON, *May 10, 1802.*

SIR:

In obedience to the instructions of the President of the United States, and with the most cordial disposition, we have the honor to assure your Excellency, that we shall procrastinate the pending treaty with the Creek nation, at this place, to accommodate the views of the Government over which you preside; and that we shall take great pleasure in co-operating with your Excellency, to the extent of our authority, for the promotion of the interests of the good people of the State.

With high consideration, and perfect respect, we have the honor to be, your Excellency's ob't serv'ts,

JAMES WILKINSON,  
BENJAMIN HAWKINS,  
ANDREW PICKENS.

To His Excellency JOSIAH TATTNALL,  
*Governor of Georgia, Louisville.*

FORT WILKINSON, *17th May, 1802.*

SIR:

The commissioners of the United States addressed a letter to your Excellency, the 10th of this month; since then the Creek representation has arrived, more full and respectable than we have ever known one to be.

As we are sensible of the real and sincere disposition of the General Government to make every exertion in its power for the accommodation of the Government and citizens of Georgia, in whatever may depend on the conference proposed to be held at this place, with the Creek Indians, we have judged it advisable for General Wilkinson to wait on your Excellency, to have a personal conference with you, to obtain such advice, aid, or agency, as may be considered useful and proper by your Government. We wish we could ourselves accompany him; but it is necessary we should remain with the Indians at this crisis, to use our best exertions to promote the views of Government, and we wish it may be convenient for you, and that you would do us the favor, to visit and aid us yourself, during the negotiation; let it eventuate as it may, we trust such a measure would be beneficial to the State of Georgia.

We have the honor to be, &c. &c.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS,  
ANDREW PICKENS.

*To the Governor of Georgia.*

*To which the Governor made the following reply, dated*

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, LOUISVILLE, *21st May, 1802.*

GENTLEMEN:

Your esteemed favors of the 10th and 17th inst. I had the honor of receiving by Brigadier General Wilkinson, to whose goodness I cannot feel myself too much indebted for his visit to this place. A personal interview with the General, and exchange of ideas, in relation to the pending treaty, has enabled us to form an infinitely more correct view of the principles which are necessary to direct our operations and united exertions towards accomplishing the desirable objects contemplated.

I beg leave gentlemen, to tender you my most cordial acknowledgments, for the sincere disposition you have evinced of co-operation with the government of this State, in the promotion of the interests of the citizens thereof, which doubtless will be greatly advanced by the completion of the views for which the treaty is to be held; and I much regret that the necessity for your remaining with the Indians has prevented my having the pleasure of your company at Louisville.

I must beg leave, gentlemen, to refer you to General Wilkinson for particulars, respecting the call of the Legislature of this State, and the communications from the Representatives in the Congress of the United States, relative to the articles of agreement and cession, lately entered into between the commissioners on the part of the United States and those of Georgia.

In three or four days, an agent, in behalf of this State, will be directed to repair to the treaty, to collect such information as may be necessary to lay before the Legislature, immediately on their being convened, that delay may be as much as possible avoided.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, with great respect and esteem, your obedient humble servant,

JOSIAH TATTNALL, Jun.

General ANDREW PICKENS, and  
Colonel BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

*May 20th.*—General Wilkinson returned from Louisville, and informed the commissioners that, on his arrival at that place, he found Governor Tattnall had issued his proclamation for the convening of the Legislature of the State; which precluded the necessity of his holding any conference with the Governor on the subject, and he afterwards addressed the following letter to the Secretary of War:



LOUISVILLE, *May 19, 1802.*

SIR:

I had the honor to write you from the Oconee, the 16th inst. and arrived here yesterday, to explain to the Governor the views and disposition of the General Government, and of their commissioners, for holding the pending conference with the Creeks; and, at the same time, to learn from him, how soon the State would be prepared to co-operate with those commissioners in the proposed negotiation.

I find the Governor has issued his proclamation, to convene the Legislature, on the 10th of the next month, which may, I fear, involve delays hazardous to our views, as the Indians have not planted their fall crops. I shall return to-morrow, and you may rest assured that the utmost address of the commissioners will be zealously exerted to fulfil their instructions, and to accomplish the objects for which they are to negotiate. It is apparent that Governor Tattnall did not lose a moment, after being advised, to convene the Legislature, and therefore the delay, though unexpected and embarrassing, seems to have been unavoidable.

With perfect respect, I am, sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES WILKINSON.

To the Hon. HENRY DEARBORN, *Secretary of War.*

*May 23.*—The chiefs sent to inform the commissioners that, on the next day, they wished to receive them, according to the ancient customs of their country, at the public square; and they requested the commissioners to be ready to move from their encampment early in the morning, and as soon as the runners arrived, to inform them that every thing was ready for their reception.

*May 24.*—The commissioners went to the square, and were seated, with all their attendants. The chiefs of the Upper and Lower towns having met at some distance from them, moved on in a body; two men in front, dancing the eagle tail dance, to music, accompanied by the voices of all the men and women. As soon as they arrived at the square, the commissioners moved to a place prepared for them, when they were touched by the wings in the hands of the dancers; behind General Wilkinson was a small pit, and a white staff standing by it; they brought a bow and arrows, painted red, showed them to the commissioners, then broke them, put them into the pit, covered them with earth, and with a white deer skin; three great chiefs, representing the Upper and Lower towns, wiped the faces of the commissioners with white deer skin, spread the skins on a log, and they sat them down. General Wilkinson was directed to put his foot on the skin covering the pit. With three other skins they covered the commissioners, and after the embrace of friendship, addressed them as follows:

EFAU HAUJO for the Upper Creeks.—We, this day, a fine one for the occasion, a clear sun and sky, meet our friends, brothers, and fathers to take them by the hand, according to the customs of our forefathers, as old as time itself. We have, at the foot of the General, buried the sharp weapons of war, which were in use in old times, and such as we have; our white deer skins we place on the seat of our friends, and cover them with the same: we add one other emblem, a pipe.

COWETA MICOO, for the Lower Creeks.—I am going to talk to our friends, brothers, and fathers. The day is clear and bright, emblematical of our intentions. Our friends will look upon us, as we are a poor people, and we receive them with such things, and in such ways, as come to us from our forefathers. We are old, but what we do will serve as a lesson to our children, who may, both red and white, follow our example, and grow up in peace and friendship. We shall take our friends by the hand, sit down with them, and close our ceremonies with the last in use among us, (meaning the *asee*, a decoction of the cassine yupon.)

The speaker for the nation, (Eufau Haujo) then addressed the commissioners in behalf of the whole nation:

I am going to speak to my white friends, brothers, and fathers. This day we have met: the sharp weapons of war, in use among us old people, we have broken and buried in the ground. The advice of our father, Washington, we have taken; we remember it, and this day we renew it. I am happy we meet in our own land, under the shades of our own trees, fanned with our own air, with straight hearts. Some time since, our father Washington left us, and is buried. The advice he gave was good for us; we see it, and know it: his successor followed his example, and the now great man comes with like assurances; they are brought us by their great General and beloved men. Oconee's waters are divided; one half was given to the whites; thence, from its source, over the Currahee mountain, to the other nation's lines. When the old President Washington sent commissioners to the chiefs of the Creeks, he said, when that line was run it should be fixed and permanent. His successor following him, gave us the same assurances, and we shall take the advice.

I am speaking for my young kings, warriors, and my nation, to the commissioners, that all may know we wish them well. I have a white staff now in my hand, for the new great General, which I will plant; it will grow and have a shade, fanned with cool breezes. When this tree is put there to grow, it will have a shade for our friends quite round to the Mississippi. I have but a short talk to-day, and I deliver with it the tree to the commissioners. You commissioners called the nation of Creeks to meet you here. We have treated you with our ceremonies and a short talk, and hope you will begin to-morrow, and let us progress until we have finished.

General WILKINSON replied, in behalf of the commissioners, as follows:

*Chiefs, head-men, and brothers, of the Creek nation:* I have received from your chief speaker this white staff; it is an emblem of peace; I shall lean upon it, and I trust no event will wrest it from my hand.

The commissioners of the United States, appointed by your father, the President, have this day witnessed the ceremonies of your forefathers; they have received this ceremony of respect, and they acknowledge themselves obliged. We have been appointed to brighten the chain of friendship between the red and white people of this country. We shall endeavor to take care of the interests of the white people, while we shall not forget those of the red. We have been pleased to see the bloody arrow and tomahawk buried in the earth, and we hope no occasion will ever offer to lift them again. We view with you the blueness of the sky, the brightness of the sun, and serenity of the day, as emblems favorable to a happy issue of our negotiations; whatever may be the result, we will endeavor to acquit ourselves to red man and white man. After being received in form, and hearing what has passed, we shall be prepared to commence the great business of our mission, with the shortest delay. Your father, the President, has the same good will towards you as Washington had, and he will never ask any thing from you; nor recommend any thing to you, but for your good.

The council adjourned.

*May 25.*—The commissioners met the chiefs and head-men in their square, and, by General Wilkinson, addressed them as follows:

*Chiefs and head-men of the Creek nation:* We yesterday took you by the hand; we heard your voices, and we were happy.

We this day meet you, not to commence the great business of our appointment, but to open our hearts to you, and account for the delay.

When honest men meet on business, no concealments are necessary, nor are they practised; for our parts, our hearts are pure, and our intentions good; we are here to remove the grievances of the red people, and their white brethren. We feel the trust a solemn one; and, standing, as we do, in the face of Heaven, before white man and red man, we shall endeavor to promote the interests of both, without fear, favor, or affection.

With such principles and such motives for our guidance, we can have no hesitation to say to you, that, having waited for the ceremonials of your ancestors, which you yesterday exhibited to us, and having been received in form by the nation, we are ready to proceed to the important business confided to us by your father, the President of the United States; but, as your white brethren, beyond the Oconee, may feel themselves interested in what we have to say, we are desirous the Governor of the State, or some agent from it, may be present to hear us.

Under this impression, we will submit to you to determine, whether we shall commence the business of our commission to-morrow, or whether we shall wait for the arrival of the Governor or an agent, who is expected here to-morrow evening or the next day morning.

We are your friends as well as the friends of your white brethren, and you must not listen to bad talks, or suffer evil thoughts to affect your minds.

The chiefs received this address in good part, and agreed to suspend further communications, from the commissioners, until the 29th instant, at noon, and the council adjourned.

*May 29th.*—The commissioners met the Creek nation in their square, and General Wilkinson, in the name of the commissioners, addressed them as follows:

*Chiefs, Head-men, and Brothers, of the Creek nation:*

We have been appointed, by your father the President of the United States, to confer with you on all subjects interesting to your present condition and your future welfare; we therefore invite you to open your minds freely to us, and to put trust in us as your friends, who will find pleasure in advancing your solid interests, and your substantial happiness, by every fair and proper means in our power; and we desire to call your most serious attention, and the united wisdom of your nation, to the consideration of the following important subjects, in the order in which we shall present them to you.

1st. What are the difficulties which prevent the fulfilment of the treaty stipulations, into which your chiefs and your nation entered with the United States, at the treaties of New York and Coleraine?

2d. Have you not power to punish the bad men of your nation, who will spill innocent blood, and murder the citizens of the United States?

3d. Cannot you compel your own people to respect the rights and interests of their neighbors?

4th. Is it not in your power to prevent the disorderly young men, and the foolish chiefs of your land, from combining with the Seminoles, in their predatory warfare against the subjects of Spain?

Speak out, and let us know what you require, from your father the President of the United States, to remedy these evils, to help you, and to save you from the difficulties, the perplexities, and the dangers, which they must produce, if not seasonably corrected.

*Brothers and Friends:* We see that hunting, to which you and your ancestors have heretofore resorted for support, is failing you year after year. We know that this precarious resource will soon be entirely destroyed, and that you can no longer rely on it for the maintenance of your old men, your wives, and your children; and we believe that, thus circumstanced, you should look around you and endeavor to provide, from the means you possess, some more permanent and more certain dependence, to protect you against the poverty and wretchedness which may otherwise be your portion.

We address you in plain language, but with sincere hearts, when we say, that, of the much you possess, we think a little may suffice, to attain for you this great and desirable end. We ask you, whether you do not think it might be advisable for you to sell some of your lands, the most distant from your towns and villages, to provide for the old, the poor, and the helpless, among your people, and to establish a broad foundation of peace and comfort, for those who may rise up after you are laid in your graves. This has ever been the policy of your white brethren, in every age and every country, and will it not be for your interests to follow their example?

We know a market can be found for some of your lands, at a price which may relieve the present wants of your whole nation, and with care and attention on your part, provide for the wants of your posterity. You can receive a payment in hand, and payments year after year, in money or goods, at your option; not such as you have heretofore received for the lands you have sold, but such as honest men may offer, and freemen may accept.

We consider this a proposition of great importance to the Creek nation, and we recommend it to your closest consideration, as the opportunity which now offers is favorable to you, and we hope you may profit by it, because we are desirous to enable you to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to silence the complaints of the aged, and to shame the mischief makers, who lead your young men astray, with the hopes of making a living by lying and stealing.

We beg of you to examine these important points seriously, as coming from your friends; take them into your council, and let them sink deep into your hearts; and should you require it, we are ready to go into any explanations for your information and your satisfaction.

The council adjourned.

FORT WILKINSON, 30th May, 1802.

SIR:

We have the honor to inform you, that, after exhausting every plausible pretext for delay, we found ourselves compelled to commence our negotiations with the Creeks yesterday, having had no communication with the State of Georgia, except what will be found in the enclosed copy of our correspondence with Governor Tattnall.

The address under cover, will exhibit to you, the great caution with which we have been obliged to open our business, to prevent irritation and alarm, and the effects of a sudden impulse. The points prefaced to our main subject, though in some degree irrelative to the objects of the commission, were introduced to excite a strong sense of humiliation and dependence: for these points have proved a fruitful source of discussion to the superintendent, and are well understood by the Indians, who attach due importance to them.

We have not yet been able to penetrate the dispositions of the Indians relative to the immediate views of Government; but it is not improbable, should they be prevailed on to sell at all, that they may incline to favor a general contract of larger compass than is proposed, say to the Oakmulgee river, in its whole extent, and to include five millions of acres in the Fork, because they prefer strong natural boundaries, and in the progress of the plan of civilization, have acquired correct ideas of the value of property, and the importance of some permanent annual revenue, to aid their domestic manufactures and agricultural pursuits, and to supply the defects of former resources.

Should they come forward with propositions of this cast, an extension of our powers will be necessary, to authorize us to meet them, and, as time and circumstances may render this impracticable, during the pending conference, we shall not venture on a scale of such magnitude, to enter into any but eventual engagements, subject to the future discussion of the Government. But, in prosecuting the immediate objects of our instructions, it seems necessary you should authorize the Branch Bank of Charleston, and the officers of the revenue, in that city and Savannah, to negotiate our bills, as it is difficult to raise money on them in the market.

We shall, however, to enable the factor here, who has not a dollar to discharge his past engagements, and to meet future ones, and for contingent purposes, draw on you, the first of the ensuing month, for six thousand dollars, and shall send the bills to Charleston and Savannah, to be negotiated if practicable.

We are, with great respect, sir, your obedient servants,

J. A. WILKINSON,  
BENJAMIN HAWKINS,  
AND W. PICKENS.

The Honorable HENRY DEARBORN, *Secretary of War.*

*June 8th.*—The commissioners met the chiefs and principal men of the Creeks in their council square, and addressed them as follows:

*Chiefs and Head-men of the Creek nation:*

It is now ten days since we opened our minds to you on several subjects of importance to your own immediate welfare, and the happiness of your posterity.

We have waited patiently for your answer, and we did expect you would have spoken freely to us before this day, but we have been disappointed, and we are sorry for it; because we understand well the dangers and difficulties which surround you, and are desirous you should embrace the opportunity which now offers, to make provision for the many debts you owe the white people, and for your own wants, and those to which your children will be exposed.

*Chiefs and Head-men*, open your ears, and listen well to our voice: When we last spoke to you, we recommended to you the sale of some of your lands, which are of little use to your nation, and are much wanted by your white brethren, and we then informed you we knew of a market, in which you might receive a liberal price for that which is worth nothing to your nation. We begged you to take this proposition into your serious consideration, and to give us your opinion of it, so soon as you had made up your minds, but you are silent.

We, therefore, find it our duty to come forward and inform you, that we have been ordered by your father, the President of the United States, to say to you, that he is desirous to purchase from your nation, the land west of the Altamaha, and below the Oakmulgee rivers, as far as the St. Mary's river, and also the land between the Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers, for which he is willing to pay you a large sum in hand, and to make you such annual payments, in money or goods, as may feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and provide for the aged and helpless of your whole nation, and to enable you to fulfil your treaty stipulations with your neighbors, which may, and will save the remainder of your land from ruin.

In making this proposition to you, your father, the President, is actuated by a sincere desire to silence the complaints, and provide for the wants of his white children; and, at the same time, to secure to his red children a permanent income, more valuable to them than hunting and trapping, which will last as long as the grass grows, and assist them to increase their stock; to promote their domestic manufactures, and extend their agricultural pursuits, as well as to ensure the remainder of their wide extended nation for ever. In short, to make them useful to themselves and to mankind; happy in their condition, and independent of the world.

We are your friends; we have told you so before, and you must believe us. We have given our attention to these propositions; we have considered them well, and we recommend to you to indulge the desires of your father, the President, who has your good, and the good of your whole nation, at heart.

We have nothing further to say at present. We desire you to take this talk into your serious deliberation, and to consider it well before you give us an answer. In the mean time, we shall be ready to counsel and to advise you, should you request it.

The council adjourned.

June 9.—The commissioners met the chiefs, and Efau Haujo, the speaker for the nation, addressed them thus: FRIENDS, FATHERS, AND BROTHERS:

I am going to speak to you. You three gentlemen saw me when I was in my own land. You saw me here; you told me that the great man to the Northward gave you great talks, and you have given them to us. I mentioned when I saw you, that I was old, but nevertheless, we would talk over old things together. I was told by your beloved men, that the talk you have given us was straight, and that, before we parted, every thing would be straight on both sides. According to what has passed between us about the business, we have come forward, and to day I am going to talk about the same. I was told, that when all things were made straight, it would be to the happiness and tend to prolong the safety of the red people. I wish to give a talk, that will be the means of putting it in my power of being friends with all my red people, and the white people. The intention of the talk I will give you is this, that I hope what I now say, will be beneficial to all, old and young, when I am dead and gone; this is my intention, and this will be the drift of my speech.

I address myself to the gentlemen appointed to speak to us, to let them know our poverty and distress; and I hope they will think what I do will be right and acceptable. I have been talked to a great deal before I could lift up my head, but now I can lift up my head and look up. The thing that was asked us to part with, was like asking us to cut ourselves in two, and take one half one way, and the other half the other way. I was told by the great men, who were appointed to bring us the talk of the great man, that they hoped we would not throw his talk away; and I hope they will consider that we have not thrown his talk away. You see my situation; I am poor, and I consider that I have made myself very poor in complying; yet I have considered it, and I have done it. I saw the great complaints which hang over our land; they have been laid before us; we have considered them as they are. Upon the talk you gave us, we have considered much; it was some time before I could make up my mind upon it, but I have weighed it well, and am now going to give my mind upon it. When a man has a child, he considers him, and is not willing to distress him and make him poor. I mentioned this before, and I mention it again. I hope what we do, though it is not as much as was required and expected, yet it will be thought sufficient. I hope it will be considered as it is; and that, although it is not what was asked, yet it will suffice for the present demands. We now give on paper (delivering the map) what we mean and intend; it is a map of the country we cede.

I have now some few things more to say. I have considered things in this light. The Oconee is a large river, half was ours; it was a stopping place; but we see cattle is over, and will be over; and if they were on Oakmulgee, the cattle would be over, and being near to the Indians, there would be no chance of preserving peace between them and their friends. I hope it will be considered it is not right to make us too poor, and that it will not be thought hard that we parted with no more; we can lie down and enjoy what we have; although it is but little, we may rest on it. I have been told our people are very mad; it is so, they are so; but we are not the only mad people; the white people, they come over, hunt on our lands, some with fire and with fire arms; and the cattle they are over, and have eaten all the food of our black game (the bear.) We were told that people were set to prevent it, and to protect our rights, but they cannot prevent these things; they are over, and we see they cannot be prevented. The President of the United States, who sent these talks, we hope and expect, gave you full powers, and that you will, as formerly, endeavor to put things in force, to prevent these things, before there is an end of our business. What I speak in time for, is, I see when there was a river, people could not be restrained; and now, when there is no water boundary, they will perhaps act as they have done; they have stopped our creeks with fish traps, and also our part of the river; they cut cedar on the Oakmulgee, and at other places. The fish at Oakmulgee, and terrapins, are ours, and we wish they may remain to our use. Why I say so much on this subject is, that I know the past, and I wish to begin in time, to prevent the consequences which I apprehend. I speak, that the whites and Indians may equally take pains, in a gentle manner, and by gentle means, in time, to preserve good neighborhood, and that they will exert themselves to that end. I consider it in this light, that the heads of the white people, who can govern their people, should take the necessary precautions on their part, to keep their young people in bounds, and we will do the same on our part, as well as we can. When Oconee was made the line, the river was the bounds for stock; we were told, in Mr. Seagrove's time, if hunters came over, we might take their guns; if trapper's came, we might take their traps; and if cattle came over, we might drive them off. We have not done these things; we wished to be in peace and friendship with our neighbors, and therefore we have not done these things; and we have submitted to the loss of our grass and game, to be in peace with our friends. This is not all. It is not here only, but on Cumberland; they have large dogs and horses, and they come out there, and hunt for, or drive off the bear, before our hunters get there. Our faults were mentioned; we must mention our complaints against our neighbors.

I have talked of these things to Colonel Hawkins, and I am sure he has sent them on, and I now address them to General Wilkinson, who is a great man, and commands many; I hope he will assist us, and help us to get redress. I give this warning before hand, because I know cattle and horses know not lines, and will go after grass. When a man goes after his horse or cow, let him take a bridle and go after him, if it is on our land, but he must go without a gun; I hear that here, where the lines are known, the people come over a day's walk from the line to good food, and there give salt to their stock; they also take out their hogs with corn, and leave them in every part on our borders. By carrying their stock out so far, they accustom them to going still farther, and they get lost, and when

they are lost, the Indians are blamed for it; some times they have seen horses out for ten months as strays, and the Indians are accused, and charged with stealing them. I wish that the white people would keep their stock as much as possible on their own side, and endeavor to induce them to stay on their own side. If cattle go over the line, we wish that they may be returned in peace; horses, hogs, and every thing, may be returned in like manner. There must be many white people unknown to us, who have stock among us; when they come after it we wish to assist them in getting it back, and will direct them by signs and other ways to get their property, if they cannot talk our language.

After a conference with the chiefs, Efau Haujo speaks again:

This day is appointed to consider our distressed situation, and to remove all difficulties; this day the land under us we have given up, the trees around us, the water, fine for mills, and good land, and a great deal of it. The good that will arise from the land will have no end; in the summer there will be the grass for stock, and other things in the winter; I consider these things, and I have given them up. The way of the red is this; they are a poor people; if there be any oak trees, they get acorns from them, and from hickory trees they get hickory nuts, and the blackberries in their season. I address myself to Colonel Hawkins, and I find the white people do the same; they suppose you favor the red people, but we believe you hide nothing from either side, and you are the friend of both. When people buy or sell, or bargain for any thing, they take care to understand each other rightly, before they put a price on it; I think that a hundred measures of land (acres) should be two hundred dollars; there are a great many charges against us by the white people; they do not spare in their charges for things that are not lasting, and therefore we ask a price for that which is lasting. You will consider the debts we owe, and fix them, and first pay them; then what remains, to be paid us, as our annuity. It may be thought that I ask a great price for land, but I know that hogs, cattle, and horses, know not bounds, and they will eat our grass to Oakmulgee, and we must set this value on our lands: I mention this business now, that you may hear it. It was the talk of the old President, that the military should be put down to protect them; they are now left behind, and we wish they may be brought forward, and posted at the corner where the line turns from the Indian country road out side. There is a greater opportunity now than formerly, for wild people to transgress, and of course a greater necessity for the aid of the military. We have agreed that where the Apalachy path crosses the line, old Mr. Philips, his sons and families, shall have lands; it is to be out side of the line now ceded, and Coweta and Cussetah will fix the place for them, and will point it out, and these people are to keep a store there for the red people. Perhaps you may want to run your line, now offered, immediately; if so, we will appoint four men from each town to run it with you; we mention this as perhaps you may think that man (meaning Bowles) may do something to prevent it. Here you may see the inconvenience from drinking, and we wish our young people may have no temptation to go among the white people for drink, but be confined to these trading places. We wish our stipend may be paid us in hard dollars; when we take it, we can divide it, and lay it out as we please.

I turn to another subject; I am now going to speak about the lines of Tombigby; I want to know who the people are who live there, that I may know who to address myself to for redress of the complaints there. The reason I ask is, I want to know who owns the land where the old British line is, that when I turn them over the line, I may know whether I can apply to the fort there for assistance; the people of Tombigby have put over their cattle in the fork on the Alabama hunting grounds, and they have gone a great way on our lands; I want them to be put back; the Indians begin to complain, and will soon begin to do mischief. We all know the owners of these cattle are Americans, on this side of the line of limits, and here it is that we mention it to the commissioners.

HOPOTE MICCO. It is not stock only we complain of; we find that houses are built on our lands, and fields are cleared and cultivated. We shall wait a reasonable time to give an opportunity to the officers of Government, whose business it is to attend to such things, to move those people off; under the expectation that they will do it; and if they do not move off, we shall consider these things as our property, and act accordingly.

EFAU HAUJO. At the time of old Washington, in Seagrove's time, we had a talk from Washington, and a messenger was sent off to Coleraine, with the talks of the nation in answer; he was not a horse thief, but a man with a white flag, and his blood was spilt near Coleraine. Two of the commissioners present had it before them at Coleraine, and we have not had an answer since. I lay this before you for your serious consideration; I have the burthen of these things; they are laid before me, and I feel for them in the same manner that you will, when they are laid before you. After you have considered on it, we wish a reply from you for our Big Warrior.

TUS-KE-NE-HAU CHARCO, of CUSSETAH. Our town is charged with a negro killed; the fact is, that we lost a man by the Americans, in our hunting ground, and this negro was taken for it, and we would wish to know if this debt is paid. The debt, if not paid, and it is to be paid, I shall think, when I pay, that Georgia owes us a man.

CUSSETAH MICCO. I lost two men, and at Coleraine asked for, and think I was promised, satisfaction; I have not got it; and as old things are mentioned, I name it. I have another against the State of Georgia, or a negro of the State of Georgia, for an Indian murdered by a negro.

EFAU HAUJO. I have something further to say, but I will postpone it to another day; it is now late, and you, as well as we, want refreshment. The council adjourned.

June 11th.—The commissioners and chiefs assembled.

EFAU HAUJO addressed the commissioners as follows:

MY FATHERS AND BROTHERS:

You are all before me; this is the last talk I will give you. I speak to you in friendship, and in earnest, and my talk is a serious one; my talk is in this line: I am a sufferer, and I expect it will be considered that I am one. I hope you will consider me so, and that you will not turn my talks aside, or consider them as trifling. My people are a poor people; and the reason I speak so much upon the subject, is, because I wish you to consider us so. You have seen me, my country, and my people; and I hope the President may see my talks as they are delivered, that, in future, we may not be pressed upon. It must be considered in this way, that we have spared that which is necessary to us, and we have not enough for our own use. As we are the aboriginals in this land, we hope it will be considered that the land is ours; and this is the talk of all the chiefs present. The President, as you have told us, sent his talk, and it must be so; we receive it as such; we have gone as far as we well can; it is like splitting us in two, and giving away half of us; we do this, and we are in hopes, in future, we shall be safe. Now I lay down this line plain, that you may see, you who are a great people; if any should come over and encroach upon our lands, they will trespass upon our rights, and violate our peace, and we are poor and unable to help ourselves; and we hope great people in authority will prevent these things, and save our lands. Here are the masters of the land; we are all together; we have done this; and from this day forward, if any men should come among us after land, we shall look upon him as not coming from the President. I have now talked to the men from the President; and if, in future, a man should come among us after land, we now declare we shall look upon him as not coming from the President; and I shall direct all my men to take notice of this accordingly. My request is to the commissioners now, that, as the garrison has been useful heretofore, in stopping mischief makers, as was promised us, we wish they may be continued, and put down on our frontiers; and that there may be horsemen as well as foot, to repress the evil doings, as well of my own people, as the white people; to preserve peace when I am at home, and that in force, sufficient to keep the mischief makers within bounds.

We have considered it so, that Phillips and his friends must be put down, not on the land we have sold, but outside; it is a plan that we have got, that he and his friends may guard that quarter; he has been a great friend to our nation, and in consideration thereof, we have done this. Another thing I mention to you in this light, is, that there are people travelling with families, with negroes, and property of value; and I caution you, that my young men, when they see this, are tempted to injure them, and I am not able to prevent it; if so many go through as they

do, scattering through all parts of the country, I am apprised that bad consequences will follow from it; let a path be found for them down the Tennessee. It is known that there is a path for people towards Natchez; all who go with families, should be directed to that path, to prevent a breach of the peace, and to preserve it; I this day have the commissioners before me; I address myself to them on this subject. There is one way for travellers I have mentioned; there is another, round our country, by water, which is safe. I speak in this light; I do not love my land from people who are coming after cattle, horses, or hogs, or to trade with us, or single persons coming with papers on business; I confine myself to families, and the crowds with their property; these I object to. I now take upon myself to speak to the Quakers; I have found that the tools they have sent us, as a token of their friendship, have been useful to us, and we are better able to judge now, than when we first received them, as we have tried them, and found them useful to us; and we hope they will send some more of them to us; they know what is useful, and we will be grateful for them. Micco Thlucco, of Cussetah, says he has tried them, and found them useful; his plough is worn out, and he is much in need of another; he understood that, after experiment, if they were really found to be good, they might expect more; he has tried them, found them to be good, reports it as such, and asks for more.

We considered to have Mr. Hill near us, for our accommodation, to attend our talks; and we know he must have cattle for his own use, and that of Colonel Hawkins, when he comes our way, or while he directs our talks. It has been judged proper to have him near the Tussekiak Micco, who can co-operate with him, in suppressing disorders. I hope you will consider that the blacksmith is not to leave Mr. Hill, but to be put near him. One blacksmith is not sufficient; we want another for the Lower towns, and Tuskenehau Chapco, of Coweta, is pointed out to place and to protect him.

Hoppie Micco wants another smith fixed in the fork of Alabama. I consider I have one, and therefore I do not speak for myself; I hope he will remain where he is.

Coweta Tuskenehau Chapco requests that a woman weaver may be placed with the smith, to teach their young women to weave, as they have already spun a good deal of cotton.

Tussekiak Micco requests that a woman may be placed with Mr. Hill and the smith, to weave for his village; they are desirous of instruction, and there are many women in his village.

EFAU HAUJO to Colonel Hawkins.—As for cropping, it was advised to pay attention to, and make it the fashion, to plant; as yet, we have a little hunting; it was what we have been brought up to; it is an old custom, we cannot lay it aside, and we must attend to that too. Whenever our young people find a skin, if it be but one, we wish a place where we may carry it, and get something for it. The hunters they have liberty to work or hunt. This day, we tell you, we do not throw away cropping, stock, or weaving; we will attend to them all, and will attend, also, to hunting; if we get a little by the latter, it will be something to add to our chance in the former; if it be but a little, it is something. The first day the Indians found a white man, they found a friend; and, although they had no interpreters, they found a way to trade, and to be useful to each other, and we wish to preserve trade. There is another thing, the Cherokees have found a good price for racoons, foxes, and wild cats; for large ones, they have a chalk, (quarter of a dollar) and when they are small, they put two on each other. We find it not so among us, and we wish one price for these things could be found at the factories. Another thing they mention, is, what I have seen myself, since I came here: the goods have risen in price; can it be that they are small things growing out of the ground, and as such, we purchased them when we came, and they have now grown larger, and a price accordingly appear on the same things?

I am now going to speak on another subject: the last treaty at Coleraine, some articles of which are not fulfilled. I am now going to make an effort to progress; I have not the power to lift up an arm against our neighboring towns; we consider that, after this treaty, when we go home, we shall try to put in force our warriors; there are a good many towns here present, who speak upon it; there is no other way to fulfil the promise of the old treaty. There are but two keys: the United States have one, and a store, and Spain has the other now in Pensacola; these two keys must lock the doors, and be put in the pocket. I do not say in how many months, or how many years, it can be done, and then for the door to be opened. It is to be left to me to order the door to be opened, as soon as we have done our business, by carrying the treaty into effect. If a white man, as factor or trader, should take any goods from the United States or Spain, to the nation, there must be a rule by which they are to be punished; and the regulation must be in force, till the nation give satisfaction, in the cases complained of. We blame not the white people, we blame ourselves; and this is to remain a law, until the nation complies with her treaty stipulations. When we have done this, the doors must be opened, and let trade take its course. This is a law we have now made, and it must be sent to the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, that they may know it. And it is our law that these nations shall not supply any goods to a Creek. Now, Cherokees, our brothers; some of our people are running to you for trade; you must put a stop to it, as well as the United States and Spain; the same we address to the Chickasaws and Choctaws.

TUSTONNUGGE THLUCCO.—This law is for the people on this side of the line of limits; as for those of Spain, they are for themselves; if they can make a war, let them see to it.

EFAU HAUJO.—There is this proviso in our law: people in debt may go pay their debts, and if they have a balance due them, let them take money or due bills, and keep them till a regular trade is restored. This law is passed by our own chiefs; if injury is done any one, we are to feel the misery of it ourselves, from a want of trade. I think my talks have been extended as far as in my power, to preserve peace. I hope that you, Colonel Hawkins, will first put it in force, by sending it to the agents of the other three nations, and assist us in carrying it into effect, and see to the execution of it, till our object is effected. As this is the finishing of the talk, I have to regret that our women, with the hoes, are behind us; that they and their children are likely to have poverty and hunger for their lot. I consider all this, and it is my care; it presses heavily on my mind. I think I have done all in my power to save my land. I want, in three days, at farthest, to try to set out, that we may not entirely lose our crops, and all suffer with hunger. This is the end of my talk, and I hope it will be for the benefit of all, when we are dead and gone.

The commissioners informed the chiefs that they would meet them to-morrow, after breakfast, and proceed on with their negotiations, with all possible despatch.

The council adjourned.

June 12.—The council being assembled in the square,

Colonel *Hawkins*, as Agent for Indian Affairs, addressed the Indians, as follows:

It being the desire of the commissioners to settle all things between the red and white people, and to make arrangements to prevent any misunderstandings in future, it is agreed that I shall give a detail of past transactions, on both sides.

To understand these things clearly, I must go back to the treaty of Coleraine. Before that time, the misunderstandings between the Indians and white people had proceeded to such heights, that the President of the United States thought proper to appoint commissioners to meet at Coleraine, to settle their differences.

The people of Georgia attended, by their commissioners, and the Creeks, by a numerous deputation, and they told their differences face to face, before the commissioners of the United States.

At that treaty, no land was asked, and you were told to explain yourselves freely, on all points, that the commissioners, after a full knowledge of your true situation, might form a treaty, which was to be the basis of the future happiness of the Creek nation, as well as to secure the interests of their neighbors.

Every talk made by the red people, and every talk made by the white people, and the treaty, were sent to the President.

Every thing was balanced, then, according to the terms of the treaty, except the blood which I shall mention.

One was the case of the man bearing the flag, who was murdered near Coleraine, and the case of Harrison, which was left to the laws of Georgia.

The President, after he examined the treaty, to ensure its faithful execution, sent me into the Creek nation, to fulfil every thing done at the treaty.

Upon my arrival in the nation, the first violation which happened was the murder of Fielder's black woman, by the Cowetas, said to be in retaliation for a man killed before the treaty.

The second was a man killed in Cumberland, of the name of Genty, by a man of the Upper towns, without any provocation.

The third was a chief wounded in Little river, by some persons of Georgia.

The fourth was Brown, killed by an Uchee.

The fifth was, some people of Hancock county fired on the commissioners, killed one, and wounded two. The Coweta people turned out and took satisfaction, by killing Nicholas Vines.

The sixth was Allen, killed by an Uchee.

The seventh was a Mrs. Smith, scalped and shot through near Tombigby—not killed. The man who did that abominable act has been killed, by an order of the chiefs, upon my demand, and the transaction reported by me.

The eighth case is Mooreland, killed by a Cussetah, without any provocation.

It appears, by this statement, that there are five debts due to the white people, since the treaty of Coleraine.

The complaints of the violation of the treaty of New York, are, that you have not delivered up all the negroes or prisoners agreeably to the stipulations of the treaty. On your part, you charge Georgia with not fulfilling the treaty, in omitting to send persons to claim, and you have pledged fulfilment on your part, which I have stated to their Governor. I believe that all the prisoners have been returned except Miss Williams and Mrs. Perrimond. Mayfield was a prisoner three years in your land, and Stevenson's family four years in your land; after my arrival among you, Mayfield was purchased by his friends, although I was informed he was free.

The murdering of people, the keeping of negroes and prisoners, after the peace, was and is a great source of uneasiness, to the white people, and to the President of the United States, and gives just cause for complaint against you. The case relative to Cornell, the chief with the flag, who was murdered, was sent, by me, to the President, from Coleraine, and I stated the case to the President myself. After the treaty of Coleraine, there came a complaint of a man killed; supposed by Cornells, in the Chickasaws, and of a boat load of people killed near Kaskaskias, by the Creeks, found to be of his town. The friends of the people murdered in the boat have complained to the President, and the war officer, repeatedly, about it; but as the affair, although not known at the time, was before the treaty of Coleraine, we were bound to finish the business of blood by that treaty, and I was directed to say, to the Creeks, "you say nothing about the blood you have lost before the treaty of Coleraine, and I shall say nothing about the blood of people murdered before the same treaty." The people who have lost their blood since, and who could not get their negroes or prisoners, have complained to the President, and he has sent to me to get satisfaction. I, from year to year, have laid it before the chiefs, demanding satisfaction, and, to this day, it is not given. The next complaint against you is horse stealing and the taking of property. It began on Cumberland, and property, to a large amount, was taken by the Cousadees; and satisfaction has been given, except for seven hundred dollars. The people, on the frontiers of Cumberland, complain, every year, of horses being taken from them; they say they have got some back, but much damaged; some are dead, and some not returned. They complain, particularly, of horses taken by James Fife, and sold to David Tate, to the value of three hundred dollars; this debt has been proved, and the value ascertained. I have stated to the President that, this season, I have taken four, and sent them back, and that I have heard of no other complaints from thence. The Indians complain that they come over from Cumberland, and hunt on their lands. The next point of complaint is from the people of Georgia; they complain that their horses are stolen every year, some sent back much damaged, some dead, some retained. The complaints, on this quarter, on the part of the Creeks, are, that the Georgians have stock on their lands, and that they come over and hunt on their lands, with fire in the night, and with fire guns; that they stop their rivers and creeks with fish traps. I have not heard of any property stolen from the Indians, by the people of Georgia, but what I have paid for when reported regularly. There are some very good horses stolen from Captain Spann; they have been much damaged, and two of them died in bringing them home. The Governor of Georgia lays a complaint against you for some negroes that have been stolen; five taken, and two not returned, the property of Mrs. McIntosh.

The next complaint is a small one; it is two public horses stolen by the Cussetah people, which went there with the blacksmith's tools; these horses went to their town, and the complaint is made by me, as the fact is within my own knowledge.

The next point of complaint is on the part of Spain; the first is, that the Indians have killed some of their people at the lime kilns

The second, that the chiefs have taken a white man, of the name of Bowles, an American, made him a chief, and are, in his name, carrying on a war against Spain.

The third, that, on our side of the line, people from Coweta, Tallahassee, Apalachicola, Hitcheta, Uchee, Oseooche, Oconee, Eufaula, and Oketyocenne, have all joined this man in war against Spain. In this state of things, the Creek nation may be compared to a piece of spunk; that fire is struck in it, on the side of the Seminoles, and it is likely to burn up the whole nation, if not timely extinguished. I have stated to the President, to the Governor General at New Orleans, for the King of Spain, that the Chiefs, about me, have done much, and are trying to do all they can, to be good neighbors; they have killed one, and whipped twenty-five, since the experiment to establish a national government and law. I have reported to the President, and to the Governor General of his Catholic Majesty, all your acts worthy of praise; and I have concealed from the red or white people none of their crimes. I have given promises to the white people, every year, by your order, from your national council, that they should have justice done; but, because it is not done, the white people believe I am more your friend than theirs. The President, Mr. Adams, who was the predecessor of the present President, he, although a great and good man, began to believe that the experiment for your civilization could not be carried into effect; that the plan itself was ideal. He began to give it up, by withdrawing his confidence from those entrusted with its execution. Your enemies, by misrepresentation, induced him to turn out Mr. Dinsmoor, one of the best men in the Indian department; sober, prudent, and very attentive to the duties of his appointment; and to replace him by quite another sort of a man—one, as the Cherokees informed you and me, more attentive to his bottle and woman, than to their interest. And serious attempts were made to lessen my standing with him, to destroy my character as a public man, and to render me odious to my fellow citizens, because I was an enemy to those speculative views of your enemies.

In this state of things, Mr. Jefferson came into office, and found me in the department. He has kept me in; he has re-animated the plan for bettering your condition; he placed Colonel Meigs, an honest and estimable man, among the Cherokees; he has sought for and sent Mr. Dinsmoor to the Choctaws; and wishing to have a correct view of Indian affairs, and to make such amicable arrangements as might lead to their prosperity, has sent General Wilkinson, General Pickens, and myself, to see all the red people, to examine into their wants, and report to him their true state, that he might extend to them the benevolent care of the Government. You have heard the speech of the President, as we delivered it to you; but, I will give it to you in two or three sentences. In the first place, we are to examine into all the complaints of both the white and the red people, and to see what can be done to promote peace between them, and to take measures accordingly; and secondly, your father, the President, saw that, in the settlement of your debts, it was not improbable but that you might be involved in serious difficulties; this, together with an anxious concern for your future well-doing, induced him to advise that the red people should sell some of these lands to pay their debts, and provide for their future wants, that there may be no fears in future, when you have funds at command, to apprehend any thing from horse stealing.

Having said what I have, in my station as agent for Indian affairs; and I have done it, that you and my colleagues may understand clearly the differences between the red and white people. In future, you will be addressed by the commissioners.

The commissioners then observed to the chiefs, that, having listened patiently two days, and heard their talks, they would take the same into consideration, and give an answer without unnecessary delay.



The *Big Warrior* of Tuckaubatchee, urged for an immediate answer, and manifested some impatience.

Colonel *Hawkins* then informed the chiefs, that the commissioners would speak to them the next day. But this did not satisfy the *Big Warrior*, who became petulant.

General *Wilkinson* then observed, that this was a new thing to him; that he had conferred with many Indian nations, but never before heard the child attempt to dictate to the father; that it seemed extraordinary, after the council had taken ten or twelve days for deliberation, and had now spoken for two days successively, they should desire to hurry the commissioners into an immediate reply; that he was as much the friend of the red people as any man; and that he felt even more for them, than for the white people, because the latter was able to protect themselves; that if the council did not wish to hear the voice of the President, they should say so at once, and he would not speak one word more to them. But that the commissioners of the United States must be treated with respect, and when they do speak, shall be heard and attended to. The General rose, and walked out of the square, but was soon invited back by the council, and *Efau Haujo* made an apology for the conduct of the *Big Warrior*, and the council adjourned in friendship and good humor, to meet the next morning.

*June 13th.*—The council assembled in the square. General *Wilkinson*, on behalf of the commissioners, addressed the Indians:

CHIEFS, HEAD-MEN, AND BROTHERS:

Yesterday your friend Colonel *Hawkins* spoke to you; his talk was a plain one, and you understand it. This day I am to speak to you; my talk will also be a plain one; and if it should be strong, you must not be displeased, because it is intended for your good. You are free men, and are to judge of it, and will give it such weight as you may think it merits.

We opened our ears, and listened to your voice when you last spoke to us. We have taken your words into our hearts. We have considered them in every part, and we now meet you, to give you the answer of your Father, the President of the United States: for we speak to you in his name, and with his voice.

When your Father, *Washington*, sent his beloved man, *Hawkins*, to you, it was to assist you, to serve you, and to do you good. Yet you received him with distrust, and you doubted his intentions. The lies which you had heard from your former agents, were fresh upon your minds; your eyes were still turned towards a people beyond the great water, and you had no faith in the Government of the United States. Not that they had injured or deceived you, you had injured them; they saw you were misled in doing so, and had the magnanimity to forgive you. But a little time convinced you that *Washington* was your true Father, and that his beloved man was your true friend; and the falsehoods which were circulated within your nation, and the hopes which you had cherished of support from a distant country, slipped away from you like a cloud from the side of a mountain.

*Jefferson*, your present Father, has succeeded your father *Washington*, in due course, and, happy for your whole nation, he fosters the same regard for you, and possesses the same power to promote your interests. This we have told you before; and although I am a stranger to you, and you may doubt my sincerity, you are well acquainted with my associates, Colonel *Hawkins* and General *Pickens*, and cannot doubt their friendship for you.

When your Father, *Jefferson*, sent us to meet you, it was his wish, his hope, and his expectation, that you would listen to his voice, and put it in his power to provide for your welfare, and that of his white children.

For this purpose he ordered us to ask from you some land, which your white brethren had requested him to procure for them, which is of little value to yourselves, and for which he is willing to pay you more than you can make from it.

We have advised you to grant his request, but you shut your ears against us, and offer him a small part of what he requires from you, which will neither accommodate his white children, nor enable him to serve you in the degree he desires.

Should we accept this offer from you, before we have made a further explanation of your Father's intentions towards you, and of what is necessary to your interests, we should not act like faithful friends to you, or like faithful commissioners to him; and we should shut our ears, and our eyes, against the feelings and the interests of your white brethren.

When we recommended to you to sell the land, which your Father asked from you, beyond the *Altamaha*, and between the *Oconee* and *Oakmulgee* rivers, we hoped you would adopt our advice, and enable us to pay all your debts of property and of blood, to provide for your immediate wants, and to secure to your nation forever, yearly payments in cash, of more worth to you, than all the deer, bear, beaver, racoons, foxes, or other animals, which can be found on those lands. But you have put our talks aside, and you offer to your Father a small strip, which will hardly enable us to pay your debts of property, and will not put it in our power to provide for your immediate wants. You tell us you are poor and ignorant, and that you look up to your Father for help and for advice. Open your ears and your hearts then; put confidence in his regard for you; believe in his power and disposition to serve and protect you; and we pledge our lives to you, that he will never forsake or deceive you. But, when the child turns a deaf ear to the voice of his father, and throws away his advice, what can such child expect, or what can he promise himself? Make the application to your own hearts, you who are fathers, and must rule your nation, and there you will find an answer.

You have told us you cannot sell the land below and beyond the *Altamaha*, because the people who claim it, are not here. Who are these people? If they be of your nation, they have heard the voice of your Father, inviting them to this meeting. They have turned a deaf ear to his voice. They have taken the talk of an impostor, a pirate, and a common liar; and have violated the treaty of the United States with Spain. We call on you, chiefs, head-men, and warriors, to say, whether your Father should look with kindness on such bad children. Whether he should protect their rights, or regard their property. And we call on you to declare to us, you who are the masters of your land, whether it be wise or good, that you should suffer a few mischief-making towns, to prevent you from doing a thing, which would oblige an indulgent Father, and provide for the wants of your whole nation?

Should you be afraid to exercise your own judgment, because of the fools and mischief-makers, who run after the lying vagabond *Bowles*, who has himself run away from the State in which he was born, or, because boys and mad young men, may differ from you in opinion, we recommend to you to call for the arm of your Father to assist and support you. His arm is as strong as a whirlwind, and, if it is raised, will level to the earth all your enemies, and all those who may oppose your will.

*Kings, chiefs, head-men, and warriors, of the Creek nation*, now assembled before us: We, the commissioners of the United States, speaking with the voice of your Father *Jefferson*, do advise you to assert your rightful powers over the lands of your forefathers, and over all mischief-makers to be found in those lands. We know you cannot exist much longer without government. We know you are sensible of this important truth; we, therefore, advise you to stand up like men, to speak like the rulers of your own land, and we will assist you to put down those who may oppose your authority.

You are afraid the stock of your white brethren will over-run your land, eat out your range, and destroy your hunting grounds. Yet you agree to admit them to cross the *Oconee*, to a line of marked trees. And what will be the consequence? You all know it: for cattle, and hogs, and horses, do not understand talks, or know how to obey orders, and they cannot distinguish marks; they will search for food where it can be found, and will lay bare your lands to the *Oakmulgee*, before you have received a farthing for them. But if you make that river the line, it shall be guarded by troops from one end to the other; the fords shall be fenced, and stock, sent into your land, shall be killed.

You cannot suspect the sincerity of our dispositions to provide for your wants, present, and to come. You cannot deny our superior knowledge of the manner and means by which this provision may be attained: for you all know it is not long since your whole nation spurned the idea of fencing fields, or employing the plough, the wheel, and the loom. You all know that the tools, which the Quakers sent you, were suffered to lay useless by you for more than twenty moons; and that it is not long since you destroyed a blacksmith's shop, which had been erected, for your accommodation, by your father.



But you have opened your eyes, and have listened to the words of your beloved man, Hawkins; and, in the course of three years, we behold a happy change in your condition. We see fields fenced, corn ploughed, and cotton planted; you understand the value of hogs, cattle, and horses, weights, measures, and money. We hear wheels and looms at work in several of your villages; and your wise men ask us for tools, for blacksmiths, and for women to teach their wives and their daughters how to spin and how to weave.

Your Father, the President, will hear these things with pleasure; but he will hang his head when we tell him you have refused his request for a small part of your land, necessary to his white children, of little value to yourselves, and for which it is his intention to pay you more than you can make from it.

Remember that Washington rescued you from ruin, and you know that Jefferson is disposed to make you independent and happy. But can you expect he will continue to help you, and to instruct you, while you reject his admonition, and refuse to help yourselves? This would be unreasonable, and you must not expect it: for he is under no obligation to extend his cares to a people, who withhold from others what they cannot themselves enjoy, and refuse to employ the means they possess, to promote their own happiness.

If you are poor, a small piece of your land, sold at this time, will make you rich. If you are ignorant, follow the advice of your friends, and you will become wise and happy.

We have now opened our minds to you, and this is the last talk you will hear from us at this time; but, before we shut our mouths, we shall tell you what will enable us to pay all your debts, to provide for your present wants, and leave a little for the future.

We asked you to sell the county of Tallassee, and the land in this fork, and you have told us the people, who owned the land below us, are not here, and you cannot sell it, without bringing trouble on your nation. We are sorry you cannot oblige your Father in this instance; but, as your reasons are strong against his wishes, he will say no more on that subject.

You admit that the masters of the land, on which we stand, are here, and you offer to sell a part of it. But this part is too small to pay all your debts, and leave any thing for your present or your future wants.

We, therefore, recommend to your serious consideration, the following propositions; we shall wait patiently for your answer, and, when we receive it, our business will be finished.

Water lines being more plain, and more lasting, than marked trees, we advise you to make the Oakmulgee your boundary, between lines to be run from the Rock Landing, and the High shoals of Apalachy, for which we will agree to pay you six thousand dollars, in cash, every year, will give you ten thousand dollars in hand, and will pay all your lawful debts. We advise you to accept this proposition, because it is a good one for you, and may not, hereafter, be offered to you.

If you find you cannot comply with this request, we then propose to you, to buy the land within the following limits: beginning at the mouth of Commissioner's creek, and running up to its source; from thence, following the dividing ridge, between the Oconee and Oakmulgee, as high up as the High shoals of Apalachy, and from thence, by a right line, to strike the head or upper end of the said shoals: for this tract, we will give you two thousand dollars a year; will furnish you two blacksmiths and tools; will pay a part of your debts, and give you ten thousand dollars.

We submit these propositions to you. We hope you may think proper to embrace the first; because it will pay all your present debts, and will provide for those which may be made hereafter. We hope the Great Spirit may direct your determination for the best: for we are your friends.

The council adjourned.

The chiefs of the Coweta and Cussetah towns, called the same evening, and informed Colonel Hawkins that they had changed their minds, and were now determined to sell more land than they at first proposed; their first proposition was to begin at Rock Landing, run with the road to the crossing of Commissioner's creek, to a large reedy branch, two or three miles short of the creek; and from thence, a direct line to the High shoals of the Apalachy; now, they propose to begin at the High shoals of the Apalachy, run to a noted ford on the south branch of the Little river; from thence, to Commissioner's creek, where the road from the Rock Landing crosses it; from thence, to Palmetto creek, down the same to the Oconee; thence, to the confluence of that river and the Oakmulgee, to cross the last river, and proceed down the Altamaha, on the south bank, to Goose creek; thence, to the head of the St. Mary's river, down the same to the old line, with the said line to the Altamaha river, and up the same to Goose creek.

14th and 15th.—The council met at the commissioner's camp, and the precise limits of the concession, after every necessary explanation, were agreed upon, and the treaty drawn.

The council adjourned to meet the next morning.

16th.—The Indians having convened at the commissioners' camp, to sign the treaty,

EFAU HAUJO addressed them as follows:

I am going to give a short talk, which will be the last I shall give. The talks which I formerly received from my father, Washington, I have been exerting myself to fulfil, and I am now going to finish them. I consider that you three, the men who have been appointed to do business here, are good men, and who mean to do good for the red and white people; that is our object, and we mean, to-day, to finish our business for the good of both. The people appointed to give talks to the red people of the four nations, the Chickasaws, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Creeks, have given our talk a straight one, for their good; and, this day, we finish our part of it. Our old friend, General Washington, who gave us the good talks for our land, is gone; and I hope that the man, who is now in his place, will follow his example, assist us to take care of our rights, and help us, as we are a poor, and distressed people. I send on all my talks, that the President may see them; and I hope he will give every attention to them that is necessary, and hold me and my red people fast by the hand, as I, and my nation, wish to hold him. I desire the President to leave to Colonel Hawkins to point out proper places to put down the military for the protection of our frontiers; and I request that Colonel Hawkins will look for such places as he thinks proper, and best calculated for the preservation of a lasting peace between the red and white people. The people, who are around us, will notice the time of day I am speaking, and will remember, from this time of day forward, if any man come to us after land, we shall say he has not authority for what he says; and we, also, put an end to all claims for property against my nation. Every thing done by the red people against the white people, is noted, and mentioned to us; and, on our part, I have to mention an affair; I am an old man, and ought to have mentioned it before, as I promised to do, but I had forgot it. Taskenehau, of Tuckaubatchee, he was in company with Archee Coodee, coming from the Chickasaws to the white settlements, and a party of white people fired on them, killed one Chickasaw, and took three horses from him. The affair happened in the settlements of the white people, and Colonel McKee was near the place; this affair happened a good while past.

After a conference and explanation, relative to Indian property left and lost by the Indians who went with McGillivray to New York, and Mooklausau Hopoie stating that he knew it was paid for by the United States, and that Jack Thompson, of the Cherokees, brought the money:

EFAU HAUJO continued his talk: I look upon it now that every thing is fixed for the good of our nation. There is but one thing now I have to add; I leave it now to Colonel Hawkins; he is placed to see justice done us, and we rely on him to see justice done us; and, that he will liquidate all claims against our nation, allow such as he may think just, and reject such as he thinks otherwise.

[A conference and explanation about a prisoner, for information, and not to be recorded.]

The treaty was then deliberately read by General Wilkinson, on the part of the commissioners, and interpreted, paragraph by paragraph, and the General asked them if they understood it, and were ready to sign; they, after some remarks to each other, answered, yes.

Colonel Hawkins said to the commissioners and Indians, he had a short talk for information, as well to the Indians, as others concerned, and it must be clearly understood before the signature.

By the last talk of Efaul Haujo, it would appear, that he thinks the signing of this instrument puts an end to all claims for property against his nation. But, the fact is otherwise, and the parties must understand each other before they sign. The negroes taken must be restored, agreeably to the treaties of New York and Colerain, the prisoners to be restored as soon as they can, and the people who have shed innocent blood, shall be made to pay the debt when they can be found; but, that no innocent person should suffer.

Full explanation being given by the superintendent for Indian affairs, on these three points, the chiefs agreed that the negroes should be restored, agreeably to treaty, and that these three points should be adjusted by him. They added, they were ready to sign; and the instrument was signed accordingly.

COMMISSIONER'S CAMP, *west of the Oconee, June 17, 1802.*

SIR:

We have the honor to inform you, that we have closed our conference with the Indians, which, in the last stage of the negotiation, took a turn altogether unexpected and extraordinary.

Having employed, with zeal, but without effect, every fair means in our power to accomplish the specific objects of our instructions, we turned our attention from those objects, to one of more importance, in point of intrinsic value, and accommodation to the citizens of the United States, viz: The extinction of the Indian claims within the Oakmulgee fork, from the Rock Landing, up to the High shoals of the Apalachy river.

With this view we submitted our final propositions to the council of the nation, on the 13th instant, and the chiefs of the Coweta and Cussetah towns, waited on us the same evening, from the nation, with the propositions on which we have grounded our contract, and yesterday, the treaty, of which you have a copy, under cover, was executed in due form.

We shall transmit the original instrument, with the detail of our proceedings, by the secretary to the commission, who will proceed to the seat of Government, for the settlement of his accounts, so soon as payment has been made to the Indians, agreeably to stipulation.

It may appear, on a cursory view, that we have exceeded our instructions, in the sum allowed for this concession; but, we believe, a close examination of its comparative value, to that of the tracts specifically designated to us for purchase, and a correct understanding of the circumstances which have occurred, and the motives by which we have been governed, will suffice to justify our proceedings.

The great difficulty to be surmounted was, the passage of the Oconee; and the extension of our front, in contact with the unextinguished claims of the Indians, above the confluence of the Oconee and Oakmulgee, appeared to be the next most desirable object. In prosecuting these views, we had to combat, not only the jealousies, distrusts, and fears, natural to the Indians, but, also, an apprehension, serious and alarming to the old chiefs, that, if they ceded any part of their country, their young warriors might resist it, and, joining the partizans of Bowles, divide the nation, wrest the government from those who at present administer it, and, by some hasty and imprudent act, involve their country in ruin.

We beg leave to refer to our journal, and to future communications, for details, and will barely add, that, if our success has not equalled our wishes, or corresponded with our inclinations, we flatter ourselves substantial advantages have been obtained, and that the result will pave the way to a future concession, at no distant period.

We have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your obedient servants,

J. WILKINSON.  
BENJAMIN HAWKINS.  
AND W. PICKENS.

To the Hon. HENRY DEARBORN, *Secretary of War.*

*June 29th.*—The chiefs sent to request that the commissioners of the United States would attend them in the public square to-morrow, on some affairs relative to the Indians and their friends.

Colonel Hawkins informed them that he and General Wilkinson would attend them, as requested.

CREEK SQUARE, *June 30th.*

EFAUL HAUJO, to the commissioners. We have promised to aid each other. We, on our parts, have been embarrassed with our affairs towards the Seminoles; we are now going to send them a talk, and, if you approve of it, we wish you to write it for us, and send off to Burges, that nothing of it may be lost. If you approve of this mode of doing business, you will assist us.

Colonel HAWKINS: I will write, or do any thing I can for you.

*Efaul Haujo to the Seminoles.*

I wish to inform you, Seminoles, that we have not thrown you away; in our councils we have thought of you, and have not thrown you away. I wish to mention to you, that our views in relation to you, have been to your welfare; we have sought it for you, and we inform Caupicchau Micco, that we think we have discovered something hanging over the heads of the Seminoles, which induces us to write this to them. You must no longer persist in the conduct you have hitherto pursued; you must drop it; stop where you are, and adopt another course of conduct; you must listen to the voice of the chiefs of the nation. This talk is from the Aubocoos, the two Upper and the Lower rivers; there are thirty-two towns now with me, while I am speaking, from the whole Creek nation; and it is they who talk to you. You must consider that you have been accustomed to talks, which have misled you, and we now inform you, if you throw this aside, it will be to your injury. You must look upon this as a talk sent to you for your good; if you throw it away, you must yourselves look to the consequences which, in future, may result from such conduct. You must send us an answer; send us the pure sentiments of your hearts; let us know the truth, and what you mean to be at. I send you this to prepare you for another talk; as soon as we get your talk, we shall know what you mean, and we shall then, after a general meeting of the whole nation, send you their talk.

It is not only the chiefs of the Creeks who have heard what is going on with you, but some of the Cherokees and Chickasaws, they join in this caution we send you.

Mr. Burges, our old friend and interpreter, I look on you as my friend; you are a liver in our land, and have been long with us; you have strayed a little of late, but you must get straight; interpret this for the old chiefs, interpret favorable for their wishes; alter your conduct, and in future take part with the old chiefs. After you have interpreted this, you must send the answer of the Seminoles to us in writing. You must send us plainly your own sentiments, your own heart, as well as that of the Seminoles; let us know the truth, and what you and they mean to be at.

We send this by Nehethluck Emautlau, of Oketeyocenen.

MOOKLAUSAU HOPOIE to Colonel Hawkins:

I have something to say on the message to be sent to the Seminoles; it is not necessary to put it on paper for them. Efaul Haujo has appointed a young man to go with the talks of the nation, to the Seminoles. The trust is an important one, and should not depend so much on chance; he may be sick, he may die, or he may not recollect all we mean by our statement; the interpreter we address is at best a doubtful character; I will therefore add two men, accustomed to business, one of whom has travelled much, seen much, and been employed in business; those I send shall attend the Seminoles, deliver our talks, and when the Seminoles answer us, shall watch their eyes, their tongues, and lips, and every feature of the countenance, whilst they are speaking, and report to me in the square of the nation, what they have seen, what they have heard, and what they have done. After they have heard the

Seminoles, my messengers are to go to St. Mark's, and report faithfully to the officer of Spain there, what we have done here, what they have seen and done with the Seminoles, according to the promise of Hopoie Yauholo, of Tuskegee, to the Governor General at New Orleans. I appoint Hopoie Yauholo, of Tuskegee, and Yaufkee Emautlau Haujo, of Auttosee.

EFAU HAUJO, to Colonel Hawkins:

You must pay ten dollars to George Cornells (Talesee Haujo) for a prisoner girl, paid by order of the chiefs. Tuskeenehau, of Tuckaubatchee, claims his horses taken at Chota, opposite Tellico; he lost them at the house of Chota Micco. We were all drinking rum, men, women, and children, and the white people came on us at day break, killed three men and one woman, and wounded several, and an old white man of the Cherokees was killed.

EFAU HAUJO, to General Wilkinson and Colonel Hawkins: I speak to you both, our white friends.

BROTHERS AND FATHERS: I now speak to you, and you will remember it. Our red brothers, sons, and friends, there are four nations of us, if we should fall out, quarrel, and dispute about any thing, you must look upon them as two children quarrelling and fighting. I am a little dubious of the Chickasaws and Choctaws; young Brown, himself, the Chickasaw messenger, he spoke what I did not like, in my presence. It may be some years before any disturbances and quarrelling may take place, or it may be more. If we should quarrel, you, our white friends and brothers, are to be neutral, and not to interfere on either side. There is, among us four nations, old customs, one of which is war. The young have grown up to manhood; if they want to practice the ways of the old people, let them try themselves at war, and when they are tired, let the Miccoes, as they all have such, interpose and stop it; we want you to let us alone. I am led to mention this to you, as Brown, when here, boasted of the power of the Chickasaws.

EFAU HAUJO to Col. Hawkins.—Mr. Barnard is our old interpreter, and we want one of his sons and his brother to settle out on this side, on the Altamaha; he, on Goose creek, near the new line. We wish the Cussetah kings and the Mad Dog to sign, and your commissioners to sign, our permission to the son of Mr. Barnard and his brother, to reside where we have named; and Mr. Barnard is to put on paper, that he will allow those who owned those lands, fifty bushels of salt, and six loads of ammunition, to be paid to the chiefs of the lower part of the nation. If you, Colonel Hawkins, wish to move out yourself, to a new place in the Upper towns, it is agreed you shall settle on your own choice. You see it yourself, that I am getting in age, and cannot do as I used to do. Now, I give it to you before all the chiefs, that my speech is, that Acheaubofau, the town where Foosahatche Micco lives, is the town for the meeting of the national council in future. I give this, that all the chiefs of the Upper and Lower towns may know where business is to be done, that they may attend to it. Now that I have spoken to you, and to the General, you are public and beloved people. When we get back, we shall have a meeting of all our chiefs. We tell you our course of business, and we shall expect you both at the national council, when you will hear from us how we are to fulfil our stipulations with you. I will let you commissioners know when we are going home; some of us are sickly, and are out some distance, and they cannot come and take you by the hand. You must not mind that; I shall take you by the hand for them.

MOOKLESAW HOPOIE to Col. Hawkins.—This Hopoie Yauholo has been at New Orleans, and the Governor General there, told him to come with the chiefs to this treaty, and carry with him the talks of this meeting to Saint Mark's.

I certify this to be a true copy from the original.

ALEX. MACOMB, JUN. *Secretary to the Commission.*

7th CONGRESS.]

No. 100.

[2d SESSION.]

### THE CHOCTAWS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 7, 1803.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

I submit, for your approbation and consent, a convention, entered into with the Choctaw nation of Indians, for ascertaining and marking the limits of the territory ceded to our nation, while under its former government, and lying between the Tombigby and Mobile rivers, on the east, and the Chickasawhay river on the west.

We are now engaged in ascertaining and marking, in like manner, the limits of the former cessions of the Choctaws, from the river Yazoo to our southern boundary, which will be the subject of another convention; and we expect to obtain, from the same nation, a new cession of lands, of considerable extent, between the Tombigby and Alabama rivers.

These several tracts of country will compose that portion of the Mississippi territory, which, so soon as certain individual claims are arranged, the United States will be free to sell and settle immediately.

January 7, 1803.

TH: JEFFERSON.

*A Provisional Convention, entered into, and made, by Brigadier General James Wilkinson, of the State of Maryland, commissioner for holding conferences with the Indians, south of the Ohio river, in behalf of the United States, on the one part; and the whole Choctaw nation, by their chiefs, head-men, and principal warriors, on the other part.*

For the mutual accommodation of the parties, and to perpetuate that concord and friendship which so happily subsists between them, they do hereby, freely, voluntarily, and without constraint, covenant and agree:

ARTICLE 1. That the President of the United States, may, at his discretion, by a commissioner or commissioners, to be appointed by him, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, retrace, connect, and plainly re-mark the old line of limits, established by and between his Britannic Majesty and the said Choctaw nation, which begins on the left bank of the Chickasawhay river, and runs thence, in an easterly direction, to the right bank of the Tombigby river, terminating on the same at a bluff, well known by the name of Hach-a-Tig-geby; but it is to be clearly understood, that two commissioners, to be appointed by the said nation, from their own body, are to attend the commissioner or commissioners of the United States, who may be appointed to perform this service, for which purpose the said Choctaw nation shall be seasonably advised by the President of the United States, of the particular period at which the operation may be commenced; and the said Choctaw commissioners shall be subsisted by the United States, so long as they may be engaged on this business, and paid for their services, during the said term, at the rate of one dollar per day.

ARTICLE 2. The said line, when thus re-marked and re-established, shall form the boundary between the United States and the said Choctaw nation, in that quarter; and the said Choctaw nation, for, and in consideration of, one

dollar, to them in hand paid, by the said United States, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, do hereby release to the said United States, and quit claim forever, to all that tract of land which is included by the before named line on the north, by the Chickasawhay river, on the west, by the Tombigby and the Mobile rivers, on the east, and by the boundary of the United States, on the south.

ARTICLE 3. The chiefs, head-men, and warriors, of the said Choctaw nation, do hereby constitute, authorize, and appoint, the chiefs and head-men of the Upper towns of the said nation, to make such alteration in the old boundary line, near the mouth of the Yazoo river, as may be found convenient, and may be done without injury to the said nation.

ARTICLE 4. This convention shall take effect and become obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall have ratified the same.

In testimony whereof, the parties have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals, at fort Confederation, on the Tombigby, in the Choctaw country, this seventeenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and two, and of the independence of the United States the twenty-seventh.

JAMES WILKINSON.

FORT CONFEDERATION,  
On the Tombigby river, October 17th, 1802. }

SIR:

I have this day accomplished a provisional convention with the Choctaw nation, which I have the honor to transmit you, under cover, and I will express the hope, that it may meet the Presidential approbation. I experienced little difficulty in removing all obstacles to the re-establishment of the old boundary on the side of Natchez; and, to remedy a defect which I have discovered in Purcell's line, I prevailed on the nation to authorize the chiefs of the Upper towns, to make such alterations in it as may be found convenient and necessary. The Indian commissioners, who are to attend the re-survey, are appointed from those towns, and will, I expect, be deputed to act for them. Believing the concession between the Chickasawhay, the Tombigby, and the Mobile rivers, which includes one and a half million of acres, might prove interesting to Government at an early period (it is certainly so at this moment to our citizens, settled on that tract) I exerted my feeble faculties, and with much difficulty effected it. I perceived, at an early day, that it was essential to the successful issue of my views, to distribute, at this conference, the annuities which I brought with me from fort Stoddart to this place, and I instructed Mr. Dinsmoor, the agent, accordingly; to whose co-operation I am much indebted, as I have no assistant with me, and have been afflicted since the 24th ultimo, by a fever, which has several times changed its character, which remains unsubdued, and has greatly reduced my strength. This circumstance will, I hope, excuse me for omitting ordinary details at this time, and also for any informality which may appear on the face of the contract.

The assembly of Indians on this occasion greatly exceeds any previous conference; they number more than eighteen hundred, yet their subsistence will not amount to three hundred dollars.

The day after to-morrow, I shall mount my horse, thought illy able to keep the seat, and shall proceed for the mouth of the Yazoo. I send this letter by express to the post-office; in the Chickasaw nation, to go to you by mail from thence.

And am, with great respect, sir, your obedient servant,

JAS. WILKINSON.

The Hon. HENRY DEARBORN, *Secretary of War.*

*Copy of a letter to General Wilkinson, dated*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *September 7, 1802.*

SIR:

Your several letters, including those of the 9th and 18th ultimo, have been duly received, and yesterday, Lieutenant Macomb arrived with the treaty, &c. The information obtained from Mr. Perrell, appears to be important, and I conceive, will have a happy effect in determining the lines between the Indian nations and the United States. It is the opinion of the President, that whatever relates to the boundaries between the United States, and the Choctaws and Creeks, should be left at your discretion, with such aid as you may obtain from Colonel Hawkins; but that no sum, over and above the usual presents, be stipulated definitively, as a compensation to the Indians, as an inducement to their consenting to the lines being established, conformably to the information received from Mr. Perrell; but if any considerable sum, in addition to the usual presents, should be found absolutely necessary, you will please to ascertain their lowest terms, and let them know that the decision of Congress, and the President of the United States, will be necessary to give a full sanction to the business; but if the sum should be small, there will be but very little doubt of its being sanctioned, and that, therefore, they may consent to the lines being run and marked. It has been determined to establish a trading house in the Choctaw country, but we have been at a loss to determine on a site, that would, under all circumstances, be most useful and convenient. Will you be so obliging as to take the subject into consideration, and give me your opinion thereon. On the Tombigby, not far from the junction of the Tombigby and Alabama rivers, has been considered as a convenient place, if we could, without difficulty, navigate the river through the Spanish territory. The goods have been sent by water to New Orleans, and the factor has gone down the Ohio and Mississippi. Another trading house will be established at Chickasaw bluffs; the goods and agent are on their way; and also one at Fort Wayne and Detroit, are to be established.

I fear that the business of opening the road from Tennessee to Natchez, is progressing but slowly; you will be pleased to pay some attention to that business, if in your power.

I am, sir, respectfully, &c.

H. DEARBORN.

*Copy of a letter to General James Wilkinson, dated*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *September 14, 1802.*

SIR:

Believing it will be found expedient to establish the trading house for the Choctaws on the Tombigby, and having written to Governor Claiborne on the subject, submitting the subject to his and your consideration, I suggested to him the probable necessity of a military guard at the store, presuming that the Indians would have no objection; but I wish your opinion on the propriety of the establishing a guard, and whether the post, on the Mobile, could, with propriety, be removed up the river, to a place suitable for a site for the store. In deciding on the most eligible place for the store, it may be proper to take into consideration a site for a military post, so as to combine both objects, in doing which, a number of circumstances will present themselves, worthy of consideration, which you will be able to examine, and give their due weight. The influence most to be apprehended, as unfavorable to our views, will probably be that of the house of *Panton*, and others; but, if they should take any measure hostile to the benevolent intentions of the Government, we shall have in our power to confine their trade within the Spanish boundaries, and to prohibit their going within the limits of the United States.

When you go to New Orleans, it may not be improper to mention our intentions of establishing a trading house on the Tombigby, with a view of sounding the present feelings of the government, on the subject of our navigating

the Mobile. It should be taken for granted, that those rivers which empty themselves out of the United States into the ocean, through a small part of the Spanish territory, are common highways, but to be used in such a manner as not to injure our neighbors. If you discover it to be a delicate subject, you will waive it, and only intimate, that we expect not to be interrupted in supplying our posts, trading house, &c. until some arrangement shall be made between the governments on the subject; all that is wished at present is, that the disposition of the Spanish officers may be so far known, as to prevent any difficulties, until the ultimate arrangement of the governments shall be concluded.

By information received from New Orleans, it appears that the Chickasaw chief, who has been closely attached to the Spanish interest, and not very friendly to the United States, has, on a late visit to the Governor, been highly offended, and has, in his passion, relinquished a pension of five hundred dollars, which he has heretofore received annually from that Government. It may be proper to take advantage of his present disposition, and endeavor, by presents, or other means, to attach him to our interest; he is called *Ugukucayabe*.

Lieutenant Macomb is here, and proposes being transferred to the corps of engineers. Colonel Cushing is established at Fredericktown; Colonel Burbeck and Major Swan are on a tour to the Northward.

I am, sir, &c.

H. DEARBORN.

7th CONGRESS.]

No. 101.

[2d SESSION.

TRADE.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, JANUARY 18, 1803.

*Gentlemen of the Senate*

*and of the House of Representatives:*

I enclose a report of the Secretary of War, stating the trading-houses established in the Indian territories, the progress which has been made in the course of the last year, in settling and marking boundaries with the different tribes, the purchases of lands recently made from them, and the prospect of further progress in marking boundaries, and in new extinguishments of title in the year to come; for which, some appropriations of money will be wanting.

To this I have to add, that when the Indians ceded to us the salt springs on the Wabash, they expressed a hope that we would so employ them, as to enable them to procure there the necessary supplies of salt; indeed, it would be the most proper and acceptable form in which the annuity could be paid, which we propose to give them for the cession. These springs might, at the same time, be rendered eminently serviceable to our western inhabitants, by using them as the means of counteracting the monopolies of the supplies of salt, and of reducing the price in that country to a just level. For these purposes a small appropriation would be necessary to meet the first expenses; after which, they should support themselves, and repay those advances. These springs are said to possess the advantage of being accompanied with a bed of coal.

January 18, 1803.

TH: JEFFERSON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, January 17th, 1803.

SIR:

By treaties held with the Creek and Choctaw nations of Indians, in the course of the last year, considerable tracts of land have been obtained, and there is reason to believe, that additional cessions, may be obtained on reasonable terms, from the aforementioned and other Indians, in the course of the present year.

The boundary line between the State of North Carolina and the Cherokees, has been completed, and the line between the Natchez territory and the Choctaws, is probably, by this time, established and marked in a manner, which it is presumed will be satisfactory to the United States and to the Choctaw nation.

A boundary line has also been agreed on to the tract of land on the Wabash river, including Vincennes, which will soon be run and marked; and, likewise, the lines around the two tracts on the Portage, between the head waters of the Wabash and the Miami of the lake, including fort Wayne. Some measures have been taken for ascertaining the boundaries between the Indians and the white people, on the Mississippi, commonly called the Kaskaskia settlements, below the mouth of the Illinois river, but for want of authentic documents, it will probably be necessary to resort to a new convention with the Indian nations, for establishing said boundaries, and for procuring some additional cessions, for the purpose of affording means for increasing and strengthening that distant and exposed frontier.

In addition to the two factories, or Indian trading-houses, heretofore established, it has been considered advisable to establish four others, viz: one at Detroit, one at fort Wayne, one at Chickasaw Bluffs, and one with the Choctaws. The surplus of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, appropriated by an act of Congress, of the 16th of April, 1796, and which had not been applied to the two factories, heretofore established, on the frontiers of Georgia and Tennessee, has been applied to the four other establishments recently made. From an investigation of the accounts made and reported to Congress at its last session, it was satisfactorily evident, that the funds employed prior to that period, had not been diminished, and it is confidently believed, that the sum appropriated to that object, may be employed not only without diminution, but with great advantage to the public, not in point of commercial profits, but by attaching and securing the friendship and confidence of the natives, which cannot be sufficiently relied on, while their towns and hunting camps are constantly the resort of unprincipled foreign traders, who make every exertion in their power to withdraw the confidence of the natives from the United States, and to inspire them with jealousies and unfriendly dispositions towards our frontier settlers, our public agents, and the Government. The greatest caution has been observed in selecting the agent for managing the several factories; and, in the course of another year, it is presumed that a satisfactory statement may be made of the state of the funds, and of the effects of their application.

An appropriation of ten thousand dollars,\* to enable the Executive to embrace any favorable opportunity for obtaining any further cession of land from the natives, and a renewal of the act authorizing the establishment of trading-houses with the Indians, with a renewal of the appropriation for that object, is submitted to the consideration of Congress.

With respectful consideration, I am, sir, your humble servant,

H. DEARBORN.

The PRESIDENT of the United States.

\* This sum is in addition to the sum in the general estimate.

*An extract of a letter from Matthew Ernest, Esq. collector of the district of Detroit, to the Secretary of the Treasury, dated November 1st, 1802.*

SIR:

I have made very strict inquiry with regard to the information you had received respecting the conduct of certain British merchants, and have had a consultation with Colonel Hamtramck on that subject, but cannot find that the report has any foundation of truth; any insinuations from them, which has come to my knowledge, was to this amount: That the United States, by establishing trading-houses in this country, and disposing of their goods to the Indians, at a reduced price, must effectually ruin them, as well as the American traders; and that they intended to close their business in the Indian country, by the first of June next, and would not, hereafter, enter any goods at the custom-house for that purpose; and as to the prohibition of vending spirituous liquors to the Indians, they one and all highly approve of the law, as the only plan which could be adopted to civilize them, and render their situations more comfortable.

MATTHEW ERNEST.

[7th CONGRESS.]

No. 102.

[2d SESSION.]

TRADE.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, JANUARY 18, 1803.

*Gentlemen of the Senate*

*and of the House of Representatives:*

As the continuance of the act, for establishing trading houses with the Indian tribes, will be under the consideration of the Legislature, at its present session, I think it my duty to communicate the views which have guided me in the execution of that act; in order that you may decide on the policy of continuing it, in the present or any other form, or discontinue it altogether, if that shall, on the whole, seem most for the public good.

The Indian tribes, residing within the limits of the United States, have, for a considerable time, been growing more and more uneasy, at the constant diminution of the territory they occupy, although effected by their own voluntary sales; and the policy has long been gaining strength with them, of refusing, absolutely, all further sale, on any conditions; insomuch that, at this time, it hazards their friendship, and excites dangerous jealousies and perturbations in their minds, to make any overture for the purchase of the smallest portions of their land. A very few tribes, only, are not yet obstinately in these dispositions. In order, peaceably, to counteract this policy of theirs, and to provide an extension of territory, which the rapid increase of our numbers will call for, two measures are deemed expedient: First, to encourage them to abandon hunting, to apply to the raising of stock, to agriculture and domestic manufacture, and thereby prove to themselves that less land and labor will maintain them in this, better than in their former mode of living. The extensive forests, necessary in the hunting life, will then become useless, and they will see advantage in exchanging them for the means of improving their farms, and of increasing their domestic comforts. Secondly, to multiply trading houses among them, and place within their reach those things which will contribute more to their domestic comfort than the possession of extensive, but uncultivated wilds. Experience and reflection will develop to them the wisdom of exchanging what they can spare and we want, for what we can spare and they want. In leading them thus to agriculture, to manufactures, and civilization; in bringing together their and our settlements; and in preparing them ultimately to participate in the benefits of our Government; I trust, and believe, we are acting for their greatest good. At these trading houses we have pursued the principles of the act of Congress, which directs that the commerce shall be carried on liberally, and requires only that the capital stock shall not be diminished. We, consequently, undersell private traders, foreign and domestic, drive them from the competition, and thus, with the good will of the Indians, rid ourselves of a description of men who are constantly endeavoring to excite, in the Indian mind, suspicions, fears, and irritations, towards us. A letter, now enclosed, shows the effect of our competition, on the operations of the traders, while the Indians, perceiving the advantage of purchasing from us, are soliciting, generally, our establishment of trading houses among them. In one quarter this is particularly interesting. The Legislature, reflecting on the late occurrences on the Mississippi, must be sensible how desirable it is to possess a respectable breadth of country on that river, from our Southern limit to the Illinois at least; so that we may present as firm a front on that, as on our Eastern border. We possess what is below the Yazoo, and can probably acquire a certain breadth from the Illinois and Wabash to the Ohio; but, between the Ohio and Yazoo, the country all belongs to the Chickasaws, the most friendly tribe within our limits, but the most decided against the alienation of lands. The portion of their country, most important for us, is exactly that which they do not inhabit. Their settlements are not on the Mississippi, but in the interior country. They have lately shown a desire to become agricultural, and this leads to the desire of buying implements and comforts. In the strengthening and gratifying of these wants, I see the only prospect of planting on the Mississippi itself the means of its own safety. Duty has required me to submit these views to the judgment of the Legislature; but, as their disclosure might embarrass and defeat their effect, they are committed to the special confidence of the two Houses.

While the extension of the public commerce, among the Indian tribes, may deprive of that source of profit such of our citizens as are engaged in it, it might be worthy the attention of Congress, in their care of individual, as well as of the general interest, to point, in another direction, the enterprise of those citizens, as profitably for themselves, and more usefully for the public. The river Missouri, and the Indians inhabiting it, are not as well known as is rendered desirable, by their connexion with the Mississippi, and consequently with us. It is, however, understood, that the country on that river is inhabited by numerous tribes, who furnish great supplies of furs and peltry to the trade of another nation, carried on in a high latitude, through an infinite number of portages and lakes, shut up by ice through a long season. The commerce, on that line, could bear no competition with that of the Missouri, traversing a moderate climate, offering, according to the best accounts, a continued navigation from its source, and possibly, with a single portage from the Western ocean, and finding, to the Atlantic, a choice of channels through the Illinois or Wabash, the lakes and Hudson, through the Ohio and Susquehannah, or Potomac, or James rivers, and through the Tennessee and Savannah rivers. An intelligent officer, with ten or twelve chosen men, fit for the enterprise, and willing to undertake it, taken from our posts, where they may be spared without inconvenience, might explore the whole line, even to the Western ocean; have conferences with the natives, on the subject of commercial intercourse; get admission among them for our traders, as others are admitted; agree on convenient depositories, for an interchange of articles, and return, with the information acquired, in the course of two summers. Their arms and accoutrements, some instruments of observation, and light and cheap presents for the Indians, would be all the apparatus they could carry; and, with an expectation of a soldier's portion of land on their return, would constitute the whole expense. Their pay would be going on, whether here or there. While other civilized nations have encountered great expense to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge, by undertaking voyages of discovery, and for other literary purposes, in various parts and directions; our nation seems to owe to the same object, as well as to its own interest, to explore this, the only line of easy communication across the continent, and

so directly traversing our own part of it. The interests of commerce place the principal object within the constitutional powers and care of Congress; and that it should, incidentally, advance the geographical knowledge of our own continent, cannot but be an additional gratification. The nation claiming the territory, regarding this as a literary pursuit, which it is in the habit of permitting within its dominions, would not be disposed to view it with jealousy, even if the expiring state of its interests there, did not render it a matter of indifference. The appropriation of two thousand five hundred dollars, "for the purpose of extending the external commerce of the United States," while understood and considered, by the Executive, as giving the legislative sanction, would cover the undertaking from notice, and prevent the obstructions which interested individuals might otherwise, previously, prepare on its way.

January 18, 1803.

TH: JEFFERSON.

7th CONGRESS.]

No. 103.

[2d SESSION.]

THE TUSCARORAS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, FEBRUARY 21, 1803.

*Gentlemen of the Senate:*

The Tuscarora Indians, having an interest in some lands within the State of North Carolina, asked the superintendance of the Government of the United States over a treaty to be held between them and the State of North Carolina, respecting these lands. William Richardson Davie was appointed a commissioner for this purpose, and a treaty was concluded under his superintendance. This, with his letter on the subject, is now laid before the Senate for their advice and consent, whether it shall be ratified.

February 21, 1803.

TH: JEFFERSON.

*Articles of a Treaty between the United States of America and the Tuscarora Nation of Indians.*

Whereas a large part of the Tuscarora nation of Indians reside at so remote a distance from the state of North Carolina that they are unable to derive any benefit from the lands, the use of which had been granted to the nation by the Legislature of that State, so long as they should occupy and live upon the same:

And whereas the Legislature of the State of North Carolina, in directing the use of the said lands, had heretofore permitted certain leases to be made of part thereof, and difficulties have arisen in the payment and receipt of the rents becoming due thereon:

And whereas, for the purpose of preventing any disputes that might arise respecting the future occupancy of said lands, or the direction of the use thereof, and to remove the difficulties aforesaid, the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, hath appointed William Richardson Davie, of North Carolina, commissioner on the part of the United States, for the purposes aforesaid; and the said William Richardson Davie, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs, in their own names, and in behalf of the whole Tuscarora nation, have agreed to the following articles, namely:

ARTICLE 1. In consideration of the agreement, on the part of the Legislature of the State of North Carolina, that they will, by certain acts of the General Assembly of said State, facilitate the collection of the rents due, or to become due, on the leases of said lands heretofore made: And on the condition that an act or acts of the General Assembly of the said State shall be passed, authorizing the said Tuscarora nation, or the chiefs thereof, in behalf of said nation, to lease, on such terms as they may deem proper, the undemised part of the lands allotted to them in the county of Bertie, in the said State, as well as other parts thereof, now under a lease, or leases, for years, so that the term or terms of the leases made of the whole, or any part thereof, may extend to the 12th day of July, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixteen:

And upon condition, also, that the Legislature of the said State shall, by an act or acts, for that purpose, remove, as far as the same can be done by legislative interposition, any difficulties or disputes that might arise respecting the future occupancy of said lands, either by the Indians of the said tribe or nation of Tuscaroras, or their lessees and assigns, until the said twelfth day of July, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixteen; and also declare and enact, that the occupancy and possession of the tenants, under the said leases, heretofore confirmed by act or acts of the General Assembly, and such leases as may be made under the act or acts made in pursuance of this treaty, shall be held and deemed, in all cases whatsoever, the occupancy and possession of the said Tuscarora nation, to all intents and purposes, as if they, the said nation, or the Indians thereof, or any of them, actually resided on said lands:

The undersigned chiefs, in their own names, and in behalf of the whole of the Tuscarora nation, hereby stipulate and agree, that, from and after the said twelfth day of July, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixteen, all the right, interest, and claim, of the said nation, or any of the Indians thereof, by act of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, or otherwise, to the use, possession, or occupancy, of a certain tract of land, allotted to them by the Legislature of the said State, situated in the county of Bertie, in the State aforesaid, bounded and described as follows, viz: Beginning at the mouth of Quitsnoy swamp, running up the said swamp four hundred and thirty poles, to a scrubby oak, near the head of said swamp, by a great spring; then north ten degrees, east eight hundred and fifty poles, to a persimmon tree, in Roquis swamp, and along the swamp and pocoson, main course north fifty-seven degrees west, two thousand six hundred and forty poles, to a hickory on the east side of the Falling run for Deep creek, and down the various courses of the said run, to Moratlock, or Roanoke river; then down the river to the first station; shall cease and determine, and shall be held and deemed extinguished for ever.

ART. 2. This treaty shall be considered as a final and permanent adjustment and settlement of all differences, disputes, and claims, between the State of North Carolina and the said Tuscarora nation of Indians, as soon as the conditions stipulated in the foregoing article shall be fulfilled on the part of the State of North Carolina, and the treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.

In witness of all and every thing herein contained, the said William Richardson Davie, and the undersigned chiefs, in behalf of themselves and the Tuscarora nation, have hereunto set their hands and seals.

Done at the city of Raleigh, in the State of North Carolina, on the fourth day of December, in the year one thousand eight hundred and two.

W. R. DAVIE, [L. s.]  
And a number of Indians.



HALIFAX, February 3, 1803.

SIR:

The severity of the season, and the badness of the roads, prevented my return from South Carolina to this place, before the 21st of January; and I have delayed forwarding the treaty made with the chiefs of the Tuscarora nation of Indians, until I should receive the act passed by the Legislature of North Carolina, to carry the treaty into effect. They are both herewith enclosed, and the commissioners have been appointed by the Governor, agreeably to the provisions of the said act of Assembly.

The agents of the State chose the form of the first article, as you will find it in the treaty, stipulating for the final extinguishment of the Indian claim, in preference to a cession of the lands, on the ground that the Indians had only a kind of usufructuary possession granted to them, so long as they should live upon the same; and that the legal title was, and had always been, in the State; they were substantially the same in effect, and it seems a matter of no moment to the Government of the United States, which mode was preferred.

By your letter of the 23th of December, 1801, I was informed that the President approved of the arrangement I had made in the business of the Tuscarora lands. I am happy that the benevolent views of the Government, with respect to this nation of Indians, are now completely effected; they will dispose of their lands at their real value, and a little time will also operate an extinguishment of their claim, without any expense to the State or the United States.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

W. R. DAVIE.

## An act for the relief of the Tuscarora nation of Indians.

Whereas the Indians composing the Tuscarora nation, have, by their chief, Sacarusa, and others, regularly deputed and authorized, requested the concurrence of the General Assembly of the State, to enable them to lease or demise, for a number of years, the residue of their lands, situate in the county of Bertie, in such manner that the whole of the leases on said land shall terminate at the same period:

*Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That the said chief, Sacarusa, Longboard, and Samuel Smith, or a majority of them, be, and they are hereby, authorized to lease and to farm let the undemised residue of the lands allotted to the Tuscarora nation, in Bertie county, for a term of years, that shall expire and end when the lease made by the Tuscarora nation to Robert Jones and others, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, shall end and expire; and, also, to extend the term or terms of the leases already made or granted for a shorter term, to a term or terms which shall expire at the same time with the said lease, made in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, in such parcels, and on such rents and conditions, as may be approved by the commissioners appointed in pursuance of this act, and which may best promote the interest and convenience of the said Indian nation.

And whereas some difficulties have arisen, respecting the receipt and payment of the rents, on some of the present leases,

*Be it further enacted,* That the said chiefs, or a majority of them, be, and they are hereby, authorized to make such alterations, by covenant and agreement, respecting the payment and receipt of any of the rents due, or that may become due, on any of the existing leases, as the commissioners appointed in pursuance of this act, or a majority of them, shall approve.

Whereas the said Indian chiefs are ignorant of the usual forms of business, and may want advice and assistance, in transacting the business respecting their lands: For remedy whereof, and to prevent their being injured,

*Be it further enacted,* That the Governor shall appoint three commissioners, for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this act into effect; and no lease, grant, demise, covenant, or agreement, made by said Indian chiefs, as aforesaid, respecting said lands, or the rents thereof, shall be good or valid in law, unless the same shall be approved by said commissioners, or a majority of them; and such approbation shall be expressed in writing, and annexed or endorsed on such lease, covenant, or agreement, and registered in the Register's office of the county of Bertie, together with said lease or agreement; and the said commissioners shall receive the sum of twenty-five shillings per day, for their compensation and expenses, to be paid out of the moneys received by the said chiefs, on leasing said lands.

*And be it further enacted,* That the occupancy and possession of the tenants, under the said leases, heretofore confirmed by act or acts of the General Assembly, and such leases as may be made under this act, shall be held and deemed, in all cases whatsoever, the occupancy and possession of the said Tuscarora nation, to all intents and purposes, as if the said nation, or the Indians thereof, or any of them, actually resided on said lands.

Whereas the said chiefs, Sacarusa, Longboard, and Samuel Smith, being duly and fully authorized and empowered by the said Tuscarora nation, have consented that the Indian claim, to the use, possession, and occupancy of said land, shall cease and be extinguished, when the said lease, made in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, to Robert Jones and others, shall expire,

*Be it enacted,* That, from and after the twelfth day of July, which shall be in the year one thousand nine hundred and sixteen, the whole of the lands allotted to the said Tuscarora Indians, by an act of the General Assembly, passed at Newbern, on the fifteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight, shall revert to, and become the property of, the State, and the Indian claim thereto shall, from that time, be held and deemed forever extinguished.

*And be it further enacted,* That, after the said lands shall revert to the State, if the same, or any part thereof, shall be vacant, the same shall not be liable to the entry or entries of any person or persons, without an express act of the Legislature to that effect: *Provided, always,* That it shall not be lawful for any person or persons to make any entry or entries on the said lands, after the passing of this act: *Provided, always,* That nothing in this act contained shall be construed so as to affect the title of any individual: *Provided, nevertheless,* That no lot or parcel of lands, laid off under the direction of said commissioners, shall exceed two hundred acres. *And provided further,* That no lease shall be made, but by public auction, of which due notice shall be given in the Halifax and Edenton newspapers.

Read three times, and ratified in General Assembly, the sixteenth day of December, Anno Domini 1802.

JO. RIDDICK, S. S.  
S. CABARRUS, S. H. C.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA:

SECRETARY'S OFFICE, 6th January, 1803.

This certifies that the foregoing act of the General Assembly, entitled "An act for the relief of the Tuscarora nation of Indians," is a true copy taken from the original, deposited in this office.

Given under my hand, at Raleigh, the date aforesaid.

WILL. WHITE, Secretary.

8th CONGRESS.]

No. 104.

[1st Session.

## THE KASKASKIA AND OTHER TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, OCTOBER, 31, 1803.

*To the Senate of the United States of America:*

I now lay before you the treaty, mentioned in my general message at the opening of the session, as having been concluded with the Kaskaskia Indians, for the transfer of their country to us, under certain reservations and conditions.

Progress having been made in the demarcation of Indian boundaries, I am now able to communicate to you, a treaty with the Delawares, Shawanese, Pattawatamies, Miamies, Eel Rivers, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias, establishing the boundaries of the territory around St. Vincennes.

Also, a supplementary treaty with the Eel rivers, Wyandots, Piankeshaws, Kaskaskias, and Kickapoos, in confirmation of the fourth article of the preceding treaty.

Also, a treaty with the Choctaws, describing and establishing our demarcation of boundaries with them.

Which several treaties are accompanied by the papers relating to them, and are now submitted to the Senate for consideration whether they will advise and consent to their ratification.

TH: JEFFERSON.

October 31, 1803.

*Articles of a Treaty made at Vincennes, in the Indiana territory, between William Henry Harrison, Governor of the said territory, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States for concluding any treaty or treaties which may be found necessary, with any of the Indian tribes northwest of the river Ohio, of the one part; and the head chiefs and warriors of the Kaskaskia tribe of Indians, so called, (but which tribe is the remains and rightfully represent all the tribes of the Illinois Indians, originally called the Kaskaskia, Mitchigamia, Cahokia, and Tamoria,) of the other part.*

ARTICLE. 1. Whereas, from a variety of unfortunate circumstances, the several tribes of Illinois Indians are reduced to a very small number, the remains of which have been long consolidated and known by the name of the Kaskaskia tribe, and finding themselves unable to occupy the extensive tract of country, which of right belongs to them, and which was possessed by their ancestors for many generations: the chiefs and warriors of the said tribe being also desirous of procuring the means of improvement in the arts of civilized life, and a more certain and effectual support for their women and children, have, for the considerations hereinafter mentioned, relinquished, and, by these presents, do relinquish, and cede to the United States, all the lands in the Illinois country, which the said tribe has heretofore possessed, or which they may rightfully claim; reserving to themselves, however, the tract of about three hundred and fifty acres, near the town of Kaskaskia, which they have always held, and which was secured to them by the act of Congress of the third day of March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety one; and also the right of locating one other tract of twelve hundred and eighty acres, within the bounds of that now ceded; which two tracts of land shall remain to them for ever.

ART. 2. The United States will take the Kaskaskia tribe under their immediate care and patronage, and will afford them a protection as effectual, against the other Indian tribes, and against all other persons whatever, as is enjoyed by their own citizens. And the said Kaskaskia tribe do hereby engage to refrain from making war, or giving any insult or offence, to any other Indian tribe, or to any foreign nation, without having first obtained the approbation and consent of the United States.

ART. 3. The annuity heretofore given by the United States to the said tribe, shall be increased to one thousand dollars, which is to be paid to them, either in money, merchandise, provisions, or domestic animals, at the option of the said tribe; and when the said annuity, or any part thereof, is paid in merchandise, it is to be delivered to them either at Vincennes, Fort Massac, or Kaskaskia, and the first cost of the goods in the sea port where they may be procured, is alone to be charged to the said tribe, free from the cost of transportation, or any other contingent expense. Whenever the said tribe may choose to receive money, provisions, or domestic animals, for the whole or in part of the said annuity, the same shall be delivered at the town of Kaskaskia. The United States will also cause to be built, a house suitable for the accommodation of the chief of the said tribe, and will enclose for their use a field, not exceeding one hundred acres, with a good and sufficient fence. *And whereas* the greater part of the said tribe have been baptised and received into the Catholic church, to which they are much attached, the United States will give, annually, for seven years, one hundred dollars towards the support of a priest of that religion, who will engage to perform for said tribe the duties of his office, and also to instruct as many of their children as possible, in the rudiments of literature. And the United States will further give the sum of three hundred dollars, to assist the said tribe in the erection of a church. The stipulations made in this and the preceding article, together with the sum of five hundred and eighty dollars, which is now paid, or assured to be paid, for the said tribe, for the purpose of procuring some necessary articles, and to relieve them from debts which they have heretofore contracted, is considered as a full and ample compensation for the relinquishment made to the United States, in the first article.

ART. 4. The United States reserve to themselves the right, at any future period, of dividing the annuity now promised to the said tribe, amongst the several families thereof, reserving always a suitable sum for the great chief and his family.

ART. 5. And to the end that the United States may be enabled to fix, with the other Indian tribes, a boundary between their respective claims, the chiefs and head warriors of the said Kaskaskia tribe do hereby declare that their rightful claim is as follows, viz: Beginning at the confluence of the Ohio and the Mississippi; thence up the Ohio to the mouth of the Saline creek, about twelve miles below the mouth of the Wabash; thence along the dividing ridge, between the said creek and the Wabash, until it comes to the general dividing ridge, between the waters which fall into the Wabash, and those which fall into the Kaskaskia river; and thence along the said ridge until it reaches the waters which fall into the Illinois river; thence in a direct course to the mouth of the Illinois river; and thence down the Mississippi to the beginning.

ART. 6. As long as the lands which have been ceded by this treaty shall continue to be the property of the United States, the said tribe shall have the privilege of living and hunting upon them, in the same manner that they have hitherto done.

ART. 7. This treaty is to be in force, and binding upon the said parties, so soon as it shall be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States.

In witness whereof, the said commissioner plenipotentiary, and the head chiefs and warriors of the said Kaskaskia tribe of Indians, have hereunto set their hands, and affixed their seals, the thirteenth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and three, and of the independence of the United States the twenty-eighth.

WM. HENRY HARRISON.

[Signed, also, by certain chiefs and warriors.]

*Articles of a Treaty made at fort Wayne, on the Miami of the lake, between William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana territory, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States, for concluding any treaty or treaties, which may be found necessary, with any of the Indian tribes, northwest of the Ohio, of the one part; and the tribes of Indians, called the Delawares, Shawanese, Pattawatamies, Miamies, and Kickapoos, by their chiefs and head warriors, and those of the Eel river, Weas, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias, by their agents and representatives, Tuthinipee Winnemac, Richerville, and Little Turtle, who are properly authorized by the said tribes, of the other part.*

ARTICLE 1. Whereas it is declared, by the 4th article of the treaty of Greenville, that the United States reserve for their use the post of St. Vincennes, and all the lands adjacent, to which the Indian titles had been extinguished: And whereas it has been found difficult to determine the precise limits of the said tract, as held by the French and British Governments, it is hereby agreed, that the boundaries of the said tract shall be as follow: Beginning at Point Coupee, on the Wabash, and running thence, by a line north, seventy-eight degrees west, twelve miles; thence by a line, parallel to the general course of the Wabash, until it shall be intersected by a line at right angles to the same, passing through the mouth of White river; thence by the last mentioned line, across the Wabash, and towards the Ohio, seventy-two miles; thence by a line north, twelve degrees, west until it shall be intersected by a line at right angles to the same, passing through Point Coupee, and by the last mentioned line, to the place of beginning.

ART. 2. The United States hereby relinquish all claim which they may have had to any land adjoining to, or in the neighborhood of, the tract above described.

ART. 3. As a mark of their regard and attachment to the United States, whom they acknowledge for their only friends and protectors, and for the consideration hereinafter mentioned, the said tribes do hereby relinquish and cede to the United States the great salt spring, upon the Saline creek, which falls into the Ohio, below the mouth of the Wabash, with a quantity of land surrounding it, not exceeding four miles square, and which may be laid off in a square or oblong, as the one or the other may be found most convenient to the United States. And the said United States, being desirous that the Indian tribes should participate in the benefits to be derived from the said spring, hereby engage to deliver yearly, and every year, for the use of the said Indians, a quantity of salt, not exceeding one hundred and fifty bushels, and which shall be divided among the several tribes, in such manner as the general council of the chiefs may determine.

ART. 4. For the considerations before mentioned, and for the convenience which the said tribes will themselves derive from such establishments, it is hereby agreed, that, as soon as the tribes called the Kickapoos, Eel river, Weas, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias, shall give their consent to the measure, the United States shall have the right of locating three tracts of land, of such size as may be agreed upon with the last mentioned tribes, on the main road, between Vincennes and Kaskaskias, and one other between Vincennes and Clarksville, for the purpose of erecting houses of entertainment for the accommodation of travellers. But it is expressly understood, that, if the said locations are made on any of the rivers which cross the said road, and ferries should be established on the same, that, in times of high water, any Indian or Indians belonging to either of the tribes who are parties to this treaty, shall have the privilege of crossing such ferry toll free.

ART. 5. Whereas there is reason to believe, that, if the boundary lines of the tract, described in the first article, should be run in the manner therein directed, that some of the settlements and locations of land, made by the citizens of the United States, will fall in the Indian country, it is hereby agreed that such alterations shall be made in the direction of these lines as will include them; and a quantity of land, equal in quantity to what may be thus taken, shall be given to the said tribes, either at the east or the west end of the tract.

In testimony whereof, the commissioner of the United States, and the chiefs and warriors of the Delawares, Shawanese, Pattawatamies, Miamies, and Kickapoos, and those of the Eel river, Weas, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias, by their agents and representatives, Tuthinipee, Winnemac, Richerville, and the Little Turtle, who are properly authorized by the said tribes, have hereunto subscribed their names and affixed their seals, at fort Wayne, this seventh day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and three, and of the independence of the United States the twenty-seventh.

WM. HENRY HARRISON.

[Signed, also, by certain chiefs and warriors of the nations enumerated in the title.]

*A Treaty between the United States of America and the Indian nations called Eel River, Wyandot, Piankeshaw, and Kaskaskia, and the tribe of the Kickapoos, by their representatives, the chiefs of the Eel River nation, made and concluded at Vincennes.*

At a council holden at Vincennes, on the seventh day of August, one thousand eight hundred and three, under the direction of William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana Territory, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States, for concluding any treaty, or treaties, which may be found necessary, with any of the Indian nations, northwest of the river Ohio; at which were present, the chiefs and warriors of the Eel River, Wyandot, Piankeshaw, and Kaskaskia nations, and also the tribe of the Kickapoos, by their representatives, the chiefs of the Eel River nation:

The fourth article of the treaty, holden and concluded at fort Wayne, on the seventh day of June, one thousand eight hundred and three, being considered, the chiefs and warriors of the said nations give their free and full consent to the same, and they do, hereby, relinquish and confirm to the United States, the privilege and right of locating three several tracts of land, of one mile square each, on the road leading from Vincennes to Kaskaskia; and, also, one other tract of land, of one mile square, on the road leading from Vincennes to Clarksville; which locations shall be made in such places, on the aforesaid roads, as shall best comport with the convenience and interests of the United States, in the establishment of houses of entertainment, for the accommodation of travellers.

In witness whereof, the said William Henry Harrison, and the said chiefs and warriors of the before mentioned nations and tribes of Indians, have hereunto set their hands, and affixed their seals, the day and year first above written.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, [L. s.]

[Signed also by certain chiefs and warriors of the nations enumerated in the title.]

*A treaty of demarcation and cession, between the United States of America and the Choctaw tribe of Indians, concluded conformably to the convention of fort Confederation, by the commissioners appointed on the part of the United States, and the agents and representatives of the said Indian tribe, at Hoe-buck-in-too-pa.*

To whom these presents shall come: Know ye, that the undersigned, commissioners plenipotentiary of the United States of America, of the one part, and of the whole Choctaw nation, of the other part, being duly authorized by the President of the United States, and by chiefs and head-men of the said nation, do hereby establish, in conformity to the convention of fort Confederation, for the line of demarcation recognised in the said convention, the following metes and bounds, viz: Beginning in the channel of the Hatchee-Come-sa, or Wax river, at the point where the line of limits between the United States and Spain crosseth the same; thence, up the channel of said

river, to the confluence of the Chickasawhay, and Buck-ha-tanee rivers; thence, up the channel of the Buck-ha-tanee, to Bogue-hooma, or Red creek; thence, up the said creek to a pine tree, standing on the left bank of the same, and blazed on two of its sides, about twelve links southwest of an old trading path, leading from the town of Mobile to the Hewhannee towns, much worn, but not in use at the present time. From this tree, we find the following bearings and distances, viz: South fifty-four degrees thirty minutes, west one chain one link, a black gum; north thirty-nine degrees, east one chain seventy-five links, a water oak; thence, with the old British line of partition, in its various inflections, to a mulberry post, planted on the right bank of the main branch of Sintee Bouge, or Snake creek, where it makes a sharp turn to the southeast, a large broken-top cypress tree standing near the opposite bank of the creek, which is about three poles wide; thence, down the said creek to the Tombigby river; thence, down the Tombigby and Mobile rivers, to the abovementioned line of limits, between the United States and Spain, and, with the same, to the point of beginning. And we, the said commissioners plenipotentiary, do ratify and confirm the said line of demarcation, and do recognise and acknowledge the same to be the boundary which shall separate and distinguish the land ceded to the United States, between the Tombigby, Mobile, and Pascagoula rivers, from that which has not been ceded by the said Choctaw nation.

In testimony whereof, we hereunto affix our hands and seals, this 31st day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and three, to triplicates of this tenor and date.

Done at Hoe-buck-in-too-pa, the day and year above written, and in the twenty-seventh year of the independence of the United States.

JA. WILKINSON. [SEAL.]  
Mingo Poos Coos, + his mark. [SEAL.]  
Alatala Hooma, + his mark. [SEAL.]

We, the commissioners of the Choctaw nation, duly appointed, and the chiefs of the said nation who reside on the Tombigby river, next to Sintee Bogue, do acknowledge to have received from the United States of America, by the hands of Brigadier General James Wilkinson, as a consideration in full for the confirmation of the above concession, the following articles, viz: Fifteen pieces of strouds, three rifles, one hundred and fifty blankets, two hundred and fifty pounds of powder, two hundred and fifty pounds of lead, one bridle, one man's saddle, and one black silk handkerchief.

[Signed by the said commissioners and chiefs.]

[NOTE. For the instructions to General Harrison, see No. 109.]

8th CONGRESS.]

No. 105.

[2d SESSION.]

## THE DELAWARES AND PIANKESHAW.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, NOVEMBER 19, 1804.

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I now lay before you a treaty entered into on the 18th day of August of the present year, between the United States on the one part, and the Delaware Indians on the other, for the extinguishment of their title to a tract of country between the Ohio and the Wabash rivers; and another, of the 27th day of the same month, between the United States and the Piankeshaws, for a confirmation of the same by the latter, together with a letter from Governor Harrison, on the same subject; which treaties are submitted for your advice and consent.

TH. JEFFERSON.

November 15, 1804.

*A Treaty between the United States of America and the Delaware tribe of Indians, concluded at Vincennes, the 18th day of August, 1804.*

The Delaware tribe of Indians, finding that the annuity which they receive from the United States is not sufficient to supply them with the articles which are necessary for their comfort and convenience, and afford the means of introducing amongst them the arts of civilized life; and being convinced that the extensiveness of the country they possess, by giving an opportunity to their hunting parties to ramble to a great distance from their towns, is the principal means of retarding this desirable event: and the United States being desirous to connect their settlements on the Wabash with the State of Kentucky:

Therefore, the United States, by William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana Territory, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and their Commissioner Plenipotentiary for treating with the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio river; and the said tribe of Indians, by their sachems, chiefs, and head-warriors, have agreed to the following articles, which, when ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall be binding on the said parties.

ARTICLE 1. The said Delaware tribe, for the considerations hereinafter mentioned, relinquishes to the United States, forever, all their right and title to the tract of country, which lies between the Ohio and Wabash rivers, and below the tract ceded by the treaty of fort Wayne, and the road leading from Vincennes to the falls of Ohio.

ARTICLE 2. The said tribe shall receive from the United States, for ten years, an additional annuity of three hundred dollars, which is to be exclusively appropriated to the purpose of ameliorating their condition, and promoting their civilization. Suitable persons shall be employed, at the expense of the United States, to teach them to make fences, cultivate the earth, and such of the domestic arts as are adapted to their situation; and a further sum of three hundred dollars shall be appropriated, annually, for five years, to this object. The United States will cause to be delivered to them, in the course of the next spring, horses fit for draught, cattle, hogs, and implements of husbandry, to the amount of four hundred dollars. The preceding stipulations, together with goods to the amount of eight hundred dollars, which is now delivered to the said tribe, (a part of which is to be appropriated to the satisfying certain individuals of the said tribe, whose horses have been taken by white people) is to be considered as full compensation for the relinquishment made in the first article.

ARTICLE 3. As there is great reason to believe that there are now in the possession of the said tribe, several horses, which have been stolen from citizens of the United States, the chiefs who represent the said tribe are to use their utmost endeavors to have the said horses forthwith delivered to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, or such persons as he may appoint to receive them. And, as the United States can place the utmost reliance on the honor and integrity of those chiefs who have manifested a punctilious regard to the engagements, entered into at the treaty of Greenville, it is agreed that, in relation to such of the horses stolen as aforesaid, but which have died or been removed beyond the reach of the chiefs, the United States will compensate the owners for the loss of them, without deducting from the annuity of the said tribe the amount of what may be paid in this way. But it is

expressly understood, that this provision is not to extend to any horses which have been stolen within the course of twelve months preceding the date hereof.

ARTICLE 4. The said tribe having exhibited to the above named commissioner of the United States, sufficient proof of their right to all the country which lies between the Ohio and White river; and the Miami tribe, who were the original proprietors of the upper part of that country, having explicitly acknowledged the title of the Delawares, at the general council held at fort Wayne, in the month of June, one thousand eight hundred and three, the said United States will, in future, consider the Delawares as the rightful owners of all the country which is bounded by the White river, on the north, the Ohio on the south, the general boundary line running from the mouth of the Kentucky river, on the east, and the tract ceded by this treaty, and that ceded by the treaty of fort Wayne, on the west and southwest.

ARTICLE 5. As the Piankeshaw tribe have hitherto obstinately persisted in refusing to recognise the title of the Delawares to the tract of country ceded by this treaty, the United States will negotiate with them, and will endeavor to settle the matter in an amicable way; but, should they reject the propositions that may be made to them on this subject, and should the United States not think proper to take possession of the said country, without their consent, the stipulations and promises herein made, on behalf of the United States, shall be null and void.

ARTICLE 6. As the road from Vincennes to Clark's grant will form a very inconvenient boundary, and as it is the intention of the parties to these presents, that the whole of the said road shall be within the tract ceded to the United States, it is agreed, that the boundary in that quarter, shall be a straight line, to be drawn parallel to the course of the said road, from the eastern boundary of the tract ceded by the treaty of fort Wayne, to Clark's grant, but the said line is not to pass at a greater distance than half a mile from the most northerly bend of said road.

In witness whereof, the commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States, and the chiefs and head-men of the said tribe, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals.

Done at Vincennes, the eighteenth day of August, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and four, and of the independence of the United States the twenty-ninth.

WILLIAM H. HARRISON, [L. s.]  
TETA BUXICA, his x mark, [L. s.]  
And others.

*A Treaty between the United States of America and the Piankeshaw tribe of Indians, concluded at Vincennes, on the twenty-seventh day of August, 1804.*

The President of the United States, by William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana territory, superintendent of Indian affairs, and commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States for concluding any treaty or treaties, which may be found necessary with any of the Indian tribes, northwest of the river Ohio; and the chiefs and head-men of the Piankeshaw tribe, have agreed to the following articles; which, when ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall be binding upon the said parties.

ARTICLE 1. The Piankeshaw tribe relinquishes and cedes to the United States forever, all that tract of country which lies between the Ohio and the Wabash rivers, and below Clark's grant and the tract called the Vincennes tract, which was ceded by the treaty of fort Wayne, and a line connecting the said tract and grant, to be drawn parallel to the general course of the road leading from Vincennes to the falls of the Ohio, so as not to pass more than half a mile to the northward of the most northerly bend of the said road.

ART. 2. The Piankeshaw tribe acknowledges explicitly the right of the Kaskaskia tribe to sell the country which they have lately ceded to the United States, and which is separated from the lands of the Piankeshaws by the ridge or highland which divides the waters of the Wabash from the waters of the Saline creek; and by that which divides the waters of the said Wabash from those which flow into the Au-Vase and other branches of the Mississippi.

ART. 3. An additional annuity, of two hundred dollars, shall be paid by the United States to the said tribe, for ten years, in money, merchandise, provisions, or domestic animals, and implements of husbandry, at the option of the said tribe; and this annuity, together with goods to the value of seven hundred dollars, which are now delivered to them by the commissioner of the United States, is considered as a full compensation for the above mentioned relinquishment.

ART. 4. The United States reserve to themselves the right of dividing the whole annuity, which they pay to the said tribe, amongst the families which compose the same; allowing, always, a due proportion for the chiefs. And the said chiefs, whenever the President of the United States may require it, shall, upon proper notice being given, assemble their tribe for the purpose of effecting this arrangement.

In witness whereof, the commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States, and the chiefs and head-men of the said tribe, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals.

Done at Vincennes, in the Indiana territory, the twenty-seventh day of August, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and four, and of the independence of the United States the twenty-ninth.

8th CONGRESS.]

No. 106.

[2d SESSION.

### THE CREEKS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 14, 1804.

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I present, for your advice, a treaty entered into, on behalf of the United States, with the Creek Indians, for the extinguishment of their right in certain lands in the forks of Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers, within the State of Georgia. For the purpose of enabling you to form a satisfactory judgment on the subject, it is accompanied with the instructions of one thousand eight hundred and two, April 13th, to James Wilkinson, Benjamin Hawkins, and Andrew Pickens, commissioners; those of one thousand eight hundred and three, May 5th, to James Wilkinson, Benjamin Hawkins, and Robert Anderson, commissioners; and those of one thousand eight hundred and four, April 2d, to Benjamin Hawkins, sole commissioner. The negotiations for obtaining the whole of the lands, between the Oconee and Oakmulgee, have now been continued through three successive seasons, under the original instructions, and others supplementary to them, given from time to time, as circumstances required; and the unity of the negotiation has been preserved, not only by the subject, but by continuing Colonel Hawkins always one of the commissioners, and, latterly, the sole one. The extent of the cession to be obtained being uncertain, the limitation of price was what should be thought *reasonable, according to the usual rate of compensation*. The commissioner has been induced to go beyond this limit, probably by the just attention due to the strong interest which the State of Georgia feels in

making this particular acquisition, and by a despair of procuring it on more reasonable terms, from a tribe which is one of the most fixed in the policy of holding fast their lands. To this may be added, that, if, by an alteration in the first article, instead of giving them stock, which may be passed into other hands, and render them the prey of speculators, an annuity shall be paid them in this case, as has hitherto been practised in all similar cases, the price of these lands will become a pledge and guarantee for our future peace with this important tribe, and, eventually, an indemnity for the breach of it. On the whole, I rest with entire satisfaction on the wisdom and counsel of those whose sanctions the constitution has rendered necessary to the final validity of this act.

TH. JEFFERSON.

December 13th, 1804.

*A Treaty concluded between the United States of America and the Creek nation of Indians.*

The parties being desirous of establishing some friendly arrangements, in addition to the treaties subsisting between them, the undersigned, Benjamin Hawkins, being authorized thereto, by the President of the United State, and Hopoie Micco, the speaker, and select men of the Creek nation, being authorized thereto by the said nation, have agreed to the following:

ARTICLE 1. The Creek nation, for the consideration hereinafter expressed, have, and by these presents do, sell and deliver to the United States, all that tract of land lying and being within the following bounds: Beginning at the High shoals of Apalachy, and running thence, in a direct line, to the mouth of Ulcofauhatchee, (the first fork of Oakmulgee, above the seven islands); thence down the middle of Oakmulgee, to the Oconee, and up the same, and the line of the treaty of fort Wilkinson, to the beginning, saving and reserving all the islands in the Oakmulgee, and a tract of land four miles in length, and two in width, bordering on the river, to include the Oakmulgee old fields, bounded as follows: To begin on the river, two miles above the mouth of Ookchoncoolgau, in a straight line; thence running at right angles with the same, two miles; thence, at right angles, down the river, four miles; thence at right angles to the river, and up the same, to the beginning. In full consideration for the lands aforesaid, the United States shall furnish, for the use of the Creek nation, two sets of blacksmith's tools, and smiths, and strikers, for ten years; shall extend the time of those promised at fort Wilkinson, from three to ten years; and pay to the said nation two hundred thousand dollars in stock, bearing an interest of six per centum per annum, payable half yearly, at the factory of the United States, on the frontiers of the State of Georgia. The stock created, pursuant to this agreement, shall be to the Secretary of War, for the time being, in trust for the Creek nation.

ART. 2. The land reserved in the first article, including the Oakmulgee old fields, is hereby set apart for the purpose of a trading establishment, so long as the President of the United States may deem such an one necessary, to be laid off by, and to be under the direction of, the agent for Indian affairs, in the Creek department, until the President take order in the premises, which he is hereby authorized to do.

ART. 3. The President may cause the line to be run from the High shoals of Apalachy, to the mouth of Ulcofauhatchee, at such time and manner as he may deem proper; and this treaty shall take effect, and be obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall have been ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice of their Senate.

Done at the agency, near Flint river, this third of November, 1804.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

[Signed by Hopoie Micco, and other Indians.]

*Hopoie Micco to Benjamin Hawkins.*

You are the agent for the President; you have been long in our land doing good for us; you are an old chief among us; we appoint you our agent, to see justice done us in our affairs, as well as the white people. The tract of land at the Oakmulgee old field is ours; we have reserved it for a place to meet and trade with our white friends; and we want you to see justice done to our merchants and traders, and ourselves, as well at that place, as in the nation, and to take the direction of every thing then, for the benefit of both parties, in such way as you may think best; and I wish you to put this in the treaty this day concluded, that the President may see it.

his  
HOPOIE + MICCO.  
mark.

FLINT RIVER, in the Creek Agency, 3d November, 1804.

In the communication made to you, through General Meriwether, you will see Hopoie Micco's talk to me, and my reply. He came to me here on foot, being unable, from sores, to ride, and the most distinguished chiefs of the opposition met him. He stated to me, "that, from his indisposition, and the sickness or death of some of those appointed to go on with him to the President, he was under the necessity of postponing the fulfilment of the promise made by the nation to General Meriwether and me, on this head, till some time next year. He thought then, notwithstanding the continued hostility towards our views, if the United States could allow them the value for the lands beyond Oakmulgee, he would make the greatest part of that river the boundary: that he understood from some of his people, who had been to the Northwest, the United States sold their land at two dollars per acre; and if they would buy his, and give him enough to pay all the debts of the nation, and something for every town, for ever, he would then bring the chiefs to accommodate the views of the President, on this point. He understood well what was said to them in the name of the President, at Tuckaubatchee, and was very desirous of doing what might be agreeable to him; but his nation were yet in the dark, and foolish; and that, of all things, this of land selling was the most disagreeable to an Indian."

I replied, I saw his situation as well as he did himself, and no one regretted more than I did, the divisions among them, and the necessity he was under of postponing his visit to the President till the next year: but as the opposition chiefs were present, and several of those appointed to go on from the Lower towns to the President, and I had authority, I would begin with him, and them, and see if we could agree on Oakmulgee as the boundary, and adjust every thing submitted to them at Tuckaubatchee. He acquiesced in the experiment, but doubted of success in the face of the opposition. In the evening I commenced the conference in like manner as at Tuckaubatchee, recapitulated every thing said there, and enforced it with such observations as occurred, and were suitable to the occasion. The opposition commenced, and continued to oppose, with all the arguments as well as rudeness in their power. After several days spent in this way, the speaker asked me if I could pay their debts, and allow them about five hundred dollars per annum, for each of the towns in the nation; that, if I could, he would mention it, and begin a speech in favor of it, as the opposition had now tired themselves. I replied, the sum was greatly beyond what he had a right to expect, the debts being one hundred thousand dollars at least, and the annuity eighteen thousand five hundred dollars. That the annuity was much more than I contemplated offering, and that we must take in view, whenever we talk on this subject, the expense the United States were under in assisting and protecting us, and the real value to us in the use we made of these lands. He replied, "some of them know the value of lands, as well as the obligation they were under to the United States; and, under this impression, they had given the lands at fort Wilkinson. All the Indians had an equal right; and in future, whenever land was sold, all would expect to receive something: that the opposition had been in conference with the clerks of Mr. Forbes, on a like subject, and he believed they had bargained for the lands below Flint river, as far as they could, without his aid; that he

should oppose this; but, if they succeeded, our debts would be less here." I told him, to make an end of this land selling, if he would bring his mind to make Oakmulgee in its whole extent the boundary, and a new one from that river to Ocafincou, I would then offer them the value, and to let the chiefs in the conference know my intention on this subject.

After a day or two he told me, I might get Oakmulgee in part for its value as he stated, but they were determined not to go to its source, as it would give bad neighbors to their friends the Cherokees. I asked him if he preferred a sum in hand to an annuity. He said the annuity was what he wanted. If he chose, he could pay his debts with it, or keep it, and pay them in some other way. But if I got this land, I must put off the road, and every thing else, to the next meeting of the nation, and he would do what he could then; and if he got his affairs right, he would visit the President; but, I must bring my mind to be satisfied with the lands from the High shoals to Oakmulgee, and down that river, as no more could now be obtained. The opposition would join, and sign with us, if I would give for it what he asked. I told him what he asked was too much; that I would give him six thousand dollars per annum, for all Oakmulgee, and the line I had mentioned below, and to name this in the conference. The day after, he stated to me, I could get no more than he had marked out, at any price; and the price for this was five hundred dollars, to each town, forever, and the payment of the debts due after the discharge of such in contemplation at the sale to Mr. Forbes: that I knew the country and its value, and if I would take it at their offer, it was well; if not, they would see me again in the summer; that they should adjourn to-morrow, and some of them were going this evening; I replied that they must come down to a reasonable price, and I would close with them, but what they asked was out of all bounds: they persisted to the moment of departure, when I offered the sum mentioned in the treaty, and told them expressly, that it was not unlikely it would not be ratified, and we should have the whole subject before us again; upon this we agreed, and I drew the treaty.

I attempted the placing of the factory on this side of Oakmulgee, but they opposed, as they did the water line dividing the islands, and they urged to the last, that I should insert an article to have the trading district under the government of the agent, as it was Indian lands. I told them I could not, but the agent should govern it until the President took order. The speaker said he would agree to this, if I would put his talk on the back of the treaty, that the President might see it. This I agreed to, and we signed.

I believe several of the gentlemen with you from Georgia, were acquainted with these lands. We have acquired somewhat more than two millions of acres, half of which is unquestionably the best land in this country. I have done the best I could in this transaction, and I believe a delay to another year would not have benefitted us, and it would have greatly inconvenienced the views of Georgia, who have an undoubted right to these lands, whenever they can be obtained at a reasonable price, and the one given, in my opinion, is far from being unreasonable.

The speaker told me that, as soon as the treaty was ratified, and he informed of it, I must allow him ninety days to see what he could do to collect and restore the negroes in the agency, belonging to Georgia, and that, within this time, he would do all he could on this head.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

BENJA. HAWKINS.

The Hon. HENRY DEARBORN, *Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 5th, 1803.*

GENTLEMEN:

You having been appointed by the President of the United States, as commissioners, to treat jointly, or any two of you, with such chiefs or head-men of the Creek nation as may be deputed by that nation for the purpose, you will please take the necessary measures, as early as practicable, for obtaining a meeting of the chiefs and head-men of said nation with yourselves, at some suitable place within their settlements, as early in July next as circumstances will permit.

The object of the proposed treaty is to procure from the Creek nation a cession of such part of the land lying between the rivers Oconee and Oakmulgee, as they can be prevailed on to relinquish their title to. But your more particular attention will be pointed to the tract, which lies between the Oakmulgee and the westerly boundary of the cession made by the Creeks, in the treaty held in July, one thousand eight hundred and two, at fort Wilkinson.

The importance of establishing a strong natural boundary, between the white people and the Creeks, and affording to the United States a convenient site for a military post and factory, with the advantage of transportation by a navigable river, are too obvious to require enforcing by additional remarks. You will therefore perceive the propriety and necessity of every possible exertion on your part, to convince the chiefs and head-men of the propriety and use, as well to themselves as to the United States, of making the cession, on such fair and reasonable terms as shall be mutually agreed on.

The sum to be given must, from the nature of the business, principally depend on your judgment and discretion. Twelve thousand dollars will be lodged in the Bank of Georgia, and two thousand dollars in the hands of Mr. Halstead, agent of the United States at fort Wilkinson, who will likewise be directed to furnish you with goods from the factory, to the amount of three thousand dollars, if found necessary; which sums will be at your disposal, for paying the Creeks for such cessions as you may obtain, and for the expenses attending the treaty. You will determine whether specie, in silver or goods, will be the most pleasing to the Indians, and make any payment stipulated by treaty accordingly.

It may not be improper to observe, that thirty thousand dollars is the amount of the appropriations for meeting the demands, arising from treaties with the several Indian nations; and as some part thereof may be necessary for objects other than what may relate to cessions made by the Creeks. You will perceive the necessity of confining your positive stipulations within such reasonable limits as will not exceed the appropriations, after deducting a reasonable proportion of the fund for other objects; but, if the Creeks should discover a disposition to make so extensive a cession as would, at the usual rate of compensation, require a sum beyond the foregoing limits, it will be necessary to stipulate conditionally for the payment of such extra sum, as it must depend on the will of Congress.

An annual stipend, as part compensation for any cession you may obtain, would be preferable to payment of the whole sum at one time.

I am, &c.

H. DEARBORN.

Gen. JAMES WILKINSON,  
Col. BENJ. HAWKINS, and  
ROBERT ANDERSON, Esquire.

*The Secretary of War to General Wilkinson, Benjamin Hawkins, and Andrew Pickens, Commissioners, &c.*

GENTLEMEN: A successful issue to your negotiations with the Creek nation, is so highly interesting to the United States, and the State of Georgia, that you will pardon me for exhorting you to an ardent application of those talents, you so eminently possess, in calling into your service all the fair means in your power, for rendering the most favorable result.

The first object of your negotiation is, the obtaining from the Creeks a cession of the tract of country called Tallassee county, bounded as follows, viz: Beginning at the junction of the Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers; thence, running in such a southerly direction as will intersect the extreme source of St. Mary's river; thence, down the said river to the old line; thence, by the said old line to the river Altamaha; thence, up the said river, to the first mentioned bounds. For this tract, it is presumed that the Creeks will not expect a large compensation, they having



once sold it to the State of Georgia, and received payment in full for it. Ten thousand dollars, with an annuity of one thousand five hundred dollars, will probably be sufficient.

The second object is, the purchase of the Indian title to that tract of land, situate between the Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers, called the Oakmulgee fork, bounded as follows, viz: beginning at the junction of the Oakmulgee with the Oconee, and extending northward, including the whole of the lands between the two rivers, to fort Wilkinson, on the Oconee, or as far as the Creeks will consent to cede; if facility can be given to the obtaining of this highly important object, by relinquishing that part of Tallassee county, to the westward of a line to be drawn from the mouth of Kettle creek, near the mouth of the Oakmulgee, to the St. Mary's river, at the southern extremity of the great Akinfonoka swamp, you will consider yourselves authorized to make such a compromise, but no part of the Tallassee tract is to be relinquished, if the other object can otherwise be obtained on reasonable terms. The northern boundaries of the Oakmulgee tract must be governed by circumstances and your own discretion. If the purchase can be extended to fort Wilkinson, or the Indian path which crosses the Oconee, a little below the fort, making the path leading from thence to the Buzzard roost the northern boundary line between the Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers, it may not be prudent to urge a further extension at present. For which tract, bounded as above, you will be authorized to engage the payment of twenty-five thousand dollars, and an annuity of two thousand; but, if this tract can only be obtained by relinquishing a large part of the Tallassee tract, you will make such deductions from the sums, collectively, as may, in your judgment, be proper.

Mr. Jonathan Halstead, agent at the factory, will furnish the necessary provisions and other accommodations for yourselves, and for the Indians who may attend the treaty. The furnishing of any spirits, or not, to the Indians, will be left to your discretion and directions.

Given at the War Office of the United States, this 12th April, 1804.

To Brig. Gen. JAMES WILKINSON, &c.

Commissioners for treating with certain nations of Indians south of the Ohio.

H. DEARBORN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 2d, 1804.

SIR:

The Governor of Georgia having requested that an effort should be made with the Creeks, at their council, proposed to be held in May next, to obtain a further cession of land between the Oconee and Oakmulgee, or in Tallassee county, the President of the United States has thought proper to direct, that you, with the aid of General David Meriwether, (who is directed to meet you at said council) should make every reasonable and prudent exertion, in your power, to obtain from the Creeks such further cession of lands, for the accommodation of the State of Georgia, as the Creeks can be induced to give up, on such terms as may be considered reasonable.

To enable you to meet any expense, or to make such payments as may be stipulated, I have written to the cashier of the Bank of Savannah, (Georgia) to answer your drafts for a sum not exceeding, in the whole, twelve thousand dollars. If you shall be so fortunate as to obtain such cession as shall ultimately require a larger sum, exclusive of an annual stipend, it will remain with Congress to provide the fund therefor. In the mean time, four or five thousand dollars may be stipulated to be paid in October or November next, in such articles as may be deemed most useful for them. General Meriwether not having an appointment as commissioner should not prevent his opinion having as full weight, in any transaction at the proposed conference, as it would have if he had received an appointment as a commissioner. You will, nevertheless, consider yourself responsible for whatever you agree to. It is desirable the most perfect harmony should prevail between General Meriwether and yourself.

If you should think it expedient to have one or two thousand dollars' worth of goods at the council, and they can be furnished at the factory, you are hereby authorized to draw on Mr. Halstead for the same, and you will make such arrangements, with respect to provisions, as you may judge expedient. You will let the chiefs know that General Meriwether has been particularly requested, by the President of the United States, to attend with you for the purpose aforesaid.

I am, &c.

H. DEARBORN.

Col. BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

8th CONGRESS.]

No. 107.

[2d SESSION.

### THE SACS AND FOXES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 31, 1804.

To the Senate of the United States:

Most of the Indians residing within our Northern boundary, on this side the Mississippi, receiving from us annual aids in money and necessities, it was a subject of complaint with the Sacs, that they received nothing, and were connected with us by no treaty. As they own the country in the neighborhood of our settlements of Kaskaskia and St. Louis, it was thought expedient to engage their friendship; and Governor Harrison was accordingly instructed, in June last, to propose to them an annuity of five or six hundred dollars, stipulating, in return, an adequate cession of territory, and an exact definition of boundaries. The Sacs and Foxes, acting generally as one nation, and coming forward together, he found it necessary to add an annuity for the latter tribe also, enlarging proportionably the cession of territory; which was accordingly done by the treaty, now communicated, of November the 3d, with those two tribes.

This cession giving us a perfect title to such a breadth of country on the eastern side of the Mississippi, with a command of the Ouisconsin, strengthens our means of retaining exclusive commerce with the Indians, on the western side of the Mississippi: a right indispensable to the policy of governing those Indians by commerce rather than by arms.

The treaty is now submitted to the Senate for their advice and consent.

TH: JEFFERSON.

December 31, 1804.

*Articles of a Treaty, made at Saint Louis, in the district of Louisiana, between William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana territory and of the district of Louisiana, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the said territory and district, and commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States, for concluding any treaty, or treaties, which may be found necessary with any of the Northwestern tribes of Indians, of the one part; and the chiefs and head men of the united Sac and Fox tribes, of the other part.*

ARTICLE 1. The United States receive the united Sac and Fox tribes into their friendship and protection; and the said tribes agree to consider themselves under the protection of the United States, and of no other Power whatsoever.

ART. 2. The general boundary line, between the lands of the United States and of the said Indian tribes, shall be as follows, viz: Beginning at a point on the Missouri river, opposite to the mouth of the Gasconade river; thence,

in a direct course, so as to strike the river Jeffreon, at the distance of thirty miles from its mouth, and down the said Jeffreon to the Mississippi; thence, up the Mississippi, to the mouth of the Ouisconsin river, and up the same to a point, which shall be thirty-six miles in a direct line from the mouth of the said river; thence, by a direct line, to the point where the Fox river (a branch of the Illinois) leaves the small lake called Sakaegan; thence, down the Fox river, to the Illinois river, and down the same to the Mississippi. And the said tribes, for, and in consideration of the friendship and protection of the United States, which is now extended to them, of the goods (to the value of two thousand two hundred and thirty-four dollars and fifty cents) which are now delivered, and of the annuity hereinafter stipulated to be paid, do hereby cede, and relinquish forever, to the United States, all the lands included within the above described boundary.

ART. 3. In consideration of the cession and relinquishment of land, made in the preceding article, the United States will deliver to the said tribes, at the town of St. Louis, or some other convenient place on the Mississippi, yearly and every year, goods suited to the circumstances of the Indians, of the value of one thousand dollars, (six hundred of which are intended for the Sacs, and four hundred for the Foxes,) reckoning that value at the first cost of the goods in the city or place in the United States, where they shall be procured. And if the said tribes shall hereafter, at an annual delivery of the goods aforesaid, desire that a part of their annuity should be furnished in domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils, convenient for them, or in compensation to useful artificers, who may reside with, or near them, and be employed for their benefit, the same shall, at the subsequent annual delivery, be furnished accordingly.

ART. 4. The United States will never interrupt the said tribes, in the possession of the lands which they rightfully claim; but will, on the contrary, protect them in the quiet enjoyment of the same, against their own citizens, and against all other white persons, who may intrude upon them. And the said tribes do hereby engage, that they will never sell their lands, or any part thereof, to any sovereign Power but the United States; nor to the citizens or subjects of any other sovereign Power, nor to the citizens of the United States.

ART. 5. Lest the friendship which is now established between the United States and the said Indian tribes, should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, it is hereby agreed, that, for injuries done by individuals, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place; but, instead thereof, complaint shall be made by the party injured to the other; by the said tribes, or either of them, to the superintendent of Indian affairs, or one of his deputies; and by the superintendent, or other person appointed by the President, to the chiefs of the said tribes. And it shall be the duty of the said chiefs, upon complaint being made, as aforesaid, to deliver up the person, or persons, against whom the complaint is made, to the end that he, or they, may be punished agreeably to the laws of the State or territory where the offence may have been committed. And, in like manner, if any robbery, violence, or murder, shall be committed on any Indian, or Indians, belonging to the said tribes, or either of them, the person or persons so offending, shall be tried, and if found guilty, punished, in the like manner as if the injury had been done to a white man. And it is further agreed, that the chiefs of the said tribes shall, to the utmost of their power, exert themselves to recover horses, or other property which may be stolen from any citizen or citizens of the United States, by any individual, or individuals of their tribes. And the property so recovered, shall be forthwith delivered to the superintendent, or other person authorized to receive it, that it may be restored to the proper owner. And in cases where the exertions of the chiefs shall be ineffectual in recovering the property stolen, as aforesaid, if sufficient proof can be obtained, that such property was actually stolen by any Indian, or Indians, belonging to the said tribes or either of them, the United States may deduct from the annuity of the said tribes, a sum equal to the value of the property which has been stolen. And the United States hereby guaranty to any Indian or Indians, of the said tribes, a full indemnification for any horses, or other property, which may be stolen from them, by any of their citizens: *Provided*, That the property so stolen cannot be recovered, and that sufficient proof is produced that it was actually stolen by a citizen of the United States.

ART. 6. If any citizen of the United States, or other white person, should form a settlement, upon lands which are the property of the Sac and Fox tribes, upon complaint being made thereof, to the superintendent, or other person having charge of the affairs of the Indians, such intruder shall forthwith be removed.

ART. 7. As long as the lands which are now ceded to the United States remain their property, the Indians belonging to the said tribes shall enjoy the privilege of living and hunting upon them.

ART. 8. As the laws of the United States, regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, are already extended to the country inhabited by the Sacs, and Foxes, and as it is provided by those laws, that no person shall reside, as a trader, in the Indian country, without a licence under the hand and seal of the superintendent of Indian affairs, or other person appointed for the purpose by the President, the said tribes do promise and agree, that they will not suffer any trader to reside among them, without such licence, and that they will, from time to time, give notice to the superintendent, or to the agent for their tribes, of all the traders that may be in their country.

ART. 9. In order to put a stop to the abuses and impositions which are practised upon the said tribes, by the private traders, the United States will, at a convenient time, establish a trading house, or factory, where the individuals of the said tribes can be supplied with goods at a more reasonable rate than they have been accustomed to procure them.

ART. 10. In order to evince the sincerity of their friendship and affection for the United States, and a respectful deference for their advice, by an act which will not only be acceptable to them, but to the Common Father of all the nations of the earth, the said tribes do, hereby, solemnly promise and agree, that they will put an end to the bloody war which has heretofore raged between their tribes and those of the Great and Little Osages. And for the purpose of burying the tomahawk, and renewing the friendly intercourse between themselves and the Osages, a meeting of their respective chiefs shall take place, at which, under the direction of the above named commissioner, or the agent of Indian affairs residing at St. Louis, an adjustment of all their differences shall be made, and peace established, upon a firm and lasting basis.

ART. 11. As it is probable that the Government of the United States will establish a military post at, or near, the mouth of the Ouisconsin river, and as the land on the lower side of the river may not be suitable for that purpose, the said tribes hereby agree, that a fort may be built, either on the upper side of the Ouisconsin, or on the right bank of the Mississippi, as the one or the other may be found most convenient; and a tract of land, not exceeding two miles square, shall be given for that purpose; and the said tribes do further agree, that they will, at all times, allow to traders, and other persons, travelling through their country, under the authority of the United States, a free and safe passage for themselves, and their property, of every description; and that, for such passage, they shall at no time, and on no account whatever, be subject to any toll or exaction.

ART. 12. This treaty shall take effect, and be obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall have been ratified by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, the said William Henry Harrison, and the chiefs and head-men of the said Sac and Fox tribes, have hereunto set their hands, and affixed their seals.

Done at St. Louis, in the district of Louisiana, on the third day of November, one thousand eight hundred and four, and of the independence of the United States the twenty ninth.

#### ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

It is agreed that nothing in this treaty contained shall affect the claim of any individual, or individuals, who may have obtained grants of land from the Spanish Government, and which are not included within the general boundary line laid down in this treaty: *Provided*, That such grant have at any time been made known to the said tribes, and recognised by them.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

[Signed also by a number of chiefs and warriors of the Sac and Fox tribes of Indians.]

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 27, 1804.

SIR:

Your Excellency's letter, of the 24th ultimo, has been duly received and considered. It is the opinion of the President of the United States, that every reasonable accommodation ought to be afforded the old Kaskaskias' chief. You will, therefore, please to satisfy every reasonable request he may make on the score of living; he certainly is entitled to attention, and ought to be enabled to live decently, and in a due degree of independence. You will please to draw on this Department, for such sums as may be necessary for furnishing him with suitable supplies for his family use, from time to time. Directions will be given, for having the boundary line ascertained, run, and marked, as soon as possible. All adjustments with these nations, whose claims may interfere with the Kaskaskias' boundary, as per treaty, will rest with your Excellency. You will take such measures, and make such pecuniary advances to individual chiefs or others, as their respective cases require. It may not be improper to procure from the Sacs, such cessions on both sides of the Illinois, as may entitle them to an annual compensation of five or six hundred dollars; they ought to relinquish all pretensions to any land on the southern side of the Illinois, and a considerable tract on the other side; and, if any of the principal chiefs of the other nations shall discover an indication to follow the example of the old Kaskaskias' chief, they ought to be encouraged, more especially the Piankeshaws, whose lands divide the Vincennes territory, on the Wabash, from the cessions of the Kaskaskias. It would also be desirable to obtain the tract between the Southern line of the Vincennes territory and the Ohio. You will, of course, embrace every favorable opportunity for obtaining cessions of such parts of the above mentioned tract as may occur by a fair and satisfactory bargain. It is suggested by the President of the United States, for your consideration and opinion, whether it would not be expedient to give certain annuities, to each actual family, during the existence of said family, even if the aggregate to a nation, should be increased 15 or 20 per cent. For instance, we give the Piankeshaws five hundred dollars per annum; suppose they have fifty families, we agree to give the nation twelve dollars for each family annually, and when a family becomes extinct, the annuity to cease, or if, when its members decrease, the annuity to decrease in proportion.

I am, &amp;c.

Gov. W. M. H. HARRISON.

9th CONGRESS.]

No. 103.

[1st Session.]

## WYANDOTS AND OTHERS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 11, 1805.

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I now lay before the Senate, the several treaties and conventions following, which have been entered into, on the part of the United States, since their last session:

A treaty between the United States and the Wyandot, Ottawa, Chippewa, Munsee and Delaware, [Shawanee, and Pattawatamy nations of Indians.

A treaty between the United States and the agents of the Connecticut land companies on one part, and the Wyandot, Ottawa, Chippewa, Munsee and Delaware, Shawanee, and Pattawatamy nations of Indians.

A treaty between the United States and the Delawares, Pattawatamies, Miamies, Eel rivers, and Weas.

A treaty between the United States and the Chickasaw nation of Indians.

A treaty between the United States of America and the Cherokee Indians.

A convention between the United States and the Creek nation of Indians, with the several documents necessary for their explanation.

The Senate having dissented to the ratification of the treaty with the Creeks, submitted to them at their last session, which gave a sum of two hundred thousand dollars for the country thereby conveyed, it is proper now to observe, that, instead of that sum, which was equivalent to a perpetual annuity of twelve thousand dollars, the present purchase gives them an annuity of twelve thousand dollars for eight years only, and of eleven thousand dollars for ten years more, the payments of which would be effected by a present sum of one hundred and thirty thousand dollars, placed at an annual interest of six per cent. If, from this sum, we deduct the reasonable value of the road ceded through the whole length of their country from Oakmulgee, towards New Orleans, a road of indispensable necessity to us, the present convention will be found to give little more than the half of the sum which was formerly proposed to be given; this difference is thought sufficient to justify the presenting this subject a second time to the Senate.

On these several treaties, I have to request that the Senate will advise whether I shall ratify them or not.

TH. JEFFERSON.

December 11, 1805.

*A Treaty between the United States of America and the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the Wyandot, Ottawa, Chippewa, Munsee and Delaware Shawanee, and Pattawatamy nations, holden at Fort Industry, on the Miami of the lake, on the 4th day of July, Anno Domini 1805.*

ARTICLE 1. The said Indian nations do again acknowledge themselves, and all their tribes, to be in friendship with, and under the protection of, the United States.

ART. 2. The boundary line between the United States and the nations aforesaid shall, in future, be a meridian line drawn north and south, through a boundary to be erected on the south shore of lake Erie, one hundred and twenty miles due west of the west boundary line of the State of Pennsylvania, extending north until it intersects the boundary line of the United States, and extending south until it intersects a line heretofore established by the treaty of Greenville.

ART. 3. The Indian nations aforesaid, for the consideration of friendship to the United States, and the sums of money hereinafter mentioned, to be paid annually to the Wyandot, Shawanee, Munsee, and Delaware nations, have ceded, and do hereby cede and relinquish, to said United States, forever, all the lands belonging to said United States, lying east of the aforesaid line, bounded southerly and easterly by the line established by said treaty of Greenville, and northerly by the northernmost part of the forty-first degree of north latitude.

ART. 4. The United States, to preserve harmony, manifest their liberality, and in consideration of the cession made in the preceding article, will, every year, forever, hereafter, at Detroit, or some other convenient place, pay and deliver to the Wyandot, Munsee, and Delaware nations, and those of the Shawanee and Seneca nations, who reside with the Wyandots, the sum of eight hundred and twenty-five dollars, current money of the United States, and the further sum of one hundred and seventy-five dollars; making, in the whole, an annuity of one thousand dollars; which last sum of one hundred and seventy-five dollars has been secured to the President, in trust for said nations, by the Connecticut land company, and by the company incorporated by the name of "the proprie-

tors of the half million acres of land, lying south of lake Erie, called Sufferers' land," payable annually as aforesaid, and to be divided between said nations, from time to time, in such proportions as said nations, with the approbation of the President, shall agree.

ART. 5. To prevent all misunderstanding hereafter, it is to be expressly remembered, that the Ottawa and Chippewa nations, and such of the Pattawatamy nation as reside on the river Huron of lake Erie, and in the neighborhood thereof, have received from the Connecticut land company, and the company incorporated by the name of "the proprietors of the half million acres of land, lying south of lake Erie, called Sufferers' land," the sum of four thousand dollars in hand, and have secured to the President of the United States, in trust for them, the further sum of twelve thousand dollars, payable in six annual instalments, of two thousand dollars each; which several sums is the full amount of their proportion of the purchases effected by this treaty, and also, by a treaty with said companies, bearing even date herewith, which proportions were agreed on and concluded by the whole of said nations, in their general council; which several sums, together with two thousand nine hundred and sixteen dollars and sixty-seven cents, secured to the President, to raise said sum of one hundred and seventy-five dollars annuity, as aforesaid, is the amount of the consideration paid by the agents of the Connecticut reserve, for the cession of their lands.

ART. 6. The said Indian nations, parties to this treaty, shall be at liberty to fish and hunt within the territory and lands which they have now ceded to the United States, so long as they shall demean themselves peaceably.

In witness whereof, Charles Jouett, Esquire, a commissioner on the part of the United States, and the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the Indian nations aforesaid, have hereto set their hands and seals.

CHARLES JOUETT, [L. S.]

[Signed, also, by sundry sachems, chiefs, and warriors.]

*A Treaty between the United States of America and the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the Wyandot, Ottawa, Chippewa, Munsee, and Delaware, Shawanee, and Pattawatamy nations, holden at fort Industry, on the Miami of the lake, on the 4th day of July, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and five.*

Whereas Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, did appoint Charles Jouett, Esquire, a commissioner to hold a treaty with said Indian nations, for the purpose of enabling the agents of the Connecticut reserve to negotiate and conclude a cession of their lands: And whereas the company incorporated by the name of "the proprietors of the half million acres of land, lying south of lake Erie, called Sufferers' land," are the owners and proprietors of one half million acres of land, part of said Connecticut reserve, lying on the west end thereof, and south of the shore of lake Erie: And whereas the Connecticut land company, so called, are the owners and proprietors of the remaining part of said reserve, lying west of the river Cayahoga: And whereas Henry Champion, Esquire, agent of the said Connecticut land company, and Isaac Mills, Esquire, agent of the directors of the company incorporated by the name of "the proprietors of the half million acres of land lying south of lake Erie, called Sufferers' land," were both duly authorized and empowered, by their respective companies, and the directors thereof, to treat for the cession and purchase of said Connecticut reserve:

Now, know all men by these presents, That we, the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the nations aforesaid, for the consideration of eighteen thousand nine hundred and sixteen dollars and sixty-seven cents, received of the companies aforesaid, by the hands of their respective agents, to our full satisfaction, have ceded, remised, released, and quit claimed, and by these presents do cede, remise, release, and forever quit claim, to the companies aforesaid, and the individuals composing the same, and their heirs and assigns, forever, all the interest, right, title, and claim of title, of said Indian nations, respectively, of, in, and to, all the lands of said companies, lying west of the river Cayahoga, and the portage between that and the Tuscarava branch of Muskingum, north of the northernmost part of the 41st degree of north latitude, east of a line agreed and designated in a treaty between the United States and said Indian nations, bearing even date herewith, being a line north and south one hundred and twenty miles due west of the west line of the State of Pennsylvania, and south of the northernmost part of the forty-second degree and two minutes north latitude, for them, the said companies, respectively, to have, hold, occupy, peaceably possess, and enjoy, the granted and quit claimed premises, forever, free and clear of all let, hindrance, or molestation, whatsoever; so that said nations, and neither of them, the sachems, chiefs, and warriors thereof, and neither of them, or any of the posterity of said nations, respectively, shall ever hereafter make any claim to the quit claimed premises, or any part thereof; but therefrom, said nations, the sachems, chiefs, and warriors thereof, and the posterity of said nations, shall be forever barred.

In witness whereof, the commissioner of the United States, the agents of the companies aforesaid, and the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the respective Indian nations aforesaid, have hereunto, interchangeably, fixed their seals and set their names.

CH. JOUETT, [L. S.]

H. CHAMPION, [L. S.]

J. MILLS, [L. S.]

[Sealed also by a number of Indian chiefs.]

*A Treaty between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called the Delawares, Pattawatamies, Miamies, Eel River, and Weas.*

Articles of a treaty made and entered into, at Grouseland, near Vincennes, in the Indiana territory, by and between William Henry Harrison, Governor of said territory, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States, for treating with the Northwestern tribes of Indians, of the one part; and the tribes of Indians called the Delawares, Pattawatamies, Miamies, Eel River, and Weas, jointly and severally, by their chiefs and head-men, of the other part.

ARTICLE 1. Whereas, by the fourth article of a treaty made between the United States and the Delaware tribe, on the eighteenth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and four, the said United States engaged to consider the said Delawares as the proprietors of all that tract of country which is bounded by the White river on the north, the Ohio and Clark's grant on the south, the general boundary line running from the mouth of Kentucky river, on the east, and the tract ceded by the treaty of fort Wayne, and the road leading to Clark's grant, on the west and southwest:

And whereas the Miami tribe, from whom the Delawares derived their claim, contend, that, in their cession of said tract to the Delawares, it was never their intention to convey to them the right of the soil, but to suffer them to occupy it as long as they thought proper; the said Delawares have, for the sake of peace and good neighborhood, determined to relinquish their claim to the said tract, and do, by these presents, release the United States from the guarantee made in the before mentioned article of the treaty of August, eighteen hundred and four.

ART. 2. The said Miami, Eel River, and Wea tribes, cede and relinquish to the United States, forever, all that tract of country which lies to the south of a line to be drawn from the northeast corner of the tract ceded by the treaty of fort Wayne, so as to strike the general boundary line, running from a point opposite to the mouth of the Kentucky river, to fort Recovery, at the distance of fifty miles from its commencement on the Ohio river.

ART. 3. In consideration of the cession made in the preceding article, the United States will give an additional permanent annuity to said Miamies, Eel River, and Wea tribes, in the following proportions, viz. to the Miamies, six hundred dollars; to the Eel river tribe, two hundred and fifty dollars; to the Weas, two hundred and fifty dollars; and also to the Pattawatamies, an additional annuity of five hundred dollars, for ten years and no longer; which, together with the sum of four thousand dollars, which is now delivered, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge, is to be considered as a full compensation for the land now ceded.

ART. 4. As the tribes which are now called the Miamies, Eel River, and Weas, were, formerly, and still consider themselves, as one nation, and as they have determined that neither of those tribes shall dispose of any part of the country, which they hold in common; in order to quiet their minds on that head, the United States do hereby engage to consider them as joint owners of all the country on the Wabash, and its waters, above the Vincennes tract, and which has not been ceded to the United States, by this or any former treaty; and they do further engage, that they will not purchase any part of the said country, without the consent of each of the said tribes: *Provided always*, that nothing in this section contained shall, in any manner, weaken or destroy any claim which the Kickapoos, who are not represented at this treaty, may have to the country they now occupy, on the Vermillion river.

ART. 5. The Pattawatamies, Miami, Eel River, and Wea tribes, explicitly acknowledge the right of the Delawares, to sell the tract of land conveyed to the United States by the treaty of the eighteenth day of August, eighteen hundred and four, which tract was given by the Piankeshaws to the Delawares, about thirty-seven years ago.

ART. 6. The annuity herein stipulated to be paid by the United States, shall be delivered in the same manner, and under the same conditions, as those which the said tribes have heretofore received.

ART. 7. This treaty shall be in force, and obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall have been ratified by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, the said commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States, and the sachems, chiefs, and head men, of the said tribes, have hereunto set their hands, and affixed their seals.

Done at Grouseland, near Vincennes, on the twenty-first day of August, in the year eighteen hundred and five, and of the independence of the United States the thirtieth.

W. H. HARRISON, [L. s.]  
And a number of Indians.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

It is the intention of the contracting parties, that the boundary line herein directed to be run from the northeast corner of the Vincennes tract, to the boundary line running from the mouth of the Kentucky river, shall not cross the Embarrass or Drift-wood fork of White river; but, if it should strike the said fork, such an alteration in the direction of the said line is to be made, as will leave the whole of the said fork in the Indian territory.

*Articles of Arrangement, made and concluded in the Chickasaw country, between James Robertson and Silas Dinsmoor, commissioners of the United States, of the one part; and the Mingo, chiefs, and warriors, of the Chickasaw nation of Indians, of the other part.*

ART. 1. Whereas the Chickasaw nation of Indians have been for some time embarrassed by heavy debts due to their merchants and traders, and being destitute of funds to effect important improvements in their country; they have agreed, and do hereby agree, to cede to the United States, and forever quit claim to the tract of country included within the following bounds, to wit: Beginning on the left bank of Ohio, at the point where the present Indian boundary adjoins the same; thence, down the left bank of Ohio to the Tennessee river; thence, up the main channel of the Tennessee river to the mouth of Duck river; thence, up the left bank of Duck river to the Columbian highway, or road, leading from Nashville to Natchez; thence, along the said road to the ridge dividing the waters running into Duck river from those running into Buffalo river; thence, eastwardly along the said ridge to the great ridge dividing the waters running into the main Tennessee river from those running into Buffalo river, near the main source of Buffalo river; thence, in a direct line to the great Tennessee river, near the Chickasaw old fields, or eastern point of the Chickasaw claim in that river; thence, northwardly to the great ridge dividing the waters running into the Tennessee from those running into Cumberland river, so as to include all the waters running into Elk river; thence, along the top of the said great ridge to the place of beginning; reserving a tract of one mile square, adjoining to, and below the mouth of Duck river, on the Tennessee, for the use of the chief O'Koy, or Tishsumas-tubbe.

ART. 2. The United States, on their part, and in consideration of the above cession, agree to make the following payments, to wit: Twenty thousand dollars for the use of the nation at large, and for the payment of the debts due to their merchants and traders; and to George Colbert and O'Koy, two thousand dollars, that is, to each, one thousand dollars; this sum is granted to them at the request of the national council, for services rendered their nation, and is to be subject to their individual order, witnessed by the resident agent; also, to Chinnubbee Mingo, the king of the nation, an annuity of one hundred dollars, during his natural life, granted as a testimony of his personal worth and friendly disposition. All the above payments are to be made in specie.

ART. 3. In order to preclude forever all disputes relative to the boundary mentioned in the first section, it is hereby stipulated that the same shall be ascertained and marked by a commissioner or commissioners, on the part of the United States, accompanied by such person as the Chickasaws may choose, so soon as the Chickasaws shall have thirty days notice of the time and place at which the operation is to commence; and the United States will pay the person appointed on the part of the Chickasaws two dollars per day, during his actual attendance on that service.

ART. 4. It is hereby agreed, on the part of the United States, that, from and after the ratification of these articles, no settlement shall be made by any citizen, or permitted by the Government of the United States, on that part of the present cession included between the present Indian boundary and the Tennessee, and between the Ohio and a line drawn due north from the mouth of Buffalo to the ridge dividing the waters of Cumberland from those of the Tennessee river, to the term of three years.

ART. 5. The articles now stipulated will be considered as permanent additions to the treaties now in force between the contracting parties, as soon as they shall have been ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the said United States.

In witness of all and every thing herein determined, the parties have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and seals, in the Chickasaw country, this twenty-third day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and of the independence of the United States of America the thirtieth.

JAMES ROBERTSON, [L. s.]  
SILAS DINSMOOR, [L. s.]

[Signed, also, by the Mingo, and two other chiefs.]

*Articles of a Treaty agreed upon between the United States of America, by their commissioners Return J. Meigs and Daniel Smith, appointed to hold conferences with the Cherokee Indians, for the purpose of arranging certain interesting matters with the said Cherokees, of the one part; and the undersigned chiefs and head men of the said nation, of the other part.*

ART. 1. All former treaties, which provide for the maintenance of peace, and preventing of crimes, are, on this occasion, recognised and continued in force.

ART. 2. The Cherokees quit claim, and cede to the United States, all the land which they have heretofore claimed, lying to the north of the following boundary line: Beginning at the mouth of Duck river, running thence up the main stream of the same to the junction of the fork, at the head of which fort Nash stood, with the main south fork; thence, a direct course to a point on the Tennessee river bank, opposite the mouth of Hiwassee river. If the line

from Hiwassee should leave out Field's settlement, it is to be marked round his improvement, and then continued the straight course; thence, up the middle of the Tennessee river, (but leaving all the islands to the Cherokees) to the mouth of Clinch river; thence, up the Clinch river, to the former boundary line, agreed upon with the said Cherokees, reserving, at the same time, to the use of the Cherokees, a small tract, lying at and below the mouth of Clinch river; from the mouth extending thence, down the Tennessee river, from the mouth of Clinch to a notable rock on the north bank of the Tennessee, in view from Southwest Point; thence, a course at right angles with the river to the Cumberland road; thence, eastward along the same, to the bank of Clinch river, (so as to secure the ferry landing to the Cherokees up to the first hill) and down the same, to the mouth thereof; together with two other sections, of one square mile each, one of which is at the foot of Cumberland mountain, at and near the place where the turnpike gate now stands; the other on the north bank of the Tennessee river, where the Cherokee Talotiske now lives. And whereas, from the present cession made by the Cherokees, and other circumstances, the site of the garrisons at Southwest Point and Tellico are become not the most convenient and suitable places for the accommodation of the said Indians, it may become expedient to remove the said garrisons and factory to some more suitable place, three other square miles are reserved for the particular disposal of the United States, on the north bank of the Tennessee, opposite to, and below, the mouth of Hiwassee.

ART. 3. In consideration of the above cession and relinquishment, the United States agree to pay, immediately, 3,000 dollars in valuable merchandise, and 11,000 dollars within ninety days after the ratification of this treaty, and, also, an annuity of 3,000 dollars, the commencement of which is this day. But so much of the said 11,000 dollars as the said Cherokees may agree to accept in useful articles of, and machines for, agriculture and manufactures, shall be paid in those articles, at their option.

ART. 4. The citizens of the United States shall have the free and unmolested use and enjoyment of the two following described roads, in addition to those which are at present established through their country; one to proceed from some convenient place near the head of Stone's river, and fall into the Georgia road at a suitable place towards the Southern frontier of the Cherokees. The other to proceed from the neighborhood of Franklin, on Big Harpeth, and crossing the Tennessee at or near the Muscle shoals, to pursue the nearest and best way to the settlements on the Tombigby. These roads shall be viewed and marked out by men appointed on each side for that purpose, in order that they may be directed the nearest and best ways, and of the time of doing the business the Cherokees shall be duly notified.

ART. 5. This treaty shall take effect and be obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as it is ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the same.

In testimony whereof, the said commissioners, and the undersigned chiefs and head-men of the Cherokees, have hereto set their hands and seals. Done at Tellico, the twenty-fifth day of October, 1805.

RETURN J. MEIGS,  
DANIEL SMITH,  
And a number of Indian chiefs.

*Articles of a Treaty between the United States of America, by their commissioners, Return J. Meigs and Daniel Smith, who are appointed to hold conferences with the Cherokees, for the purpose of arranging certain interesting matters with the said Indians, of the one part; and the undersigned chiefs and head-men of the Cherokees, of the other part.*

ART. 1. Whereas it has been represented by the one party to the other, that the section of land on which the garrison of Southwest Point stands, and which extends to Kingston, is likely to be a desirable place for the assembly of the State of Tennessee to convene at, (a committee from that body, now in session, having viewed the situation) now the Cherokees, being possessed of a spirit of conciliation, and seeing that this tract is desired for public purposes, and not for individual advantages, reserving the ferries to themselves, quit claim and cede to the United States the said section of land, understanding, at the same time, that the buildings erected by the public are to belong to the public, as well as the occupation of the same, during the pleasure of the Government; we also cede the United States the first island in the Tennessee, above the mouth of Clinch.

ART. 2. And whereas the mail of the United States is ordered to be carried from Knoxville to New Orleans, through the Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw countries, the Cherokees agree that the citizens of the United States shall have, so far as it goes through their country, the free and unmolested use of a road leading from Tellico to Tombigby, to be laid out by viewers appointed on both sides, who shall direct it at the nearest and best way; and the time of doing the business the Cherokees shall be notified of.

ART. 3. In consideration of the above cession and relinquishment, the United States agree to pay the said Cherokee Indians, sixteen hundred dollars in money, or useful merchandise, at their option, within ninety days after the ratification of this treaty.

ART. 4. This treaty shall be obligatory between the contracting parties as soon as it is ratified by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, the said commissioners, and the undersigned chiefs and head-men of the Cherokees, have hereto set their hands and seals. Done at Tellico, this twenty-seventh day of October, A. D. eighteen hundred and five.

RETURN J. MEIGS,  
DANIEL SMITH,  
And a number of Indians.

*Articles of a Convention made between Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War, specially authorized therefor, by the President of the United States, and Oche Haujo, William M'Intosh, Tuskenehau Chappo, Tuskenehau, Enehau Thlucco, and Checpeheke Emautlau, chiefs and head-men of the Creek nation of Indians, duly authorized and empowered by said nation.*

ARTICLE 1. The aforesaid chiefs and head-men do hereby agree, in consideration of certain sums of money and goods, to be paid to the said Creek nation by the Government of the United States, as hereafter stipulated, to cede, and forever quit claim, and do, in behalf of their nation, hereby cede, relinquish, and forever quit claim, unto the United States, all right, title, and interest, which the said nation have, or claim, in or unto a certain tract of land, situate between the rivers Oconee and Oakmulgee, (except as hereinafter excepted) and bounded as follows, viz: Beginning at the high shoals of Apalachy, where the line of the treaty of fort Wilkinson touches the same; thence, running in a straight line, to the mouth of Ulcofauhatche, it being the first large branch or fork of the Oakmulgee, above the Seven islands: *Provided, however,* That, if the said line should strike the Ulcofauhatche at any place above its mouth, that it shall continue round with that stream, so as to leave the whole of it on the Indian side; then the boundary to continue from the mouth of the Ulcofauhatche, by the water's edge of the Oakmulgee river, down to its junction with the Oconee; thence, up the Oconee, to the present boundary at Tauloohatchee creek; thence, up said creek, and following the present boundary line to the first mentioned bounds, at the High shoals of Apalachy, excepting and reserving to the Creek nation, the title and possession of a tract of land, five miles in length and three in breadth, and bounded as follows, viz: Beginning on the eastern shore of the Oakmulgee river, at a point three miles on a straight line above the mouth of a creek called Ookchoncoolgau, which empties into the Oakmulgee, near the lower part of what is called the old Oakmulgee fields; thence, running three miles eastwardly on a course at right angles with the general course of the river, for five miles below the point of beginning; thence, from the end of the three miles, to run five miles parallel with the said course of the river; thence, eastwardly at right angles with the last mentioned line to the river; thence, by the river, to the first mentioned bounds.



And it is hereby agreed, that the President of the United States, for the time being, shall have a right to establish and continue a military post, and a factory, or trading-house, on said reserved tract; and to make such other use of the said tract, as may be found convenient for the United States, as long as the Government thereof shall think proper to continue the said military post, or trading-house. And it is also agreed, on the part of the Creek nation, that the navigation and fishery of the Oakmulgee, from its junction with the Oconee to the Ulcofauhatche, shall be free to the white people; provided they use no traps for taking fish; but nets and seines may be used, which shall be drawn to the eastern shore only.

ART. 2. It is hereby stipulated and agreed, on the part of the Creek nation, that the Government of the United States shall, forever, hereafter, have a right to a horse path, through the Creek country, from the Oakmulgee to the Mobile, in such direction as shall, by the President of the United States, be considered most convenient, and to clear out the same, and lay logs over the creeks: And the citizens of said States shall, at all times, have a right to pass peaceably on said path, under such regulations and restrictions as the Government of the United States shall from time to time direct; and the Creek chiefs will have boats kept at the several rivers for the conveyance of men and horses; and houses of entertainment established, at suitable places on said path, for the accommodation of travellers; and the respective ferriages and prices of entertainment, for men and horses, shall be regulated by the present agent, Colonel Hawkins, or by his successor in office, or as is usual among white people.

ART. 3. It is hereby stipulated and agreed, on the part of the United States, as a full consideration of the land ceded by the Creek nation in the first article, as well as by permission granted for a horse path through their country, and the occupancy of the reserved tract, at the old Oakmulgee fields, that there shall be paid, annually, to the Creek nation, by the United States, for the term of eight years, twelve thousand dollars in money or goods, and implements of husbandry, at the option of the Creek nation, seasonably signified from time to time, through the agent of the United States, residing with said nation, to the Department of War; and eleven thousand dollars shall be paid in like manner, annually, for the term of the ten succeeding years, making in the whole, eighteen payments in the course of eighteen years, without interest: The first payment is to be made as soon as practicable, after the ratification of this convention, by the Government of the United States; and each payment shall be made at the reserved tract, on the old Oakmulgee fields.

ART. 4. And it is hereby further agreed, on the part of the United States, that, in lieu of all former stipulations relating to blacksmiths, they will furnish the Creek nation, for eight years, with two blacksmiths and two strikers.

ART. 5. The President of the United States may cause the line to be run from the High shoals of Apalachy, to the mouth of Ulcofauhatche, at such time, and in such manner, as he may deem proper. And this convention shall be obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall have been ratified by the Government of the United States.

Done at the place, and on the day and year, above written.

H. DEARBORN, [L. s.]

*And sundry Indian chiefs.*

[NOTE. For instructions, see Nos. 109 and 110.]

9th CONGRESS.]

No. 109.

[1st SESSION.]

CHEROKEES AND OTHERS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 23, 1805.

WAR DEPARTMENT, December 21, 1805.

SIR:

In compliance with your note of the 19th instant, you will herewith receive copies of such instructions as have been given from this Department to the different commissioners for treating with the Cherokees, the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and the several tribes of Northern Indians; of which you will please to make such disposition as may be deemed expedient.

I have the honor to be, &c.

H. DEARBORN.

Honorable A. BALDWIN, *Senator U. S.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 4, 1804.

GENTLEMEN:

The President of the United States having appointed you joint commissioners for holding a treaty or conference with such chief men of the Cherokee nation of Indians as may be designated by the nation for that purpose, you will please to take such measures for opening said conference, and such time and place, as you shall judge expedient; and when a meeting of the parties shall have been effected, you will pursue such measures as, in your opinion, are best calculated to obtain such cessions of lands, claimed by said nation, within the limits of the State of Tennessee, Kentucky, or Georgia, as can be done on reasonable terms; more especially, the land situated between East and West Tennessee, and the land near Currahee mountain, including the settlement of Colonel Woodford, and the other white inhabitants within his immediate neighborhood.

You are authorized to stipulate to pay the said nation, in money or goods, for such lands, within the limits aforesaid, as the Cherokees shall agree to cede, such a sum or sums as you may think reasonable, not exceeding fourteen thousand dollars for any cession which may be obtained within the limits of the State of Tennessee and Kentucky, together with a reasonable annual stipend, not exceeding three thousand dollars. And, for such cession as you may obtain from said nation, within the limits of Georgia, in the vicinity of Currahee mountain, including Colonel Woodford's settlement, and the other white inhabitants in his neighborhood, any sum you may think reasonable, not exceeding five thousand dollars, with an annual stipend not exceeding one thousand dollars. If one or two thousand dollars' worth of goods will, in your opinion, be useful to be had at the place of holding the treaty, you are hereby authorized to call on Mr. Hooker, at Tellico factory, therefor.

The sums stipulated to be paid as a consideration for cessions obtained, will be forwarded in money or goods, at the time you shall agree on. For expenses in procuring provisions, &c. you will draw on this Department. Your compensation will be six dollars per day, while actually employed in the conference or treaty, and in travelling to and from the place of holding the same, together with your reasonable and necessary expenses.

H. DEARBORN.

R. J. MEIGS and DANIEL SMITH.

SOUTH WEST POINT, November 2d, 1805.

SIR:

The conference at Tellico has ended. The result is, two treaties, which are herewith enclosed. It has cost much labor and attention to effect them. But we hope they will be approved by the Government.

We are, sir, with great respect, &c.

DANIEL SMITH,  
RETURN J. MEIGS.

HENRY DEARBORN, Esquire, *Secretary of War.*



WAR DEPARTMENT, *March 20, 1805.*

GENTLEMEN:

The object of the proposed treaties with the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations of Indians, being highly interesting, not only to the United States, but to the State of Tennessee and the Mississippi territory, it is confidently expected that no exertions, on your part, will be wanting, in conducting the business confided to your direction, in such manner as will be best calculated for securing, by all the fair and honorable means in your power, the object in view.

You will find, herewith enclosed, a petition from the principal chiefs of the Choctaw nation, requesting the President of the United States to purchase so much of their lands, between the mouth of the Yazoo river and the Chickasaw nation, as will satisfy a demand, which the house of Panton, Leslie, & Co. have against them. The lands to be ceded are to extend from the Mississippi, at the mouth of the Yazoo, along the present boundary, to the Big Black river, and then, carrying the whole width of the said tract, between those two rivers, viz: the Mississippi and the Big Black, so far as to contain a sufficient quantity for the payment of the debt abovementioned, amounting, as stated in the enclosed account from said house of Panton, Leslie, & Co. to the sum of \$46,091  $\frac{100}{100}$ . But, should a cession be obtained, amounting in value to this sum, and, on investigation, it be found that the Choctaws, themselves, do not, in fact, owe the whole, then, whatever balance may be left, after the payment of the debts, actually and justly due from them to the said house, shall be paid to the Choctaw nation. You will endeavor to extend the cession, from the main source of the Big Black, say north or north northeast, and up the Mississippi, to the Chickasaw boundary; and if the whole tract shall exceed what would be reasonable to demand, for the sum abovementioned, and the expense of the treaty, you will stipulate for the payment of such annuity to the Choctaws, in goods or money, as may be reasonable, but which shall not exceed the interest of such a capital, as, together with the debt aforesaid, and the expense of the treaty, will make the average price of the cession proposed, more than at the rate of two cents per acre.

It may not be improper, when estimating the value of the lands with the Indians, to have particular reference to the probable annual profit, which they actually derive from them, in peltries and furs, as a data, by which you may enable the Indians to understand their present value, but which is constantly diminishing from the decrease of the game.

The average price paid for the Indian lands, within the last four years, does not amount to one cent per acre. It is not, however, the wish of the Government to insist on such average price with the Choctaws or Chickasaws.

The whole amount of the tract, claimed by the Choctaws, and bounded as above, may probably amount to from three and a half to four and a half millions of acres, allowing their boundary on the Mississippi to be, as stated by their chiefs, when at this place, in the winter of 1804, viz: above the mouth of the river St. Francis, running from thence, southeastwardly, so as to strike a certain branch of the Tombigby, near their Upper towns or settlements. It is presumed that a considerable proportion of the proposed cession is overflowed every year, and of course, of but very little value, except for hunting; and, until it shall be inhabited, which will probably never be the case, the Indians will be allowed to hunt on it as heretofore, as long as they continue friendly to the United States.

Two thousand dollars, by way of annuity, which will be equal to thirty-two thousand dollars prompt pay, is considered the highest sum which ought to be given as an annuity, in addition to the debt abovementioned, together with the expense of treating for the whole tract, as before described.

The treaty will be held at such time and place as Mr. Dinsmoor shall have decided on, which, it is hoped, will not, in point of time, exceed the first of next June.

The object of the proposed treaty with the Chickasaws, is to obtain a cession of all the land claimed by that nation, north of the Tennessee river, or so much thereof as they consent to cede; and, if practicable, all their lands to the north of a line to be drawn from the mouth of Duck river, due west, to the Mississippi. But, if the last mentioned cession cannot be obtained, then you will endeavor to obtain, in addition to their lands north of the Tennessee river, their lands north of the south line of Kentucky, between the Tennessee, the Mississippi, and Ohio rivers.

The whole of the lands claimed by the Chickasaws, north of the Tennessee, will probably amount to from three and a half to four and a half millions of acres. But it must be observed that a very large proportion of this land is also claimed by the Cherokees; and that their respective titles are so vague and undefined, as to render it extremely difficult to determine, with any certainty, whose title is best. It is highly probable that we shall find it expedient to allow each nation some compensation; and, of course, the Chickasaws ought not to demand, or receive, the same price for the lands, as they would be entitled to, were their claims undisputed.

The price of such lands as the Chickasaws have an uncontested title to, may be estimated on the same principles, and calculated at the same rate, as is proposed in negotiating with the Choctaws. The disputed title extends to all the lands between Duck river and the Tennessee, to some distance above the Muscle Shoals, and, consequently, embraces a very large proportion of the whole north of the Tennessee. The price of the Chickasaw title to these lands ought not to be more than from two-thirds to three-fourths of what would be proper to give if their title were clear and undisputable.

If the whole of the lands north of the Tennessee, claimed by the Chickasaws, be estimated at about four millions of acres, and there should be three-fourths of a million, to which their title is undisputed, you will be authorized to agree to pay them, not exceeding twelve thousand dollars, in money, to enable them to pay their debts, and ten thousand dollars in goods, for their own use, as soon as the treaty shall be duly ratified, and appropriations made to carry it into effect; and an annuity of two thousand dollars, to be delivered annually, either at Chickasaw bluffs, or at their principal town.

In addition to the general stipulation for pay, you may make a separate article, with the king of the nation, to pay him one hundred dollars, annually, during his life; and with George Colbert, a principal chief, to pay him a sum not exceeding two thousand dollars, for relinquishing the privilege of keeping the ferries over Tennessee and Duck rivers, and an annual present for his life, of a sum not exceeding sixty dollars, or the sum of one thousand dollars, in money or goods, and an annual present, in money, for his life time, of one hundred and twenty dollars.

It may not be improper to let the king and Colbert know, in the early part of the negotiation, that you contemplate making them separate allowances for their friendly disposition, and for Colbert's right to the ferries. But, if Colbert should oppose the cession of the ferries, it may not be improper to endeavor to induce the king and other chiefs to assert their, or the nation's, right to the ferries, in opposition to Colbert's exclusive claim.

If a cession can be obtained, of a larger or smaller quantity of land, between the Tennessee and the Mississippi, you will be authorized in agreeing to similar terms, in point of price, as for the other land, where the title is undisputed.

If a line be drawn from the mouth of Duck river to the Mississippi, the lands, north of that line, including what is in Kentucky, as well as in Tennessee, will probably amount to near two millions of acres.

The lands north of the south line of Kentucky, between the Tennessee, the Mississippi, and the Ohio, will probably amount to three-fourths of a million of acres. The price, for the former tract, should not exceed twelve thousand dollars in goods or money, and an annuity of one thousand six hundred dollars; and, for the latter tract alone, in like proportion.

The Chickasaw treaty should be holden at the principal Chickasaw town, and as soon as practicable after the conclusion of the treaty with the Choctaws.

For any necessary expenses for yourselves, and for provisions for the Indians who attend the treaties, and for interpreters, your bills on this Department will be paid on sight.

Your compensation will be six dollars per day, while actually employed, and while travelling to and from the respective treaties; and all your necessary expenses will be paid, on the receipt of regular accounts, stated and certified by each of you; which accounts should include, not only your own time and expenses, but, also, all other expenses incurred under your direction.

H. DEARBORN.

General JAMES ROBERTSON AND SILAS DINSMOOR, Esq.

*Extracts of letters from the Secretary of War to Governor Harrison.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 21st February, 1803.

With this, you will receive a commission, authorizing you to act as a commissioner, on the part of the United States, for holding such treaties, with the Indian nations, as the President may direct.

You will take the earliest opportunity for conferring with the chiefs of the nation or nations, who claim the lands in the vicinity of the Kaskaskias, and a tract bordering on the Mississippi and Ohio, from their junction, up each river, a considerable distance, for a cession of those lands. When you shall have satisfied yourself of the practicability of obtaining those lands, or any given quantity thereof, and the probable sum for which any such cession may be obtained, you will communicate the same to this Department, and the necessary measures will be taken for enabling you to complete such arrangements as may be found practicable, on reasonable terms. Conditional stipulations may be made, (if the terms appear reasonable and moderate) to be referred to the President for his approbation.

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 27, 1804.

It may not be improper to procure from the Sacs, such cessions, on both sides of the Illinois, as may entitle them to an annual compensation of five or six hundred dollars; they ought to relinquish all pretensions to any land on the southern side of the Illinois, and a considerable tract on the other side. And if any of the principal chiefs of the other nations shall discover an inclination to follow the example of the old Kaskaskia chief, they ought to be encouraged, more especially the Piankeshaws, whose lands divide the Vincennes territory, on the Wabash, from the cessions of the Kaskaskias. It would, also, be desirable to obtain the tract between the southern line of the Vincennes territory and the Ohio. You will, of course, embrace every favorable opportunity for obtaining cessions of such parts of the above mentioned tract as may occur, by a fair and satisfactory bargain.

It is suggested, by the President of the United States, for your consideration, whether it would not be expedient to give certain annuities to each actual family, during the existence of said family, even if the aggregate to a nation should be increased fifteen or twenty per cent. For instance, we give the Piankeshaws five hundred dollars per annum; suppose they have fifty families, we agree to give the nation twelve dollars for each family, annually, and when a family becomes extinct, the annuity to cease, or if, when its members decrease, the annuity to decrease in proportion.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 24, 1805.

It is the opinion of the President of the United States, that you ought, with as little delay as possible, to cause a meeting of the Delaware chiefs, and some of the principal chiefs of the Miamies and Pattawatamies, for the purpose of such an explanation of the doings, so much complained of, as will satisfy the chiefs, generally, that the transaction was not only open and fair, but such as they have no right to object to.

Such of the Delaware chiefs as were present at the treaty, and who have made false or improper representations of your conduct, in negotiating the treaty, ought to be severely reprimanded, and made to acknowledge, in the presence of the other chiefs, the impropriety of their conduct; and they ought to be told, that, in future, no chiefs, who so far degrade themselves as to deny their own doings, will be considered as deserving any of the confidence of their father, the President of the United States, or admitted to any conference with him, or any of his principal officers or agents.

VINCENNES, 26th August, 1805.

Sir:

The distance between us is so great, and the communication so irregular, as to render it impossible to recur to you for advice and instructions, in many cases of importance, where I feel myself much at a loss to know how to act without them. Thus it has been in the late conference with the Indians, which resulted in the treaty that I have now the honor to enclose.

The first object that engaged my attention, at the opening of the council, was, to satisfy the Indians of our right to make the treaty with the Delawares, that has been so much complained of; and I found little difficulty to getting them to recognise every part of that treaty, excepting the article which guaranties to the Delawares the country between the White river and the Ohio. As the information upon which that article was founded was derived from the Delawares themselves, a good opportunity was offered to ascertain the truth of the cession said to have been made by the Miamies, at fort Wayne, in the year 1803. The latter strenuously contended, that the declaration which they made, on that occasion, meant nothing more than an assurance to the Delawares, that they should occupy the country as long as they pleased, but that they had no intention to convey an exclusive right. During the whole contest between these tribes, which lasted several days, I observed the most exact neutrality. I made the Delawares perfectly comprehend, that the guarantee of the United States depended upon their being able to make the Miamies acknowledge the cession of fort Wayne. This acknowledgment, however, the Miamies would not make, and the Delawares finally gave up the contest, although it was evident to me, that the declaration made by the Owl, on behalf of the Miamies, at fort Wayne, was fully as strong as the Delaware chiefs had reported it to be. At the commencement of the council, the Miami and Pattawatamy chiefs had hinted at the necessity of increasing their annuities, so as to put them on a footing with the Delawares. But I soon put an end to their hopes, by assuring them, in the most positive terms, that, as the United States had made a fair bargain with the Delawares and Piankeshaws, who were the owners of the land that had been ceded, not a sixpence would be given to any other tribe, in consideration of that purchase; but, that they might obtain a further annuity, by a further cession of land; and this brought on the negotiation for the tract ceded by the enclosed treaty. The consideration is greater than I could have wished, but it was not possible to reduce it one single cent; indeed, they insisted, for several days, on having their former annuity doubled for a much smaller tract than that which was finally given up. A knowledge of the value of land is fast gaining ground amongst the Indians, and, in the course of the negotiation, one of the chiefs observed, that he knew that a great part of the land was worth six dollars per acre. The admission of the Pattawatamies, as a party to the treaty, could not well be avoided, under the circumstances which gave rise to the conference, and I am confident that it will, eventually, be highly advantageous to us. They have given up all right to interfere in any future sales of lands by the Miamies, on the Wabash and its waters. The guarantee of those lands to the three tribes, who call themselves Miamies, could not be avoided, as they insisted upon it with the most persevering obstinacy. But, I conceive that it will be no difficult matter to get them, in the course of a few years, to make a division of the land that they now hold in common. At any rate, a point of much consequence has been gained, by getting the other tribes to acknowledge their exclusive title to the country on the Wabash, above the Vincennes tract. The Miami chiefs were extremely desirous to have the Piankeshaws included in the treaty, but this I would on no account suffer, reserving to the United States the right of purchasing the remaining Piankeshaws' lands, at any time that they could agree for them with that tribe. This affair is now in a prosperous train, and can be completed, on the most advantageous terms, whenever the President shall think proper to direct it. I think, upon the whole, that it would be as well to postpone the purchase a short time, perhaps until next spring; but, if it should be determined otherwise, I can venture to promise that all the lands which lie between the Wabash and the lands ceded by the Kaskaskias treaty, and below a continuation of the line running through Point Coupée, will be the property of the United States in ten days after I shall receive your instructions for that purpose, and for a consideration, too, which will compensate for any excess in that given by the present treaty. From the best calculation that I have been able to make, the tract which has now been ceded contains at least two millions of acres, and embraces

some of the finest land in the Western country. I shall do myself the honor to write to you by the next mail, and give a particular account of the bills I have drawn for the purposes of the treaty.

In pursuance of the President's directions, I have promised the Turtle fifty dollars, per annum, in addition to his pension; and I have, also, directed Captain Wells to purchase a negro man for him, in Kentucky, and draw on you for the amount.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully, your humble servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

The Hon. HENRY DEARBORN.

9th CONGRESS.]

No. 110.

[1st SESSION.

WYANDOTS AND OTHERS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 16, 1806.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *January 16th, 1806.*

SIR:

I have the honor of informing the committee who have under consideration the treaty with the Wyandots, and other Indian nations, made on the 4th of July last, that the Connecticut land companies, interested in said treaty, have deposited with this Department, specie and public stock, sufficient, as collateral security, for the fulfilment of the several stipulations in said treaty, on the part of said companies.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

H. DEARBORN.

The Honorable Mr. BALDWIN, *Chairman of said Committee.*

*To the President of the United States.*

RIDGEFIELD, (CON.) *1st October, 1804.*

SIR:

The directors of the company, incorporated by the State of Ohio, by the name of "The proprietors of the half million acres of land, lying south of lake Erie, called Sufferers' land," by their vote, have requested me to make application of the President, requesting that a commissioner be appointed, to hold a treaty with the Indians, for the purpose of enabling the directors to extinguish the Indian title to said lands.

From the information which the directors have been able to obtain, relative to the Indian title, they have reason to believe, that it may now be obtained. Such is the situation of the proprietors, that it has become extremely interesting to them that the same should now be effected. It will be unnecessary for me to detail the considerations which now influence them to this measure, relying, with confidence, that the goodness of the President, and his knowledge of the unfortunate circumstances which led to the original grant of these lands, will be a sufficient inducement, with him, to take all proper measures to make the property valuable to the sufferers.

Therefore, permit me, in their behalf, to request the President that a commissioner may be appointed for this purpose.

If this measure should meet the approbation of the President, we hope to be able to effect the treaty early in the coming spring.

I am, sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

PHILIP P. BRADLEY, *Chairman of said Directors.*

*To Thomas Jefferson, Esq. President of the United States.*

HARTFORD, *February 28th, 1805.*

The undersigned, directors of the Connecticut land company, in behalf of themselves, and proprietors of said company, respectfully request of the President liberty to hold a treaty with the Indian tribes, claiming a native title to that part of the Connecticut reservation, lying between the Cayahoga, and the Sufferers' land, (so called) containing about one million of acres, and that power and authority may be granted them to extinguish the native claim and title to said tract of land, and that a commission may be, by the President of the United States, appointed to hold a treaty with said Indian tribes, claiming the native right to those lands, and vested with power to accomplish the object prayed for. Various are the reasons that may be urged, in favor of this application, which the President will perceive without mention; amongst which, not the smallest is, that when the sufferers quiet the Indian claims to their lands on the Sandusky lake, the chain of settlement, from the Pennsylvania line, to the Sufferers' lands, and those of the United States, will be interrupted, and the tract of country which the Indians have, heretofore, occupied, solely as hunting ground, will be rendered useless to them for that purpose, and will be a secure and safe asylum for rogues and fugitives from justice, and secure from the arm of justice, and will become the pests of society, and the constant disturbers of the peace of the frontier settlers.

The President will be pleased to receive this application and request, transmitted through the proper organ, accompanied with other necessary documents and information. All which are respectfully submitted to the wise consideration of the President, by his most obedient and very humble servants,

HENRY CHAMPION,  
MOSES CLEVELAND,  
ROGER NEWBERRY,  
SAMUEL MATHER, JR.  
*Directors.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *April 2, 1805.*

SIR:

The President of the United States has appointed you a commissioner to hold a treaty with the Wyandot, Ottawa, and Chippewa Indians, or such of them, and such other Indians, as may claim a right to the lands, bordering on the southerly part of lake Erie, between the Cayahoga river and the Miami of the lakes, and extending southerly to the present Indian boundary line, as established by the treaty of Greenville.

The object of the proposed treaty being principally that of affording the Connecticut land companies, (who hold the pre-emptive right, under the State of Connecticut, to a certain part of the land above described) an opportunity to purchase the Indian title to the lands claimed by the said companies, your duties will chiefly consist, in notifying the chiefs of the several nations, who are interested, of the time and place of holding said treaty; and in presiding thereat, for the purpose of seeing that any bargain, which the agents of the said companies may enter into with the proper representatives of the Indian nations, shall be fair and just, and well understood by the parties.

You will use your influence to induce the Indians to make a cession of the lands claimed by the Connecticut companies, on reasonable terms, such as they, and their respective nations, will, or ought to be satisfied with.

The agents of those companies will produce their authorities for entering into, and complying with, any stipulations that shall be agreed upon, with your consent, as commissioner on the part of the United States. The said agents will provide the necessary accommodations and provisions, for those who attend the treaty, as well on their own part as that of the Indians, or the United States.

The price usually given for Indian cessions, in different parts of the United States, has not exceeded one cent per acre. And the Government of the United States is, in no case, except for some particular favorite tracts, inclined to give, at most, more than at the rate of two cents per acre. But, if the agents on the part of the aforesaid companies should be disposed to agree to a higher price, there should be no such objection, on your part, as to prevent the bargain; although it would be the most advisable, that the price should not exceed what the United States usually pay or would agree to pay for lands similarly situated, and of equal quality. From one to two cents per acre would, probably, be a reasonable price for the lands in question.

A deputation from the Six Nations will, probably, attend the treaty, and claim a right to a considerable part of the land to be treated for. If so, they ought to be heard on the subject; and, should their claim appear to be just, or such as the other nations will consent to recognise, stipulations ought, in the first instance, to be entered into between them, designating what proportion of the purchase money each nation shall receive.

If the Indian chiefs shall appear disposed to cede, not only the lands claimed by the Connecticut companies, but any part, or the whole of their lands, lying between the lands, claimed by the said companies, and the present boundary, as established at the treaty of Greenville, and since run and marked by the United States, you are authorized to negotiate with them for so much of the same as they will consent to cede, on terms not exceeding two cents per acre.

You may agree to pay, in money or goods, a reasonable proportion, say one-half of the whole purchase money which shall be stipulated to be paid, on account of lands purchased for the United States, as soon as the treaty shall be duly ratified; and, for the remainder of the purchase money, you may agree to pay yearly, an annuity, which shall be equal to the annual interest of said remainder.

The tract of land, claimed by the Connecticut companies, is situated between the forty-first and forty-second degrees of north latitude, and bounded easterly by the Cayahoga, and westerly by a meridional line, to be drawn one hundred and twenty miles due west from the west line of Pennsylvania, and contains about one million five hundred thousand acres. Although the western boundary has not been fully ascertained, it will, probably, be near the mouth of Sandusky bay.

And the tract which you will more especially endeavor to obtain the cession of, from the Indians, on account of the United States, is situated between the southern boundary of the above described tract, and the present boundary between the United States and the Indians, established by the treaty of Greenville, and extending westerly to the head-waters of the Scioto and the Sandusky rivers, and contains, probably, one million or one million and one quarter of acres.

If the Indian chiefs shall be disposed to cede a tract, between Sandusky and the Miami of the lakes, on terms such as are above mentioned, you will stipulate with them accordingly.

Your commission accompanies these instructions.

I am, sir, &c.

H. DEARBORN.

CHARLES JOUETT, ESQUIRE.

FORT INDUSTRY, 4th July, 1805.

SIR:

I have the honor to lay before you a treaty, this day concluded with the Wyandot, Ottawa, Chippewa, Munsee, Delaware, Shawanee, and part of the Pattawatamy nation of Indians; wherein, they convey to the United States all that tract of country lying south of the Connecticut reserve, and north of the boundary line established by the treaty of Greenville, and west of the Pennsylvania line, one hundred and twenty miles; the cession containing, by estimation, twelve hundred thousand acres. The treaty requires not a dollar of the United States in advance, but simply an annuity of eight hundred and twenty-five dollars, the legal interest on thirteen thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars; bringing the purchase to rather more than one cent per acre. The Connecticut companies have also obtained a cession of their lands, for eighteen thousand nine hundred and sixteen dollars and sixty-seven cents; four thousand dollars they paid the Indians in cash, twelve to be paid in six equal annual instalments, and two thousand nine hundred and sixteen dollars and sixty-seven cents into the hands of the President, in six per cent stock, and such other security as he may require, for producing an annuity of one hundred and seventy-five dollars, creating an annual sum to be paid to the Indians, at one thousand dollars per year; the several sums are to be secured to the President of the United States, in such manner as he may think proper to direct. You will see by those treaties, that an annuity is to be paid, of one thousand dollars, to the Wyandot, Delaware, and such of the Seneca and Shawanese nations that reside with the Wyandots; and an instalment of two thousand dollars per year, for six years, to the Ottawa, Chippewa, and such of the Pattawatamies, as reside on the river Huron of lake Erie; which several sums constitute the full amount of all the moneys given for the several tracts of land purchased.

I am, your obedient servant,

C. JOUETT.

9th CONGRESS.]

No. 111.

[1st Session.]

THE CHEROKEES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 24, 1806.

To the Senate of the United States:

A convention has been entered into, between the United States and the Cherokee nation, for the extinguishment of the rights of the latter, and of some unsettled claims in the country north of the river Tennessee, therein described. This convention is now laid before the Senate for their advice and consent as to its ratification.

January 24, 1806.

TH. JEFFERSON.

*Articles of a Convention made between Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War, being specially authorized thereto by the President of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs and head-men of the Cherokee nation of Indians, duly authorized and empowered by said nation.*

ARTICLE 1. The undersigned chiefs and head-men of the Cherokee nation of Indians, for themselves, and in behalf of their nation, relinquish to the United States, all right, title, interest, and claim, which they or their nation have or ever had to all that tract of country which lies to the northward of the river Tennessee, and westward of a line to be run from the upper part of the Chickasaw old fields, at the upper point of an island, called Chickasaw island, on said river, to the most easterly head waters of that branch of said Tennessee river, called Duck river, excepting the two following described tracts, viz: One tract bounded southerly on the said Tennessee river, at a place called the Muscle Shoals; westerly by a creek called Tekeetaneoh, or Cyprus creek, and easterly by Chuwalee, or Elk river, or creek; and northerly by a line to be drawn from a point on said Elk river, ten miles on a direct line from its mouth, or junction with Tennessee river, to a point on the said Cyprus creek, ten miles on a direct line from its junction with the Tennessee river.

The other tract is to be two miles in width, on the north side of Tennessee river, and to extend northerly from that river three miles, and bounded as follows, viz: Beginning at the mouth of Spring creek, and running up said creek three miles on a straight line; thence westerly two miles, at right angles with the general course of said creek; thence southerly, on a line parallel with the general course of said creek, to the Tennessee river; thence up said river by its waters, to the beginning: which first reserved tract is to be considered the common property of the Cherokees, who now live on the same, including John D. Chesholm, Autowwe, and Chechout; and the other reserved tract, on which Moses Melton now lives, is to be considered the property of said Melton and Charles Hicks, in equal shares.

And the said chiefs and head-men, also, agree to relinquish to the United States, all right, or claim, which they or their nation have to what is called the Long island, in Holston river.

ART. 2. The said Henry Dearborn, on the part of the United States, hereby stipulates and agrees, that, in consideration of the relinquishment of title by the Cherokees, as stated in the preceding article, the United States will pay to the Cherokee nation, two thousand dollars in money, as soon as this convention shall be duly ratified by the Government of the United States; and two thousand dollars in each of the four succeeding years, amounting in the whole to ten thousand dollars; and that a grist mill shall, within one year from the date hereof, be built in the Cherokee country, for the use of the nation, at such place as shall be considered most convenient; that the said Cherokees shall be furnished with a machine for cleaning cotton; and also, that the old Cherokee chief, called the Black Fox, shall be paid annually one hundred dollars by the United States, during his life.

ART. 3. It is also agreed, on the part of the United States, that the Government thereof will use its influence and best endeavors to prevail on the Chickasaw nation of Indians to agree to the following boundary between that nation and the Cherokees, to the southward of the Tennessee river, viz: beginning at the mouth of Cany Creek, near the lower part of the Muscle Shoals, and to run up the said creek to its head, and, in a direct line, from thence, to the Flat Stone or Rock, the old corner boundary.

But, it is understood by the contracting parties, that the United States do not engage to have the aforesaid line or boundary established, but only to endeavor to prevail on the Chickasaw nation to consent to such a line, as the boundary between the two nations.

ART. 4. It is further agreed, on the part of the United States, that the claims which the Chickasaws may have to the two tracts reserved by the first article of this convention, on the north side of the Tennessee river, shall be settled by the United States, in such manner as will be equitable, and will secure to the Cherokees the title to the said reservations.

Done at the place, and on the day and year, first above written.

HENRY DEARBORN.

[Signed, also, by seventeen of the chiefs and head-men of the Cherokee nation.]

9th CONGRESS.]

No. 112.

[1st Session.]

### THE PIANKESHAWS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, FEBRUARY 7, 1806.

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I transmit, for the consideration of the Senate, a treaty entered into, on behalf of the United States, with the Piankeshaw Indians, whereby our possessions on the north bank of the Ohio are entirely consolidated; and I ask the advice and consent of the Senate as to its ratification.

TH. JEFFERSON.

February 7, 1806.

*Articles of a Treaty made at Vincennes, in the Indiana territory, between William Henry Harrison, Governor of said territory, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States for concluding any treaty or treaties, which may be found necessary, with any of the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio, of the one part; and the chiefs and head men of the Piankeshaw tribe, of the other part.*

ARTICLE 1. The Piankeshaw tribe cedes and relinquishes to the United States, forever, all that tract of country, (with the exception of the reservation hereinafter made) which lies between the Wabash and the tract ceded by the Kaskaskia tribe, in the year 1803, and south of a line to be drawn from the northwest course of the Vincennes tract, north 78° west until it intersects the boundary line which has heretofore separated the lands of the Piankeshaws from the said tract, ceded by the Kaskaskia tribe.

ART. 2. The United States take the Piankeshaw tribe under their immediate care and patronage, and will extend to them a protection as effectual as that which is enjoyed by the Kaskaskia tribe. And the said Piankeshaw tribe will never commit any depredations, or make war upon any of the other tribes, without the consent of the United States.

ART. 3. The said United States will cause to be delivered to the Piankeshaws, yearly, and every year, an additional annuity of three hundred dollars, which is to be paid in the same manner, and under the same conditions as that to which they are entitled by the treaty of Greenville: *Provided always*, That the United States may, at any time they shall think proper, divide the said annuity amongst the individuals of the said tribe.

ART. 4. The stipulations made in the preceding articles, together with the sum of one thousand one hundred dollars, which is now delivered, the receipt whereof the said chiefs do hereby acknowledge, is considered a full compensation for the cession and relinquishment above mentioned.

ART. 5. As long as the lands, now ceded, remain the property of the United States, the said tribe shall have the privilege of living and hunting upon them, in the same manner that they have heretofore done; and they reserve to themselves the right of locating a tract of two square miles, or twelve hundred and eighty acres, the fee of which is to remain with them forever.

ART. 6. This treaty shall be in force as soon as it shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

In testimony whereof, the said William H. Harrison, and the chiefs and head-men representing the said Piankeshaw tribe, have hereunto set their hands, and affixed their seals.

Done at Vincennes, on the thirtieth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and of the independence of the United States the thirtieth.

WM. H. HARRISON,  
GROS BLEU,  
*And others.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *October 11, 1805.*

SIR:

Your letter, accompanying the treaty with the Miamies, &c. has been duly received. Its contents are highly satisfactory and pleasing. The amicable adjustment of all differences and uneasiness in relation to the cession made by the Delawares and Piankeshaws is a desirable event, especially when connected with the subsequent cession, which gives us the whole margin of the Ohio above the Wabash, and connects the State of Ohio with the Indiana territory, for fifty miles in extent, free from Indian claims.

I am directed by the President of the United States to request you to close a bargain, as soon as it can be effected, with the Piankeshaws, for their claim to the lands between the Wabash and the Eastern boundary of the Kaskaskia cession, as proposed in your letter of August 26th, on such reasonable terms as have been usual in that quarter. For any sums which may be necessary for prompt payment, you will please to draw on this Department.

I hope we shall soon hear of a favorable result from the conference at St. Louis.

Your explanation with Wells, resulting in a confident hope of future good conduct on his part, and mutual harmony hereafter, is not uninteresting. That he had been playing a foolish, and, what he thought, a cunning game, I have no doubt.

With sentiments of the highest esteem, I am, your Excellency's, &c.

H. DEARBORN.

WM. H. HARRISON.

VINCENNES, *1st January, 1806.*

SIR:

I have the honor to forward the treaty concluded with the Piankeshaws, on the 30th ultimo. It will, I hope, be found such as I promised it should be, i. e. highly advantageous to the United States; nor is it by any means a bad bargain for the Indians themselves. The annuity which is now promised, together with that which they formerly received, will be a certain resource to them, when they shall be no longer able to procure subsistence from the chase. In the course of the negotiation, I had promised that the United States would, for five years, bear the expense of repairing their guns, but I forgot to insert it in the treaty. It would, perhaps, be found more economical to send an armorer to this place, to work altogether for the Indians, than to employ the artisans on the spot, whose prices are most enormously extravagant, as you will observe by examining their accounts, heretofore forwarded. The neighboring tribes will be highly pleased with such an indulgence, for which they have made frequent applications.

It is, in my opinion, essentially necessary that the law regulating the trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, should be so altered at the present session of Congress, as to prohibit any person from trading with the Indians, any where upon the lands of the United States, without a license. The title to so large a portion of the Indian country has been extinguished, from which a great number of them still draw their support, that it is much to be feared they will fall a sacrifice to the merciless rapacity of the traders, unless they are restrained by the same penalties to which those are subjected who reside at the Indian towns.

Notwithstanding the recent murder of two white men on the Missouri, by three Indians (as it is supposed) from this territory, viz: a Miami, Pattawatamy, and a Kickapoo, I can with confidence repeat to you the assurances lately given, of the pacific disposition of the tribes under my superintendance. The three murderers certainly belong to the banditti of the Illinois river, of which the noted Turkey-foot was the chief. Governor Wilkinson, hearing that two of them were at no great distance from him, has very properly demanded them of the Kickapoo chief, who had them in his custody. I shall endeavor to secure the other as soon as possible.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect, sir, your humble servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

P. S. The tract now ceded is about eighty or ninety miles wide, from the northwest corner of the Vincennes tract to the Kaskaskia cession, and about the same distance from that line to the Ohio.

W. H. H.

The Hon. HENRY DEARBORN, Esq. *Secretary of War.*

9th CONGRESS.]

No. 113.

[1st Session.]

LEWIS AND CLARKE'S EXPEDITION.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, FEBRUARY 19, 1806.

To the Senate  
and House of Representatives of the United States:

In pursuance of a measure proposed to Congress, by a message of January 18, 1803, and sanctioned by their appropriation for carrying it into execution, Captain Meriwether Lewis, of the 1st regiment of infantry, was appointed, with a party of men, to explore the river Missouri, from its mouth to its source, and, crossing the highlands by the shortest portage, to seek the best water communication thence to the Pacific ocean; and Lieutenant Clarke was appointed second in command. They were to enter into conference with the Indian nations on their route, with a view to the establishment of commerce with them. They entered the Missouri, May 14, 1804, and, on the 1st of November, took up their winter quarters near the Mandan towns, 1,609 miles above the mouth of the river, in lat. 47° 21' 47" north, and long. 99° 24' 45" west from Greenwich. On the 8th of April, 1805, they proceeded up the river, in pursuance of the objects prescribed to them. A letter of the preceding day, April 7, from Captain Lewis, is herewith communicated. During his stay among the Mandans, he had been able to lay down the Missouri,

according to courses and distances taken on his passage up it, corrected by frequent observations of longitude and latitude; and, to add to the actual survey of this portion of the river, a general map of the country between the Mississippi and Pacific, from the 34th to the 54th degrees of latitude. These additions are from information collected from Indians, with whom he had opportunities of communicating, during his journey and residence with them. Copies of this map are now presented to both Houses of Congress. With these, I communicate also, a statistical view, procured and forwarded by him, of the Indian nations inhabiting the territory of Louisiana, and the countries adjacent to its northern and western borders, of their commerce, and of other interesting circumstances respecting them.

In order to render the statement as complete as may be, of the Indians inhabiting the country west of the Missouri, I add Doctor Sibley's account of those residing in, and adjacent to, the territory of Orleans.

I communicate, also, from the same person, an account of the Red river, according to the best information he had been able to collect.

Having been disappointed, after considerable preparation, in the purpose of sending an exploring party up that river, in the summer of 1804, it was thought best to employ the autumn of that year in procuring a knowledge of an interesting branch of the river called the Washita. This was undertaken under the direction of Mr. Dunbar, of Natchez, a citizen of distinguished science, who had aided, and continues to aid us, with his disinterested and valuable services, in the prosecution of these enterprises. He ascended the river to the remarkable hot springs, near it, in lat. 34° 31' 4.16" long. 92° 50' 45" west from Greenwich, taking its courses and distances, and correcting them by frequent celestial observations. Extracts from his observations, and copies of his map of the river, from its mouth to the hot springs, make part of the present communications. The examination of the Red river itself, is but now commencing.

TH: JEFFERSON.

February 19, 1806.

*Extract of a letter from Meriwether Lewis to the President of the United States, dated*

FORT MANDAN, April 7, 1805.

DEAR SIR:

Herewith enclosed you will receive an invoice of certain articles, which I have forwarded to you from this place. Among the articles, you will observe, by reference to the invoice, sixty-seven specimens of earths, salts, and minerals, and sixty specimens of plants. These are accompanied by their respective labels, expressing the days on which obtained, places where found, and also, their virtues and properties, when known. By means of the labels, reference may be made to the chart forwarded to the Secretary of War, on which the encampment of each day has been carefully marked; thus, the places at which these specimens have been obtained, may be easily pointed out, or found, should any of them prove valuable to the community, on further investigation.

You will also receive, herewith enclosed, a part of Captain Clarke's private journal: the other part you will find enclosed in a separate tin box. This journal will serve to give you the daily details of our progress and transactions.

I shall despatch a canoe with three, perhaps four, persons, from the extreme navigable point of the Missouri, or the portage between this river and the Columbia river, as either may first happen. By the return of this canoe, I shall send you my journal, and some one or two of the best kept by my men. I have sent a journal, kept by one of the sergeants, to Captain Stoddard, my agent at St. Louis, in order, as much as possible, to multiply the chances of saving something. We have encouraged our men to keep journals, and seven of them do so: to whom, in this respect, we give every assistance in our power.

I have transmitted to the Secretary of War, every information relative to the geography of the country which we possess, together with a view of the Indian nations, containing information relative to them, on those points with which I conceived it important that the Government should be informed.

By reference to the muster-rolls forwarded to the War Department, you will see the state of the party. In addition to which, we have two interpreters, one negro man, servant to Captain Clarke, one Indian woman, wife to one of the interpreters, and a Mandan man, whom we take with a view to restore peace between the Snake Indians and those in this neighborhood, amounting, in total, with ourselves, to thirty-three persons. By means of the interpreters and Indians, we shall be enabled to converse with all the Indians that we shall probably meet with on the Missouri.

I have forwarded to the Secretary of War my public accounts, rendered up to the present day. They have been much longer delayed than I had any idea that they would have been, when we departed from the Illinois; but this delay, under the circumstances which I was compelled to act, has been unavoidable. The provision pirogue, and her crew, could not have been dismissed in time to have returned to St. Louis last fall, without evidently, in my opinion, hazarding the fate of the enterprise in which I am engaged, and I therefore did not hesitate to prefer the censure that I may have incurred by the detention of these papers, to that of risking, in any degree, the success of the expedition. To me, the detention of these papers have formed a serious source of disquiet and anxiety; and the recollection of your particular charge to me, on this subject, has made it still more poignant. I am fully aware of the inconvenience which must have arisen to the War Department, from the want of these vouchers, previous to the last session of Congress, but, how to avert it, was out of my power to devise.

From this place, we shall send the barge and crew early to-morrow morning, with orders to proceed, as expeditiously as possible, to St. Louis; by her we send our despatches, which, I trust, will get safe to hand. Her crew consists of ten able bodied men, well armed, and provided with a sufficient stock of provision to last them to St. Louis. I have little doubt but they will be fired on by the Siouxs; but they have pledged themselves to us that they will not yield while there is a man of them living.

Our baggage is all embarked on board six small canoes and two pirogues; we shall set out at the same moment that we despatch the barge. One, or perhaps both, of these pirogues, we shall leave at the falls of the Missouri: from whence we intend continuing our voyage in the canoes and a pirogue, of skins, the frame of which was prepared at Harper's ferry. This pirogue is now in a situation which will enable us to prepare it in the course of a few hours. As our vessels are now small, and the current of the river much more moderate, we calculate on travelling at the rate of twenty or twenty-five miles per day, as far as the falls of Missouri. Beyond this point, or the first range of Rocky mountain, situated about one hundred miles further, any calculation with respect to our daily progress, can be but little more than bare conjecture.

The circumstance of the Snake Indians possessing large quantities of horses, is much in our favor, as, by means of horses, the transportation of our baggage will be rendered easy and expeditious over land, from the Missouri to the Cumberland river. Should this river not prove navigable where we first meet with it, our present intention is to continue our march by land down the river until it becomes so, or to the Pacific ocean.

The map which has been forwarded to the Secretary of War, will give you the idea we entertain of the connexion of these rivers, which has been formed from the corresponding testimony of a number of Indians, who have visited that country, and who have been separately and carefully examined on that subject, and we therefore think it entitled to some degree of confidence. Since our arrival at this place, we have subsisted principally on meat, with which our guns have supplied us amply, and have thus been enabled to reserve the parched meal, portable soup, and a considerable portion of pork and flour, which we had intended for the more difficult parts of our voyage. If Indian information can be credited, the vast quantity of game with which the country abounds, through which we are to pass, leaves us but little to apprehend from the want of food.

We do not calculate on completing our voyage within the present year, but expect to reach the Pacific ocean, and return as far as the head of the Missouri, or perhaps to this place, before winter. You may, therefore, expect to meet me at Monticello, in September, 1806.



On our return, we shall probably pass down the Yellow Stone river, which, from Indian information, waters one of the fairest portions of this continent.

I can foresee no natural or probable obstruction to our progress, and entertain, therefore, the most sanguine hopes of complete success. As to myself, individually, I never enjoyed a more perfect state of good health than I have since we commenced our voyage. My inestimable friend and companion, Captain Clarke, has also enjoyed good health generally. At this moment, every individual of the party are in good health, and excellent spirits, zealously attached to the enterprise, and anxious to proceed. Not a whisper of discontent or murmur is to be heard amongst them, but, all in unison, act with the most perfect harmony. With such men, I have every thing to hope, and but little to fear.

Be so good as to present my most affectionate regard to all my friends, and be assured of the sincere and unalterable attachment of

Your most obedient servant,

MERIWETHER LEWIS,  
Captain 1st U. S. Reg. Infantry.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *President of the United States.*

*A statistical view of the Indian nations inhabiting the territory of Louisiana, and the countries adjacent to its Northern and Western boundaries.*

EXPLANATORY REFERENCES.

- A. The names of the Indian nations, as usually spelt and pronounced in the English language.
- B. Primitive Indian names of nations and tribes, English orthography, the syllables pronouncing the sounds by which the Indians themselves express the name of their respective nation.
- C. Nicknames, or those which have generally obtained among the Canadian traders.
- D. The language they speak; if primitive, marked with a \*, otherwise, derived from, and approximating to, the
- E. Number of villages.
- F. Number of tents, or lodges, of the roving bands.
- G. Number of warriors.
- H. The probable number of souls.
- I. The rivers on which they rove, or on which their villages are situated.
- J. The names of the nations, or companies, with whom they maintain their principal commerce or traffic.
- K. The place at which their traffic is usually carried on.
- L. The amount of merchandise necessary for their annual consumption, estimated at the St. Louis prices, in dollars.
- M. The estimated amount, in dollars, of their annual returns, at the St. Louis prices.
- N. The species of peltries, furs, and other articles, which they annually supply or furnish.
- O. The species of peltries, furs, and other articles, which the natural production of their country would enable them to furnish, provided proper encouragement was given them.
- P. The places at which it would be mutually advantageous to form the principal establishments, in order to supply the several Indian nations with merchandise.
- Q. The names of the Indian nations with whom they are at war.
- R. The names of the Indian nations with whom they maintain a friendly alliance, or with whom they are united by intercourse or marriage.
- S. Miscellaneous remarks.

NOTATIONS.

- over *a*, denotes that *a* sounds as in caught, taught, &c.
- ^ over *a*, denotes that it sounds as in dart, part, &c.
- a*, without notation, has its primitive sound, as in ray, tray, &c. except only where it is followed by *r* or *w*, in which case it sounds as *ä*.
- ' set underneath, denotes a small pause, the word being divided by it into two parts.

THE INDIAN TRADE.

The sums stated under and opposite "L," are the amounts of merchandise annually furnished the several nations of Indians, including all incidental expenses of transportation, &c. incurred by the merchants, which generally averages about one-third of the whole amount. The merchandise is estimated at an advance of 125 per cent. on the sterling cost. It appears to me, that the amount of merchandise which the Indians have been in the habit of receiving, annually, is the best standard by which to regulate the quantities necessary for them. In the first instance, they will always consume as much merchandise as they can pay for; and those to whom a regular trade has been carried on, have generally received that quantity.

The amount of their returns, stated under and opposite "M," are estimated by the peltry standard of St. Louis, which is 40 cents per pound, for deer skins, *i. e.* all furs and peltries are first reduced, by their comparative value, to lbs. of merchantable deer skins, which are then estimated at 40 cents per lb.

!† These establishments are not mentioned as being thought important, in a government point of view.

- A. Grand Osage.
- B. Bär-här-cha.
- C. Grand Zo.
- D. \*
- E. Two.
- F.
- G. 1,200.
- H. 5,000.
- I. At the three forks of the Arkansas river, and eighty leagues up the Osage river, on the south side.
- J. Merchants of St. Louis.
- K. At their villages.
- L. 15,000.
- M. 20,000.
- N. Principally skins of the small deer, black bear, some beaver, and a few otters and racoons.
- O. Small deer skins, black bear, and a much larger proportion of beaver, otter, racoon, and muskrats.
- P. About the three forks of the Arkansas river, 600 miles from its junction with the Mississippi.
- Q. With all their Indian neighbors, except the Little Osage, until the United States took possession of Louisiana.
- R. With the Little Osage only.
- S. Claim the country within the following limits, *viz:* Commencing at the mouth of a south branch of the Osage river, called *Neangua*, and with the same to its source; thence southwardly, to intersect the Arkansas, about one hundred miles below the three forks of that river; thence up the principal branch of the same, to the confluence of a large northwardly branch of the same, lying a considerable distance west of the Great Saline, and with that stream, nearly to its source; thence northwardly, towards the Kansas river, embracing the waters of the upper portion of the Osage river; and thence obliquely approaching the same, to the beginning. The climate is delightful, and the soil fertile, in the extreme. The face of the country is generally level, and well watered. The eastern part of the country is covered with a

variety of timber, of an excellent quality; the western and middle country, high prairies. It embraces within its limits four salines, which are, in point of magnitude and excellence, unequalled by any known in North America. There are also many others of less note. The principal part of the Great Osage have always resided at their villages, on the Osage river, since they have been known to the inhabitants of Louisiana. About three years since, nearly one-half of this nation, headed by their chief, *Big Track*, emigrated to the three forks of the Arkansas, near which, and on its north side, they established a village, where they now reside. The Little Osage formerly resided on the southwest side of the Missouri, near the mouth of Grand river; but, being reduced by continual warfare with their neighbors, were compelled to seek the protection of the Great Osage, near whom they now reside. There is no doubt but their trade will increase. They could furnish a much larger quantity of beaver than they do. I think two villages, on the Osage river, might be prevailed on to remove to the Arkansas, and the Kansas higher up the Missouri, and thus leave a sufficient scope of country for the Shawanese, Delawares, Miamies, and Kickapoos. The Osages cultivate corn, beans, &c.

- A. Little Osage.
- B. Ood-zá-táu.
- C. Petit-zo.
- D. Osage.
- E. One.
- F.
- G. 300.
- H. 1,300.
- I. Near the Great Osages.
- J. Merchants of St. Louis.
- K. At their village.
- L. 5,000.
- M. 8,000.
- N. The same as the Great Osages.
- O. The same as the Great Osages.
- P. The same as the Great Osages.
- Q. With all their Indian neighbors, except the Great Osages.
- R. With the Great Osage only.
- S. See page 3d, S.

- A. Kansas.
- B. Kar-sa.
- C. Káh.
- D. Oságe.
- E. One.
- F.
- G. 300.
- H. 1,300.
- I. Eighty leagues up the Kansas river, on the north side.
- J. Merchants of St. Louis.
- K. On the Missouri, above the mouth of the Kansas river, not stationary, and at their village.
- L. 5,000.
- M. 8,000.
- N. The same as the Osage, with Buffalo grease and robes.
- O. The same as the Osage.
- P. On the north side of the Kansas river, at a bluff, one and a half miles from its confluence with the Missouri.
- Q. With all nations within their reach.
- R. They are sometimes at peace with the Ottoes and Missouries, with whom they are partially intermarried.
- S. The limits of the country they claim is not known. The country in which they reside, and from thence to the Missouri, is a delightful one, and generally well watered, and covered with excellent timber. They hunt on the upper part of Kansas and Arkansas rivers. Their trade may be expected to increase with proper management. At present, they are a dissolute, lawless banditti; frequently plunder their traders, and commit depredations on persons ascending and descending the river Missouri. Population rather increasing. These people, as well as the Great and Little Osages, are stationary at their villages, from about the 15th of March to the 15th of May; and again from the 15th of August to the 15th of October; the balance of the year is appropriated to hunting. They cultivate corn, &c.

- A. Ottoes.
- B. Wád-doké-tah'tah.
- C. La Zóto.
- D. Missouri.
- E. Ottoes and Missouries, one.

- F.
- G. 120.
- H. 500.
- I. South side of the river Platte, fifteen leagues from its mouth.
- J. Merchants of St. Louis.
- K. On the Missouri, below the river Platt, not stationary, and at their villages.
- L. 4,000, including the Missouries.
- M. 8,000, including the Missouries.
- N. Principally deer skins, black bear, a greater proportion of beaver than the Osage, some otter, and racoon.
- O. Skins of the deer, black bear, beaver, otter, racoon, muskrats and wolves, buffalo robes, tallow and grease, bear's oil, deer and elk tallow, elk skins dressed and in parchment; all in much larger quantities than they do at present.
- P. The Council Bluff, on the south-west side of the Missouri, fifty miles above the mouth of the river Platte.
- Q. With the Mahas, Poncars, Sioux, the Great and Little Osages, Kansas, and Loups.
- R. With the Pánias proper, Saukees, and Renars.
- S. They have no idea of an exclusive possession of any country, nor do they assign themselves any limits. I do not believe that they would object to the introduction of any well-disposed Indians. They treat the traders with respect and hospitality generally. In their occupations of hunting and cultivation, they are the same with the Kansas and Osage. They hunt on the Saline and Nimmehaw rivers, and west of them in the plains. The country in which they hunt lies well; it is extremely fertile and well watered; that part of it which borders on the Nimmehaw and Missouri, possesses a good portion of timber. Population rather increasing. They have always resided near the place their village is situated, and are the descendants of the Missouries.

- A. Missouries.
- B. New-dar-cha.
- C. Missouri.
- D. \*
- E. See page 7th, E.
- F.
- G. 80.
- H. 300.
- I. With the Ottoes.
- J. Merchants of St. Louis.
- K. Same Ottoes, see page 7th, K.
- L. See page 7th, L.
- M. See page 7th, M.
- N. Same as the Ottoes, page 7th, N.
- O. Same as the Ottoes, 7th, O.
- P. The Council Bluff, on the southwest side of the Missouri, fifty miles above the mouth of the river Platte.
- Q. With the Mahas, Poncars, Sioux, the Great and Little Osage, Kansas, and Loups.
- R. With the Pánias proper, Saukees, and Renars.
- S. These are the remnant of the most numerous nation inhabiting the Missouri, when first known to the French. Their ancient, and principal village, was situated in an extensive and fertile plain, on the north bank of the Missouri, just below the entrance of the Grand river. Repeated attacks of the small pox, together with their war with the Saukees and Renars, have reduced them to their present state of dependence on the Ottoes, with whom they reside, as well in their village as on their hunting excursions. The Ottoes view them as their inferiors, and sometimes treat them amiss. These people are the real proprietors of an extensive and fertile country, lying on the Missouri, above their ancient village, for a considerable distance, and as low as the mouth of the Osage river, and thence to the Mississippi.

- A. Pánias proper.
- B. Pánec.
- C. Grand Par.
- D. \*
- E. One.
- F.
- G. 400.
- H. 1,600.
- I. South side of the river Platte, thirty leagues from its mouth.
- J. Merchants of St. Louis.
- K. On the Missouri, below the river Platte, not stationary, and at their village.
- L. 6,400, including the Pánias Republican.

- M. 10,000, including the Pánias Republican.
- N. Fine beaver principally, a considerable proportion of beaver, some robes, and a few racoons.
- O. Skins of the beaver, otter, racoon, muskrats, and wolves, buffalo robes, tallow and grease, elk skins and grease, also a number of horses.
- P. The Council bluff, on the southwest side of the Missouri, fifty miles above the mouth of the river Platte.
- Q. With the Pania-pique, Great and Little Osage, Kansas, La-Play, Siouxs, Ricaras, and Paducas.
- R. With the Loups, Mahas, Poncars, Ottoes, Missouries, and Ayouwais.
- S. With respect to their idea of the possession of soil, it is similar to that of the Ottoes. They hunt on the south side of the river Platte, higher up, and on the head of the Kansas. A great proportion of this country is open plains, interspersed, however, with groves of timber, which are most generally found in the vicinity of water courses; it is generally fertile and well watered; lies level, and free of stone. They have resided in the country which they now inhabit, since they were known to the whites. Their trade is a valuable one, from the large proportion of beaver and otter which they furnish; and it may be expected yet to increase, as those animals are still abundant in their country. The periods of their residence at their village, and hunting, are similar to the Kansas and Osages. Their population is increasing. They are friendly and hospitable to all white persons, pay great respect and deference to their traders, with whom they are punctual in the payment of their debts. They are, in all respects, a friendly, well-disposed people. They cultivate corn, beans, mellons, &c.
- A. Pánias Republican.
- B. Ar-rá-pá-hoo.
- C. Republic.
- D. Pania.
- E. Pánias proper and Pánias Republican live in one village.
- F.
- G. 300.
- H. 1,400.
- I. With the Pánias proper.
- J. Merchants of St. Louis.
- K. See page 10. K.
- L. See page 10. L.
- M. See page 10. M.
- N. See page 10. N.
- O. See page 10. O.
- P. See page 10. P.
- Q. See page 10. Q.
- R. See page 11. R.
- S. Are a branch of the Pania proper, or, as they are frequently termed, the *Big Paunie*. About ten years since they withdrew themselves from the mother nation, and established a village on a large northwardly branch of the Kansas, to which they have given name. They afterwards subdivided, and lived in different parts of the country, on the waters of Kansas river; but being harassed by their turbulent neighbors, the Kansas, they rejoined the Pánias proper last spring. What has been said with respect to the Pánias proper, is applicable to these people, except that they hunt principally on the Republican river, which is better stocked with timber than that hunted by the Pánias.
- A. Pánias Loups (or Wolves.)
- B. Skee-e-ree.
- C. La Loup.
- D. Pania.
- E. One.
- F.
- G. 280.
- H. 1000.
- I. On the north-east side of the Wolf river, branch of the river Platte, 36 leagues from its mouth.
- J. Merchants of St. Louis.
- K. At the village of the Pánias.
- L. 2400.
- M. 3500.
- N. see page 10 N.
- O. see page 10 O.
- P. see page 10 P.
- Q. With Pania-pique, Great and Little Osage, Kansas, Le Playes, Siouxs, Ricaras, Mahas, Poncars, Ottoes, and Missouries.
- R. Pánias proper and Pánias Republican.
- S. These are also a branch of the Pánias proper, who separated themselves from that nation many years since, and established themselves on a north branch of the river Platte, to which their name was also given; these people have likewise no idea of an exclusive right to any portion of country; they hunt on the Wolf river, above their village, and on the river Platte, above the mouth of that river. This country is very similar to that of the Pánias proper; though there is an extensive body of fertile well-timbered land, between the Wolf river below their village and the river Corne du Cerf or Elkhorn river. They cultivate corn, beans, &c. The particulars related of the other Pánias, are also applicable to them. They are seldom visited by any trader, and therefore usually bring their furs and peltry to the village of the Pánias proper, where they traffic with the whites.
- A. Mahás.
- B. O-má-há.
- C. La Mar.
- D. Osage, with different accent; some words peculiar to themselves.
- E.
- F. 60.
- G. 150.
- H. 600.
- I. The river Quicurre, and the head of Wolf river.
- J. Merchants of St. Louis.
- K. At their old village, though no trade latterly.
- L. 4,000, including the Poncars.
- M. 7,000, including the Poncars.
- N. see page 10 N.
- O. The same as the Ottoes and Missouries, with the addition of the skins of the Missouri antelope (called cabri by the inhabitants of the Illinois.)
- P. see page 10 P.
- Q. Great and Little Osages, Kansas, Loups, Ottoes, Missouries, and all the Siouxs, except the Yankton Ahná.
- R. With the Pánias proper, Pánias republican, Yanktons Ahná, Saukees, Renars, and Ayouwais.
- S. They have no idea of exclusive possession of soil. About ten years since, they boasted 700 warriors; they have lived in a village on the west bank of the Missouri, 236 miles above the mouth of the river Platte, where they cultivated corn, beans and melons; they were warlike, and the terror of their neighbors. In the summer and autumn of 1802, they were visited by the small pox, which reduced their number to something less than 300; they burnt their village, and have become a wandering nation, deserted by the traders; and the consequent deficiency of arms and ammunition has invited frequent aggressions from their neighbors, which has tended to reduce them still further. They rove principally on the waters of the river Quicurre or Rapid river. The country is generally level, high, open plains; it is fertile, and tolerably well watered; they might easily be induced to become stationary; they are well-disposed towards the whites, and are good hunters; their country abounds in beaver and otter, and their trade will increase and become valuable, provided they become stationary and are at peace. The Tetons Bois rulé killed and took about 60 of them last summer.
- A. Poncars.
- B. Poong-cár.
- C. La Pong.
- D. Mahá.
- E.
- F. 20.
- G. 50.
- H. 200.
- I. With the Mahas.
- J. Merchants of St. Louis.
- K. No place of trade latterly.
- L. see page 14 L.
- M. see page 14 M.
- N. see page 10 N.
- O. see page 14 O.
- P. see page 10 P.
- Q. see page 15 Q.
- R. see page 15 R.
- S. The remnant of a nation once respectable in point of numbers: they formerly resided on a branch of the Red river of Lake Winnipie; being oppressed by the Sioux, they removed to the west side of the Missouri, on Poncar river, where they built and fortified a village, and remained some years, but, being pursued by their ancient enemies the Sioux, and reduced by

continual wars, they have joined, and now reside with, the Mahas, whose language they speak.

- A. Ricaras.  
 B. Stâr-rah-hé.  
 C. La Ree.  
 D. Pania, with a different accent, and a number of words peculiar to themselves.  
 E. Three.  
 F.  
 G. 500.  
 H. 2,000.  
 I. On the southwest side of the Missouri, 1,440 miles from its mouth.  
 J. Merchants of St Louis.  
 K. At their villages.  
 L. 2,500.  
 M. 6,000.  
 N. Buffalo robes principally, a small quantity of beaver, small foxes, and grease.  
 O. Buffalo robes, tallow, and grease, skins of beaver, small and large foxes, wolves, antelopes, and elk, in great abundance, also, some otter, deer, and grisly bears.  
 P. About the mouth of the river Chyenne, on the Missouri, or at the mouth of the Yellow Stone river.  
 Q. With the Crow Indians, Parias Loups, Assinniboins, Nemosen, Aliton, La Playes, and Paunch Indians, and Snake Indians.  
 R. Chynnes, Wetepahatoes, Kiawas, Kanenavish, Staitan, Cuttako, Dotame, Castahanas, Mandans, Ahwah-ha-way, Minetares, and partially with the Sioux.  
 S. The remains of ten large tribes of Parias, who have been reduced, by the small-pox and the Sioux, to their present number; they live in fortified villages, and hunt immediately in their neighborhood; the country around them, in every direction, for several hundred miles, is bare of timber, except on the water-courses, and steep declivities of hills, where it is sheltered from the ravages of fire; the land is tolerably well watered, and lies well for cultivation. The remains of the villages of these people are to be seen on many parts of the Missouri, from the mouth of Teton river, to the Mandans; they claim no land, except that on which their villages stand, and the fields which they cultivate. The Tetons claim the country around them, though they are the oldest inhabitants; they may properly be considered the farmers or tenants at will of that lawless, savage, and rapacious race, the Sioux Teton, who rob them of their horses, plunder their gardens and fields, and sometimes murder them without opposition. If these people were freed from the oppression of the Tetons, their trade would increase rapidly, and might be extended to a considerable amount; they maintain a partial trade with their oppressors the Tetons, to whom they barter horses, mules, corn, beans, and a species of tobacco, which they cultivate; and receive in return, guns, ammunition, kettles, axes, and other articles, which the Tetons obtain from the Yanktons of the north, and Sissatones, who trade with Mr. Cameron, on the river St. Peters. Their horses and mules the Ricaras obtain from their western neighbors, who visit them frequently, for the purpose of trafficking.
- A. Mandans.  
 B. Maw-dân—Ma-too-tonka, 1st village; Rop-tar-ha, 2d village.  
 C. Mandans.  
 D. \* Some words resembling the Osage.  
 E. Two.  
 F.  
 G. 350.  
 H. 1,250.  
 I. On both sides of the Missouri, 1,612 miles from its mouth.  
 J. The Hudson bay and Northwest companies, from their establishment on the Assinniboin.  
 K. At their villages.  
 L. 2,000.  
 M. 6,000.  
 N. Principally the skins of the large and small wolves, and the small fox, with buffalo robes, some skins of the large fox, and beaver, also, corn and beans.  
 O. The same as the Ricaras, (see page 17, O) except the grisly bear; they could furnish, in addition, the skins of a large species of white hare, a very delicate fur.  
 P. At or near the mouth of the Yellow Stone river.  
 Q. With no nation, except a defensive war with the Sioux.

- R. With all nations who do not wage war against them.  
 S. These are the most friendly, well disposed Indians, inhabiting the Missouri; they are brave, humane, and hospitable. About 25 years since, they lived in six villages, about 40 miles below their present villages, on both sides of the Missouri. Repeated visitations of the small-pox, aided by frequent attacks of the Sioux, has reduced them to their present number. They claim no particular tract of country; they live in fortified villages, hunt immediately in their neighborhood, and cultivate corn, beans, squashes, and tobacco, which form articles of traffic with their neighbors, the Assinniboins; they also barter horses with the Assinniboins, for arms, ammunition, axes, kettles, and other articles of European manufacture, which these last obtain from the British establishments on the Assinniboin river. The articles which they thus obtain from the Assinniboins, and the British traders who visit them, they again exchange for horses and leather tents, with the Crow Indians, Chyennes, Wetepahatoes, Kiawas, Kanenavish, Staitan, and Cataka, who visit them occasionally, for the purpose of traffic; their trade may be much increased; their country is similar to that of the Ricaras; population increasing.

- A. Ahwâhhâway.  
 B. Ah-wâh-hâ-way.  
 C. Gens des Souldiers.  
 D. Minetares.  
 E. One.  
 F.  
 G. 50.  
 H. 200.  
 I. On the Southwest side of the Missouri, three miles above the Mandans.  
 J. See page 19 J.  
 K. At the Mandan and Minetare villages.  
 L. 300.  
 M. 1,000.  
 N. See page 19 N.  
 O. See page 19 O.  
 P. See page 19 P.  
 Q. Defensive war with the Sioux, and offensive with the Snake Indians and Flat-heads.  
 R. With all who do not wage war against them, except the Snake Indians and Flat-heads.  
 S. They differ very little, in any particular, from the Mandans, their neighbors, except in the unjust war which they, as well as the Minetares, prosecute against the defenceless Snake Indians, from which, I believe, it will be difficult to induce them to desist. They claim to have once been a part of the Crow Indians, whom they still acknowledge as relations. They have resided on the Missouri as long as their tradition will enable them to inform.
- A. Minetares.  
 B. E-hât-sâr—Me-ne-tar-re, 1st village; Me-ne-tar-re-me-te-har-tar, 2d village.  
 C. Gros Ventres.  
 D. \*  
 E. Two.  
 F.  
 G. 600.  
 H. 2,500.  
 I. On both sides of the Knife river, near the Missouri, five miles above the Mandans.  
 J. See page 19 J.  
 K. At their villages and hunting camps.  
 L. 1,000.  
 M. 3,000.  
 N. See page 19 N.  
 O. The same as the Mandans (see page 19 O.) with the addition of the white bear.  
 P. See page 19 P.  
 Q. Defensive war with the Sioux, and offensive with the Snake Indians and Flat-heads.  
 R. With all, except the Flat-heads and Snake Indians, who do not wage war against them.  
 S. They claim no particular country, nor do they assign themselves any limits; their tradition relates, that they have always resided at their present villages; in their customs, manners, and disposition, they are similar to the Mandans and Ahwâhhâways. The scarcity of fuel induces them to reside, during the cold season, in large bands, in camps, on different parts of the Missouri, as high up that river as the mouth of the river Yellow Stone, and west of their

villages about the Turtle mountain. I believe that these people, as well as the Mandans and Ahwahhaws, might be prevailed on to remove to the mouth of Yellow Stone river, provided an establishment is made at that place. They have, as yet, furnished scarcely any beaver, although the country they hunt abounds with them; the lodges of these animals are to be seen within a mile of the villages; these people have also suffered considerably by the small-pox, but have successfully resisted the attacks of the Sioux. The Northwest company intend to form an establishment, in the course of the next summer and autumn, on the Missouri, near these people, which, if effected, will most probably prevent their removal to any point which our Government may hereafter wish them to reside at.

- A. Ayouwais.  
 B. Ah-e-o-war.  
 C. Ne percé.  
 D. Missouri.  
 E. One.  
 F.  
 G. 200.  
 H. 800.  
 I. Forty leagues up the river Demoin, on the Southeast side.  
 J. Mr. Crawford, and other merchants from Michilimackinac.  
 K. At their village and hunting camps.  
 L. 3,800.  
 M. 6,000.  
 N. Deer skins principally, and the skins of the black bear, beaver, otter, grey fox, racoon, muskrat, and mink.  
 O. Deer skins, beaver, black bear, otter, grey fox, racoon, muskrat, and mink, also, elk and deer's tallow, and bear's oil.  
 P. At the mouth of the Kansas.  
 Q. Particularly with the Osage, Kansas, and Chippewas, la Fallorine, and those of Leach and Sand lakes; sometimes with the Mahas and Sioux, Wahpatone, Mindawarcarton, and Walpacoota.  
 R. With the Ottoes, Missouries, Yankton Ahnah, and all the nations east of the Mississippi, and south of the Chippewas.  
 S. They are the descendants of the ancient Missouries, and claim the country west of them, to the Missouri; but, as to its precise limits, or boundaries between themselves, and the Saukees and Foxes, I could never learn. They are a turbulent savage race, frequently abuse their traders, and commit depredations on those ascending and descending the Missouri; their trade cannot be expected to increase much.
- A. Saukees.  
 B. O-sau-kee.  
 C. La Sauk.  
 D. \*  
 E. Two.  
 F.  
 G. 500.  
 H. 2,000.  
 I. On the west side of the Mississippi, 140 leagues above St. Louis.

- J. Merchants from Michilimackinac and St. Louis.  
 K. At their villages on the Mississippi, in sundry places, and at Eel river, on the Wabash.  
 L. 4,000.  
 M. 6,000.  
 N. See page 23 N.  
 O. See page 23 O.  
 P. At Prairie du Chien (or Dog plain.)  
 Q. With the Osage, Chippewas generally, and Sioux, except the Yankton Ahnah.  
 R. Kansas, Ottoes, Missouries, Parias, Mahas, Ponias, and Ayouwais, and all the nations east of the Mississippi, and south of the Chippewas; also, with the Yankton Ahwas.  
 S. Saukees and Renars, or Foxes. These nations are so perfectly consolidated, that they may in fact be considered as one nation only; they speak the same language; they formerly resided on the east side of the Mississippi, and still claim the land on that side of the river, from the mouth of the Ouisconsin to the Illinois river, and eastward towards lake Michigan, but to what particular boundary I am not informed; they also claim, by conquest, the whole of the country belonging to the ancient Missouries, which forms one of the most valuable portions of Louisiana; but what proportion of this territory they are willing to assign to the Ayouwais, who also claim a part of it, I do not know. As they are at war with the Sioux, who live N. and N.W. of them, except the Yankton Ahnah, their boundaries in that quarter are also undefined; their trade would become much more valuable if peace was established between them and the nations west of the Missouri, with whom they are at war; their population has remained nearly the same for many years; they raise an abundance of corn, beans, and melons; they sometimes hunt in the country west of them towards the Missouri, but their principal hunting is on both sides of the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Ouisconsin to the mouth of the Illinois river. These people are extremely friendly to the whites, and seldom injure their traders; but they are the most implacable enemies to the Indian nations with whom they are at war; to them is justly attributable the almost entire destruction of the Missouries, the Illinois, Cahokias, Kaskaskias, and Peorias.
- A. Foxes.  
 B. Ot-tar-gar-me.  
 C. La Renar.  
 D. Saukee.  
 E. One.  
 F.  
 G. 300.  
 H. 1,200.  
 I. Near the Saukees.  
 J. Merchants of Michilimackinac and St. Louis.  
 K. See page 24. K.  
 L. 2,500.  
 M. 4,000.  
 N. See page 23. N.  
 O. See page 23. O.  
 P. At Prairie du Chien (or Dog plain.)  
 Q. See page 25. Q.  
 R. See page 25. R.  
 S. See page 25. S.

	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	I.	J.	K.	
A. SIOUXS PROPER.	Wah-pa-tone.	La Soo.	*Darcotar or Sioux.	One.	80	200	700	On the north side of the river St. Peters, 18 leagues from its mouth.	Messrs. Campbell, Dixon and others, who trade to Michilimackinac.	On the Mississippi and St. Peters rivers, at sundry places, not stationary.	
	Min-da-war-car-ton.	Gens de Lake.	do.	One.	120	300	1200	On the Mississippi, at the mouth of the river St. Peters.	do.	do.	
	Wah-pa-coo-ta.	La Soo.	do.	- -	60	150	400	On the southwest side of the river St. Peters, 30 leagues above its mouth, in Arrow Stone Prairies.	do.	do.	
	Sis-sa-toné,	La Soo.	do.	- -	80	200	800	On the heads of the river St. Peters, and Red river of lake Winnipie.	Mr. Cammeron, a merchant, who trades extensively to Michilimackinac.	An establishment at the head of St. Peters river, about 130 leagues from its mouth.	
	DARCOTAR.	Yank-ton, (of the north or plains.)	La Soo.	do.	- -	200	500	1600	From the heads of the river St. Peters and Red river of the Missouri, about the <i>Great Bend</i> .		
	Yank-ton, Ah-náh.	La Soo.	do.	- -	80	200	700	From the river All Jacque, eastwardly, on the lower portion of the Sioux and heads of Foids river, Little Sioux, and Demoin rivers.	Principally with Mr. Crawford, of the river Demoin.	On the river Demoin, at their hunting camp, and sometimes at the Ayouwais village, Prairie du chien.	
	Té-ton.	Bois brûlé.	do.	- -	120	300	900	On the east side of the Missouri, from the mouth of White river to Teton river.	Mr. Loisel and Co. of St. Louis.	At the Cedar Island, and near the mouth of the Chyenne river, on the Missouri.	
	Té-ton, O-kan-dan-das.	La Soo.	do.	- -	50	120	360	On each side of the Missouri, from the mouth of Teton river to the mouth of the Chyenne river.	do.	Ditto, and at the Rickaras.	
	Té-ton, Min-na-kine-az-zo.	La Soo.	do.	- -	100	250	750	From the mouth of the Chyenne river, on each side of the Missouri, as high as the Rickaras.	do.	do.	
	Té-ton-sáh-o-né	La Soo.	do.	- -	120	300	900	On each side of the Missouri, from the Rickaras, to the mouth of Wamconne river.	do.	do.	

		B.	L.	M.	N.	O.	P.	Q.	R.	
A. SIOUXS PROPER.	DACEOTAR.	Wáh-pa-tone.	10,000	18,000	Deer skins principally, skins of the black bear, otter, fisher, marten, racoon, grey foxes, muskrats & minks.	Skins of the small deer, black bear, fisher, marten, racoon, grey fox, muskrat and mink; also, elk and deer's tallow and bear's oil.	On the west side of the Mississippi, about the mouth of St. Peters river or falls of St. Anthony.	Principally with the Chippewas, La Follovoine, and those of Leon and Sandy lakes, defensive with the Saukees, Renars, and Ayouwais.	With the other Sioux bands, and all the nations east of the Mississippi, and south of the Chippewas, who never wage war against the nations on the Missouri.	
		Min-da-wár-car-ton.	8,700	16,000	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	
		Wáh-pa-coo-ta.	3,800	6,000	Do. with a larger proportion of otter.	do.	do.	With the Chippewas generally, and sometimes an offensive war on the nations most convenient to them on the Missouri.	do.	
		Sis-sa-toné.	17,000	30,000	Do. with a much larger proportion of beaver, otter, and black bear.	do.	At the head of the river St. Peters, at the portage between that river and the red river of lake Winnipic.	With the Chippewas generally, the Assinniboins, Christenoes, Mandans, Minetares, Ahwah-haways, and Chyennes.	Do. and particularly with the Ricaras.	
		Yank-ton, (of the north or plains.)	1,800	3,000	Buffalo robes and wolf skins.	Do. and buffalo robes, tallow, dried meat and grease in addition.	Do. and on the Missouri, near the mouth of Chyenne river.	do.	With the other Sioux bands, and partially with the Ricaras.	
		Yank-ton, Ah-náh.	3,000	5,000	Deer and racoon principally, some black bear, beaver, and otter.	Buffalo robes, tallow, dried meat and grease, skins of the small deer, black bear, wolves, elks, racoons, elk and deer's tallow and bear's oil.	At the Council Bluff, or mouth of river Chyenne.	With the Ricaras and the nations on the lower portion of the Missouri and west of it within their reach, except the Mahas, and Poncars; also with the Chippewas.	Mahas, Poncars, Saukees, Renars, Ayouwais, and the nations east of the Mississippi, and south of the Chippewas; also, with the other bands of Sioux.	
		Té-ton.	5,000	7,000	Buffalo robes, grease and tallow, dressed buffalo skins and some dried meat.	Buffalo robes, tallow, grease, and dried meat, skins of the beaver, small and large foxes, small and large wolf, antelope, elk, and deer, in great abundance; also, elk and deer's tallow, and a few grisly bear.	At or near the mouth of the Chyenne river.	With all the nations on the lower portion of the Missouri, and west of it within their reach; also, the Mandans, Ah-wah-haways, Minetares, Assinniboins, Christenoes, and Chippewas.	With all the other bands of Sioux, and with none else, except partially with the Ricaras, whom they keep in perpetual dread of them, and plunder them without reserve.	
		Téton,-o-kan-dan-dás.	1,500	2,500	do.					
		Té-ton,-min-na-kine-az-zo.	2,000	3,000	do.					
		Té-ton,-sáh-o-né.	2,300	3,500	do.					



- S. *Wahpatone*. Claim the country in which they rove on the N. W. side of the river St. Peters, from their village to the mouth of the Chippewa river, and thence northeastwardly towards the head of the Mississippi, including the Crow-wing river. Their lands are fertile, and generally well timbered. They are only stationary while the traders are with them, which is from the beginning of October, to the last of March. Their trade is supposed to be at its greatest extent; they treat their traders with respect, and seldom attempt to rob them. This, as well as the other Sioux bands, act, in all respects, as independently of each other as if they were a distinct nation.
- S. *Mindawarcarton*. 'Tis the only band of Sioux that cultivate corn, beans, &c. and these even cannot properly be termed a stationary people. They live in tents of dressed leather, which they transport by means of horses and dogs, and ramble from place to place during the greater part of the year. They are friendly to their own traders, but the inveterate enemies to such as supply their enemies, the Chippewas, with merchandise. They also claim the country in which they hunt, commencing at the entrance of the river St. Peters, and extending upwards, on both sides of the Mississippi river, to the mouth of the Crow-wing river. The land is fertile, and well watered; lies level, and sufficiently timbered. Their trade cannot be expected to increase much.
- S. *Wahpacoota*. They rove in the country southwest of the river St. Peters, from a place called the *Hardwood*, to the mouth of the Yellow Medicine river: never stationary but when their traders are with them, and this does not happen at any regular and fixed point; at present they treat traders tolerably well; their trade cannot be expected to increase much. A great proportion of their country is open plains, lies level, and is tolerably fertile; they maintain a partial traffic with the Yanktons and Tetons, to the west of them; to these they barter the articles which they obtain from the traders on the river St. Peters, and receive, in return, horses, some robes, and leather lodges.
- S. *Sissatone*.—They claim the country in which they rove, embracing the upper portions of the red river of lake Winnipie, and St. Peters. It is a level country, intersected with many small lakes; the land is fertile and free of stone; the majority of it open plains. This country abounds more in the valuable fur animals, the beaver, otter, and martin, than any portion of Louisiana yet known. This circumstance furnishes the Sissatones with means of purchasing more merchandise, in proportion to their number, than any nation in this quarter. A great proportion of this merchandise is reserved by them for their trade with the Tetons, whom they annually meet, at some point previously agreed on, upon the waters of James river, in the month of May. This Indian fair is frequently attended by the Yanktons of the north and Ahnah. The Sissatones and Yanktons of the north, here supply the others with considerable quantities of arms, ammunition, axes, knives, kettles, cloth, and a variety of other articles; and receive, in return, principally, horses, which the others have stolen, or purchased from the nations on the Missouri and west of it. They are devoted to the interest of their traders.
- S. *Yanktons of the North*.—This band, although they purchase a much smaller quantity of merchandise than the Sissatones, still appropriate a considerable portion of what they do obtain, in a similar manner with that mentioned of the Sissatones. This trade, as small as it may appear, has been sufficient to render the Tetons independent of the trade of the Missouri, in a great measure, and has furnished them with the means, not only of distressing and plundering the traders of the Missouri, but also, of plundering and massacring the defenceless savages of the Missouri, from the mouth of the river Platte to the Minetares, and west of the Rocky mountains. The country that these people inhabit, is almost one entire plain, uncovered with timber; it is extremely level, the soil fertile, and generally well watered.
- S. *Yanktons Ahnah*.—These are the best disposed Sioux who rove on the banks of the Missouri, and these even will not suffer any trader to ascend the river, if they can possibly avoid it. They have heretofore, invariably arrested the progress of all those they have met with, and generally compelled them to trade at the prices, nearly, which they themselves think proper to fix on their merchandise. They seldom commit any further acts of violence on the whites; they sometimes visit the river Demoin, where a partial trade has been carried on with them, for a few years past, by a Mr. Crawford; their trade, if well regulated, might be rendered extremely valuable. Their country is a very fertile one; it consists of a mixture of wood lands and prairies; the land bordering on the Missouri, is principally plains, with but little timber.
- Tetons Bois rûlé. Tetons-Okandandas. Tetons-Minakineazzo. Tetons Sahone*.—These are the vilest miscreants of the savage race, and must ever remain the pirates of the Missouri, until such measures are pursued by our Government, as will make them feel a dependence on its will for their supply of merchandise. Unless these people are reduced to order, by coercive measures, I am ready to pronounce, that the citizens of the United States can never enjoy, but partially, the advantages which the Missouri presents. Relying on a regular supply of merchandise through the channel of the river St. Peters, they view with contempt the merchants of the Missouri, whom they never fail to plunder when in their power; persuasion or advice, with them, is viewed as supplication, and only tends to inspire them with contempt for those who offer either. The tameness with which the traders of the Missouri have heretofore submitted to their rapacity, has tended not a little to inspire them with contempt for the white persons who visit them through that channel. A prevalent idea among them, and one which they make the rule of their conduct, is, that the more illy they treat the traders, the greater quantity of merchandise they will bring them; and that they will thus obtain the articles they wish, on better terms. They have endeavored to inspire the Ricaras with similar sentiments, but happily without any considerable effect. The country in which these four bands rove, is one continual plain, with scarcely a tree to be seen, except on the water courses, or the steep declivities of hills, which last are but rare; the land is fertile, and lies extremely well for cultivation; many parts of it are but badly watered. It is from this country that the Missouri derives most of its coloring matter; the earth is strongly impregnated with glauber salts, alum, copperas, and sulphur, and when saturated with water, immense bodies of the hills precipitate themselves into the Missouri, and mingle with its waters. The waters of this river have a purgative effect on those unaccustomed to use it. I doubt whether these people can ever be induced to become stationary; their trade might be made valuable if they were reduced to order. They claim jointly, with the other bands of Sioux, all the country lying within the following limits, viz: beginning at the confluence of the river Demoin and Mississippi; thence, up the west side of the Mississippi, to the mouth of the St. Peters river; thence, on both sides of the Mississippi, to the mouth of Crow-wing river, and upwards with that stream, including the waters of the upper part of the same; thence, to include the waters of the upper portion of Red river of lake Winnipie, and down the same nearly to Pembear river; thence, a southwesterly course to intersect the Missouri at or near the Mandans, and with that stream downward to the entrance of the Wanecunne creek; thence, passing the Missouri, it goes to include the lower portion of the river Chycone, all the waters of White river, and river Teton, includes the lower portion of the river Guicurre, and returns to the Missouri, and, with that stream downward, to the mouth of Waddepon river; and thence, eastwardly to intersect the Mississippi at the beginning.

The subdivisions of the Darcota or Sioux nation, with the names of the principal chiefs of each band and subdivision.

NAMES OF THE BAND.	NAME OF SUBDIVISION.	NAMES OF THE CHIEFS.	REMARKS.
Mindawarcarton.	Mindawarcarton. Kee-uke-sáh. Tin-táh-ton. Máh-táh-ton.	* Ne-co-hun-dáh. Tar-tong-gar-méh-nee. Cha-tong-do-tah.	Those marked with a star, are the principal chiefs of their respective bands, as well as their own divisions.
Wahpatone.	Wah-pa-tone. O-ta-har-ton.	* Tar-cur-ray. Warbo-sen-dát-tá.	
Wahpacoota.	Wár-pa-coo-ta. Mi-ah-kee-jack-sáh.	* War-cah-to. Chít-táh-wock-cun-de-pe.	Said individually to be very friendly to the whites. He possesses great influence in his band and nation.
Sissatone.	Sissatone. Caw-ree. Kee-uke-sah.	* Wack-ke-en-do-tar. Tar-tung-gan-naz-a. * Mah-to-wy-ank-ka.	
Yankton, (of the north.)	Sah-own. Hone-ta-par-teen. Háh-hár-tones. Hone-ta-par-teen. Waz-za-ar-tar.	Arsh-kane. Pít-tá-sah. Máh-pe-on-do-tak. Tat-tung-gar-weet-e-co.	Accepted a medal and flag of U. S. Do. a medal. Do. do. and flag of U. S. A great scoundrel. We gave him a medal before we were acquainted with his character.
Yankton-áhnáh.	Yankton-sa-char-hoo. Tar-co-im-bo-to.	* Nap-pash-scan-na-mah-na. War-ha-zing-ga.	
Teton, (bois rulé.)	E-sáh-á-te-ake-tar-par. War-chink-tar-he. Choke-tar-to-womb. Oz-ásh. Me-ne-sharne.	* Tar-tong-gar-war-har. Man-da-tong-gar. Tar-tong-gar-war-har. Mah-zo-mar-nee. Wah-pa-zing-gar. * O-ase-se-char.	Accepted a medal and flag of U. S. Do. a medal. Do. do. and flag of U. S. A great scoundrel. We gave him a medal before we were acquainted with his character.
Teton, O-kan-dan-dás.	She-o. O-kan-dan-das. Min-na-kine-az-zo. Wan-nee-wack-a-ta-o-ne-lar.	Wah-tar-pa. * Wock-ke-a-chauk-in-dish-ka. Chante-wah-nee-jah.	
Teton, min-na-kine-az zo.	Tar-co-eh-parch. Sah-o-ne. Tack-chan-de-su-char. Sah-o-ne-hont-a-par-par.	* Ar-kee-che-tur. War-min-de-o-pe-in-doo-tar Sharlo-ka-hás-cár.	

A. Chyennes.

B. Shár-ha.

C. la Chien.

D. \*

E.

F. 110.

G. 300.

H. 1200.

I. About the source of the river Chyenne, in the Black hills.

J. Mr. Loiselle, and Co., of St. Louis.

K. On the river Chyenne, not stationary, and at the Ricaras village.

L. 1500.

M. 2000.

N. Buffalo robes of best quality.

O. Buffalo robes, tallow, grease, and dried meat, skins of the beaver, small and large foxes, small and large wolves, antelopes, elk and deer in great abundance; also, elk and deers' tallow, a few grisly bear, skins of the white bear, and big horned antelopes.

P. At or near the mouth of the Chyenne river.

Q. A defensive war with the Siouxs, and at war with no other within my knowledge.

R. With all their neighbors, except the Sioux.

S. They are the remnant of a nation once respectable in point of numbers: formerly resided on a branch of the Red river of lake Winnipie, which still bears their name. Being oppressed by the Sioux, they removed to the west side of the Missouri, about 15 miles below the mouth of Warricunne creek, where they built and fortified a village; but, being pursued by their ancient enemies, the Sioux, they fled to the Black hills, about the head of the Chyenne river, where they wander in quest of the buffalo, having no fixed residence. They do not cultivate. They are well disposed towards the whites, and might be easily induced to settle on the Missouri, if they could be assured of being protected from the Sioux. Their number annually diminishes. Their trade may be made valuable.

J. No trader.

K.

L.

M.

N.

O. The same as the Teton. (See first table, also horses.)

P. At or near the mouth of Chyenne river.

Q. A defensive war with the Sioux, and at war with no other within my knowledge.

R. With all their wandering neighbors to the west, and particularly with Ricaras, Mandans, Minetares, and Ahwahhaways, whom they occasionally visit for the purpose of trafficking their horses, mules, &amp;c. for European manufactures.

S. They are a wandering nation, inhabit an open country, and raise a great number of horses, which they barter to the Ricaras, Mandans, &amp;c. for articles of European manufacture. They are a well disposed people, and might readily be induced to visit the trading establishments on the Missouri. From the animals their country produces, their trade would, no doubt, become valuable. These people again barter a considerable proportion of the articles they obtain from the Minetares, Ahwahhaways, Mandans, and Ricaras, to the Dotames and Castapanas.

A. Kiáwás.

B. Ki-á-wá.

C. Kiáwás.

D. \*

E.

F. See page 39 F.

G. See page 39 G.

H. See page 39 H.

I. On the Paduca, and frequently with the Wetepahatoes.

J. No trader.

K.

L.

M.

N.

O. See page 38, O.

P. At or near the Chyenne river (mouth of)

Q. See page 39, Q.

R. See page 40, R.

S. What has been said of the Wetepahatoes, is, in all respects, applicable to these people, also; neither these people, the Wetepahatoes, nor the Chyennes, have any idea of exclusive right to the soil.

A. Wetepáhátôes.

B. We-te-pá-há-toe.

C. Wetepahatoes.

D. \*

E.

F. 70, including the Kiáwás.

G. 200, including do.

H. 700, including do.

I. On the Paduca fork of the river Platte.

- A. Kanenavish.  
 B. Kan-enà-vish.  
 C. Gens des Vaches.  
 D. \*  
 E.  
 F. 150.  
 G. 400.  
 H. 1,500.  
 I. On the heads of the Paducas fork of the river Platte, and S. fork of Chyenne river.  
 J. No trader.  
 K.  
 L.  
 M.  
 N.  
 O. See page 38, O.  
 P. At or near the mouth of the Chyenne river.  
 Q. See page 39, Q.  
 R. See page 40, R.  
 S. See page 41, S.
- A. Staetan.  
 B. Sta-e-tan.  
 C. Kites.  
 D. \*  
 E.  
 F. 40.  
 G. 100.  
 H. 400.  
 I. On the head of the Chyenne, and frequently with the Kanenavish.  
 J.  
 K.  
 L.  
 M.  
 N.  
 O. See page 38, O.  
 P. At or near the mouth of Chyenne river.  
 Q. See page 39, Q.  
 R. See page 40, R.  
 S. See page 41, S.
- A. Cataka.  
 B. Ca-ta-kà.  
 C. Cataka.  
 D. \*  
 E.  
 F. 25.  
 G. 75.  
 H. 300.  
 I. Between the heads of the north and south forks of the river Chyenne.  
 J.  
 K.  
 L.  
 M.  
 N.  
 O. See page 38, O.  
 P. At or near the mouth of the Chyenne river.  
 Q. See page 39, Q.  
 R. See page 40, R.  
 S. See page 41, S.
- A. Nemonsin.  
 B. Ne-mo-sin.  
 C. Allebome.  
 D. \*  
 E.  
 F. 15.  
 G. 50.  
 H. 200.  
 I. On the heads of the north fork of the Chyenne river.  
 J. No trader.  
 K.  
 L.  
 M.  
 N.  
 O. See page 38, O.  
 P. At or near the mouth of the Chyenne river.  
 Q. A defensive war with the Ricaras and Siouxs.  
 R. The same as the Wetepahatoes (see page 40, R.) except the Ricaras.  
 S. These differ from the others, (viz: Wetepahatoes, Ki-awas, Kanenavish, Staetan, and Cataka,) inasmuch as they never visit the Ricaras; in all other respects they are the same. See page 41, S.
- A. Dotame.  
 B. Do-ta-me.
- C. Dotame.  
 D. \*  
 E.  
 F. 10.  
 G. 30.  
 H. 120.  
 I. On the heads of the river Chyenne.  
 J. No trader.  
 K.  
 L.  
 M.  
 N.  
 O. See page 38, O.  
 P. At or near the mouth of the Chyenne river.  
 Q. See page 39, Q.  
 R. See page 40, R.  
 S. The information I possess with respect to this nation, is derived from Indian information. They are said to be a wandering nation, inhabiting an open country, and raise a great number of horses and mules. They are a friendly, well disposed people, and might, from the position of their country, be easily induced to visit an establishment on the Missouri, about the mouth of Chyenne river. They have not, as yet, visited the Missouri.
- A. Castahana.  
 B. Cas-ta-ha-na.  
 C. Castahana.  
 D. \*  
 E.  
 F. 500.  
 G. 1,300.  
 H. 5,000.  
 I. Between the sources of the Paducas fork of the rivers Platte and Yellow Stone.  
 J. No trader.  
 K.  
 L.  
 M.  
 N.  
 O. The same as the Chyennes, (see page 38, O,) and the skins of the lynx or louverin, and martens, in addition.  
 P. At or near the mouth of the river Yellow Stone, on the Missouri.  
 Q. A defensive war with the Siouxs and Assinniboins.  
 R. See page 40, R.  
 S. What has been said of the Dotames, is applicable to these people, except that they trade principally with the Crow Indians, and that they would, most probably, prefer visiting an establishment on the Yellow Stone river, or at its mouth, on the Missouri.
- A. Crow Indians.  
 B. Kee-kât-sà.  
 C. Gens de Corbeau.  
 D. Minetare.  
 E.  
 F. 350.  
 G. 900.  
 H. 3,500.  
 I. On each side of the river Yellow Stone, about the mouth of the Big Horn river.  
 J. No trader.  
 K.  
 L.  
 M.  
 N.  
 O. See page 46, O.  
 P. At or near the mouth of the river Yellow Stone, on the Missouri.  
 Q. Defensive, with the Siouxs and Ricaras.  
 R. The same as the Wetepahatoes, (see page 40, R.) except the Ricaras.  
 S. These people are divided into four bands, called by themselves, A-hâh-ar-ro-pir-no-pâh, Noota, Pa-rees-car, and E-hârt-sar. They annually visit the Mandans, Minetares, and Ah-wahhaways, to whom they barter horses, mules, leather lodges, and many articles of Indian apparel, for which they receive, in return, guns, ammunition, axes, kettles, awls, and other European manufactures. When they return to their country, they are, in turn, visited by the Paunch and Snake Indians, to whom they barter most of the articles they have obtained from the nations on the Missouri, for horses and mules, of which those nations have a greater abundance than themselves. They also obtain from the Snake Indians, bridle-bits, blankets, and some other articles, which

those Indians purchase from the Spaniards. The  
bridle-bits and blankets I have seen in the pos-  
session of the Mandans and Minetares. Their coun-  
try is fertile, and well watered, and, in most parts,  
well timbered.

- A. Paunch Indians.
- B. Al-la-kä-we-äh.
- C. Gens de panse.
- D. \*
- E.
- F. 300.
- G. 800.
- H. 2,300.
- I. On each side of the Yellow Stone river, near the Rocky mountains, and heads of the Big Horn river.
- J. No trader.
- F.
- L.

- M.
- N.
- O. See page 46, O.
- P. At or near the mouth of the river Yellow Stone, on the Missouri.
- Q. Defensive, with the Sioux and Ricaras.
- R. The same as the Wetepehatoes, (see page 40, R) except the Ricaras.
- S. These are said to be a peaceable, well disposed nation; their country is a variegated one, consisting of mountains, valleys, plains, and woodlands, irregularly interspersed. They might be induced to visit the Missouri, at the mouth of the Yellow Stone river; and, from the great abundance of valuable furred animals which their country, as well as that of the Crow Indians, produces, their trade must become extremely valuable. They are a roving people, and have no idea of exclusive right to the soil.

A. ASSINNIBOIN.		B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	I.	J.	K.
Nacota.	Ma-ne-to-pä.	Gens de Canoe.		Sioux, with some few words peculiar to themselves.		100	200	750	On the Mouse river, between the Assiniboin and the Missouri.	British Hudson's bay, and the N. W. and X. Y. Canadian companies.	Establishments on the Assiniboin river.
	O-see-gäh.	Gens de Tee				100	250	850	From the Missouri, about the mouth of Little Missouri, to the Assiniboin, at the mouth of Capelle river.		Establishments on the Assiniboin and Capelle rivers.
	Mäh-to-pä-nä-to.	Gens de grand Diabie.				200	450	1,600	On the Missouri, about the mouth of the White Earth river, and on the head of Assiniboin, and Capelle rivers.		Ditto, and occasionally at the establishments on the river Saskashawan.

A. ASSINNIBOIN.—Continued.		B.	L.	M.	N.	O.	P.	Q.	R.
Nacota.	Ma-ne-to-pä.	4,500	7,000		Buffalo meat dried or pounded, and grease in bladders, principally; also, wolves, a few beaver and buffalo robes.	Buffalo robes, tallow, dried and pounded meat and grease, skins of the large and small fox, small and large wolves, antelopes, (or cabri) and elk in great abundance; also, some brown, white, and grisly bear, deer, and lynx. Ditto, with more bears and, some marten.	At or near the mouth of the river Yellow Stone, on the Missouri.	Reciprocally with the Sioux; offensive with the Ricaras, Castahana, Crow, Pannch, and Snake Indians, and all those south-west of the Missouri, within their reach.	With all their own tribes; Christenoes, (branch of the Knistenaus,) and partially with the Chippewas of Pembena, Algonquins of Portage de Prairie, Mandans, Minetares, and Ah-wah-hawas.
	O-see-gäh.	6,000	6,500						
	Mäh-to-pä-nä-to.	8,000	8,000						

S. *Manetopa. Oseegeh. Mahtopanato.* Are the descendants of the Sioux, and partake of their turbulent and faithless disposition. They frequently plunder, and sometimes murder their own traders. The name by which this nation is generally known, was borrowed from the Chippewas, who call them *Assiniboan*, which, literally translated, is *Stone Sioux*, hence the name of Stone Indians, by which they are sometimes called. The country in which they rove is almost entirely uncovered with timber; lies extremely level, and is but badly watered in many

parts; the land, however, is tolerably fertile, and unincumbered with stone. They might be induced to trade at the river Yellow Stone, but I do not think that their trade promises much. Their numbers continue about the same. These bands, like the Sioux, act entirely independent of each other, though they claim a national affinity, and never make war on each other. The country inhabited by the Mahtopanato possesses rather more timber than the other parts of the country. They do not cultivate.

		B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	I.
A. CHIPPEWAS.		O-jib-à-way.		*	1		400	1,600	On an island in a small lake, called <i>Leach lake</i> , formed by the Mississippi river.
		do. do.	La Sauteur.	Chippewa.			200	700	About the head of the Mississippi and around Red lake.
		do. do.			do.			100	350

		B.	J.	K.	L.	M.	N.
A. CHIPPEWAS.—Continued.		Ojibaway.	N. W. Company.	At their villages and hunting camps on the Mississippi.	12,000	16,000	Beaver, otter, black bear, racoon, fox, marten, mink, fisher, and deer skins.
		do.	do.	An establishment on Red lake, and at their hunting camps.	8,000	10,000	Do. and bark canoes.
		do.	N. W. & X. Y. Co.	Establishments near the mouth of Pembena river, and at their hunting camps.	7,000	10,000	Do. principally beaver and otter, but no canoes; some wolverine and lynx.

		B.	O.	P.	Q.	R.
A. CHIPPEWAS.—Continued.		Ojibaway.	Beaver, otter, black bear, racoon, grey fox, marten, mink, fisher, and deer skins.	On the north side of the Mississippi, at Sandy lake.	With all the tribes of Sioux, Saukees, Renars, and Ayowais.	All the tribes of Chippewas, and the nations inhabiting lakes Superior, Michigan, and the country east of the Mississippi.
		do.	Do. and bark canoes.	On the Red lake, near the head of the Mississippi.	! The Sioux only.	
		do.	Do. except canoes, with wolverine and lynx in addition.	On the Red river of Lake Winnie, about the mouth of the Assiniboim river.	† The Sioux, and partially with the Assiniboins.	Do. and with the Christenes, and Algonquins.

S. CHIPPEWAS, OF LEACH LAKE. Claim the country on both sides of the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Crow-wing river to its source; and extending west of the Mississippi to the lands claimed by the Sioux, with whom they still contend for dominion. They claim, also, east of the Mississippi, the country extending as far as lake Superior, including the waters of the river St. Louis. This country is thickly covered with timber generally; lies level, and generally fertile, though a considerable proportion of it is intersected and broken up by small lakes, morasses, and swamps, particularly about the heads of the Mississippi, and river St. Louis. They do not cultivate, but live principally on the wild rice, which they procure in great abundance on the borders of Leach lake, and the banks of the Mississippi. Their number has been considerably reduced by wars and the small pox. Their trade is at its greatest extent.

OF RED LAKE. Claim the country about Red lake, and Red lake river, as far as the Red river of Lake Winnie, beyond which last river they contend with the Sioux for territory. This is a low level country, and

generally thickly covered with timber; interrupted with many swamps and morasses. This, as well as the other bands of Chippewas, are esteemed the best hunters in the N. W. country; but, from the long residence of this band in the country they now inhabit, game is becoming scarce; therefore, their trade is supposed to be at its greatest extent. The Chippewas are a well disposed people, but excessively fond of spirituous liquor.

OF RIVER PEMBENA. These people formerly resided on the east side of the Mississippi, at Sand lake, but were induced by the N. W. company, to remove about two years since, to the river Pembena. They do not claim the lands on which they hunt. The country is level, and the soil good. The west side of the river is principally prairies, or open plains; on the east side there is a greater proportion of timber. Their trade at present is a very valuable one, and will probably increase for some years. They do not cultivate, but live by hunting; they are well disposed towards the whites.

A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	I.	J.	K.
A. ALGONQUINS.	O jib-à-way.	Algonquins.	Chippeways.			100	300	On the south side of Rainy lake, Rainy lake river, and the Lake of the Wood.	N. W. and X. Y. companies.	Establishments on the rivers Winnipie and Rainy lake, and at their hunting camps.
	Ditto.	Algonquins.	Chippeways.			200	600	About the mouth of the Assiniboin, on Red river.	Ditto.	Establishments on the Assiniboin, at fort de Prairie.

A.	B.	L.	M.	N.	O.	P.	Q.	R.
A. ALGONQUINS.—Cont'd.	O-jib-a-way.	4,000	6,000	Principally birch bark canoes.	The same as the Chippeways, but in small quantities, and canoes, (see page 51, O.)	At the Red lake establishment.	The Sioux, and partially with the Assiniboins.	All the tribes of the Chippeways, Algonquins, and Christenoes.
	Ditto.	8,000	11,000	Beaver, otter, racoon, black bear, large fox, mink, and a few deer.	Beaver, otter, racoon, black bear, large fox, mink, wolves, deer, and muskrats.	At the Red River establishment.		

S.—ALGONQUINS, of Rainy Lake, &c. With the precise limits of the country they claim, I am not acquainted; they live very much detached in small parties; the country they inhabit is but an indifferent one: it has been much hunted, and the game, of course, nearly exhausted; they are well disposed towards the whites; their number is said to decrease; they are extremely addicted to spirituous liquors, of which large quantities are annually furnished them, by the Northwestern traders, in return for their bark canoes; they live wretchedly poor.

ALGONQUINS, of Portage de Prairie. These people inhabit a low flat marshy country, mostly covered with timber, and well stocked with game; they are emigrants from the Lake of the Woods, and the country east of it, who were introduced some years since by the Northwestern traders, in order to hunt the country, on the lower parts of Red river, which then abounded in a variety of animals of the fur kind. They are an orderly well disposed people; but, like their relations on Rainy Lake, extremely addicted to spirituous liquors. Their trade is at its greatest extent.

about the head of the Assiniboin river, it is marshy, and tolerably well furnished with timber, as are also the Fort Dauphin mountains, to which they sometimes resort. From the quantity of beaver in their country, they ought to furnish more of that article than they do at present; they are not esteemed good beaver hunters. They might probably be induced to visit an establishment on the Missouri at the Yellow Stone river. Their number has been reduced by the small pox since they were first known to the Canadians.

- A. Christenoes or Knistenaus.
- B. Chris-te-no.
- C. Cree.
- D. Chippeways, with a different accent, and many words peculiar to themselves.
- E.
- F. 150.
- G. 300.
- H. 1000.
- I. On the heads of the Assiniboin, and thence towards the Saskashawan.
- J. Hudson's Bay, N. W. and X. Y. company.
- K. Establishments on the Assiniboin, Swan Lake river, and the Saskashawan.
- L. 15,000.
- M. 15,000.
- N. Beaver, otter, lynx, wolverine, marten, mink, wolf, small fox or (kitts) dressed elk, and moose-deer skins.
- O. The skins of the beaver, otter, lynx, wolf, wolverine, marten, mink, small fox, brown and grisly bear, dressed elk, and moose deer skins, muskrat skins, and some buffalo robes, dried meat, tallow, and grease.
- P. On the Missouri, at or near the mouth of the Yellow Stone river.
- Q. With the Sioux, Fall, Blood, and Crow Indians.
- R. With the Assiniboins, Algonquins, Chippeways, Mandan, Minetares, and Ahwahhaways.
- S. They are a wandering nation, do not cultivate, nor claim any particular tract of country; they are well disposed towards the whites, and treat their traders with respect. The country in which they rove, is generally open plains, but in some parts, particularly

- A. Fall Indians.
- B. A-lan-sar.
- C. Fall Indians.
- D. Minetare.
- E.
- F. 260.
- G. 660.
- H. 2,500.
- I. On the head of the south fork of the Sas-kashawan river, and some streams supposed to be branches of the Missouri.
- J. N. W. Company.
- K. Upper establishment on the Sas-kashawan; but little trade.
- L. 1,000.
- M. 4,000.
- N. Beaver and marten.
- O. Skins of the beavers, brown, white, and grisly bears, large and small foxes, muskrat, marten, mink, lynx, wolverine, wolves, white hares, deer, elk, moose deer, antelopes of the Missouri, and some buffalo.
- P. At or near the falls of the Missouri.
- Q. Defensive war with the Christenoes.
- R.
- S. The country these people rove in is not much known; it is said to be a high, woody, broken country. They might be induced to visit an establishment at the falls of the Missouri; their trade may no doubt be made profitable.

- A. Cattannahaws.
- B. Cat-tan-a-haws.
- C. Cattannahaws.
- D. \*
- E.
- F.
- G.
- H.
- I. Between the Saskashawan and the Missouri, on waters supposed to be of the Missouri.
- J. No trader.
- K.
- L.
- M.
- N.
- O. See page 57 O.
- P. At or near the falls of the Missouri.

- Q.**  
**R.**  
**S.** What has been said of the Fall Indians, is in all respects applicable to this nation. They are both wandering nations.
- A. Black-foot Indians.  
 B.  
 C. Black-foot Indians.  
 D.\* E. F. G. H.  
 I. Between the Saskashawan, and the Missouri on waters supposed to be of the Missouri.  
 J. No trader.  
 K. L. M. N.  
 O. See page 57 O.  
 P. At or near the falls of the Missouri.  
 Q. R.  
 S. See page 56 S.
- A. Blue-Mud and Long-hair nations.  
 B.  
 C. Bluemud and Long hair Indians.  
 D.\* E. F. G. H.  
 I. West of the Rocky mountains, and near the same on water courses, supposed to be branches of the Columbia river.  
 J. No trader.  
 K. L. M. N.  
 O. Not known, but from the position of their country supposed to abound in animals similar to those mentioned page 57. O.  
 P. Q. R.  
 S. Still less is known of these people or their country. The water courses on which they reside, are supposed to be branches of the Columbia river. They are wandering nations.
- A. Flat-heads.  
 B. Tut-see-wás.  
 C. Flat head Indians.  
 D.\* E. F. G. H.  
 I. On the west side of a large river lying west of the Rocky mountains, and running N. supposed to be the S. fork of the Columbia river.  
 J. No trader.  
 K.  
 L.  
 M.  
 N.  
 O. See page 59. O.  
 P.  
 Q. Defensive war with the Minetares.  
 R.  
 S. The information I possess with respect to these people has been received from the Minetares, who have extended their war excursions as far westerly as that nation, of whom they have made several prisoners and brought them with them to their villages on the Missouri.
- These prisoners have been seen by the Frenchmen residing in this neighborhood. The Minatares state that this nation reside in one village, on the west side of a large and rapid river, which runs from south to N. along the foot of the Rocky Mountains on their west side, and that this river passes at a small distance from the three forks of the Missouri; that the country between the mountains and the river is broken, but on the opposite side of the river it is an extensive, open plain, with a number of barren, sandy hills, irregularly distributed over its surface, as far as the eye can reach. They are a timid, inoffensive, and defenceless people. They are said to possess an abundance of horses.

A. ALIATANS.	Snake Indians	B. So-so-ná So-so-bá & I-a-kár	C. Gens de Serpent	D. *Aliatan	E.	F.	G.	H.	I. Among the Rocky Mountains, on the heads of the Missouri, Yellow Stone, and Platte rivers.	J. With the Spaniards of N. Mexico
	Of the West	A-li-a-tán	Aliatá	Aliatan			Very numerous.		Among the Rocky Mountains, and in the plains at the heads of the Platte and Arkansas rivers.	
	La Playes		La Playes	Aliatan					The mountains on the borders of New Mexico, and the extensive plains at the heads of the Arkansas and Red rivers.	

A. ALIATANS—Continued.	Snake Indians	K. The place at which this trade is carried on is not known.	L.	M.	N.	O. The same with the Fall, Cattannahs, and Black Foot Indians, except buffalo; but they have in addition immense quantities of horses, mules, and asses.	P. At or near the falls of the Missouri.	Q. Defensive war with the Ricaras, Sioux, Assiniboins, Christenoës, Minetares, Ahwah-haways, and all the nations inhabiting the Saskashawon river.	R. Mandans and Crow Indians, and all who do not attack them.
	Of the West					Immense number of horses, mules, asses, buffalo, deer, elk, blackbear, and large hares; and, in the northern region of their country, big horn and Missouri antelopes, with many animals of the fur kind.	On the Arkansas, as high up as possible. It would be best that it should be the source of the Kansas, if it should be necessary even to supply it some distance by land.	Defensive war with the Great and Little Osages, Pania-pique, Kansas, Pania-proper, Pania-republicans, Pania-loups, Ricaras, and Sioux.	At peace with all who do not wage war against them.
	La Playes								



S.—**ALIIATANS.**—*Snake Indians.* These are a very numerous and well disposed people, inhabiting a woody and mountainous country. They are divided into three large tribes, who wander at a considerable distance from each other, and are called by themselves So-so-na, So-so-ba-bâr, and I-a-kar; these are again sub-divided into smaller, though independent bands, the names of which I have not yet learnt. They raise a number of horses and mules, which they trade with the Crow Indians, or are stolen by the Indians on the east of them. They maintain a partial trade with the Spaniards, from whom they obtain many articles of clothing and ironmongery, but no warlike implements.

*Of the West.* These people also inhabit a mountainous country, and sometimes venture in the plains east of the Rocky mountains, about the head of the Arkansas river; they have more intercourse with the Spaniards of New Mexico than the Snake Indians; they are said to be very numerous and warlike, but are badly armed. The Spaniards fear these people, and therefore take the precaution not to furnish them with any warlike implements. In their present unarmed state, they frequently commit hostilities on the Spaniards. They raise a great many horses.

*La Playes.* These principally inhabit the rich plains from the head of the Arkansas, embracing the heads of Red river, and extending with the mountains and high lands, eastwardly, as far as it is known, towards the Gulf of Mexico. They possess no fire arms, but are warlike and brave. They are, as well as the other Aliatans, a wandering people. Their country abounds in wild horses, besides great numbers which they raise themselves. These people and the West Aliatans might be induced to trade with us on the upper part of the Arkansas river. I do not believe that any of the Aliatans claim a country within any particular limits.

- A. Pania Piqué.
- B.
- C. La Paunee Piqué.

D. Pania Proper.

E. F. G. H. I. J. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R.  
S. These people have no intercourse with the inhabitants of the Illinois; the information, therefore, which I have been enabled to obtain with respect to them is very imperfect. They were formerly known by the name of the *White Panias*, and are of the same family with the Panias of the river Platte. They are said to be a well disposed people, and inhabit a very fertile country: certain it is, that they enjoy a delightful climate.

A. Paducas.

B.

C. La Padde.

D. \*

E. F. G. H. I. J. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R.

S. This once powerful nation has entirely disappeared, (apparently.) Every inquiry I have made after them has proved ineffectual. In the year 1724 they resided in several villages on the heads of the Kansas river, and could, at that time, bring upwards of two thousand men into the field, (see Mons. Dupratz' History of Louisiana, page 71, and the map attached to that work.) The information that I have received is, that, being oppressed by the nations residing on the Missouri, they removed to the upper part of the river Platte, where they afterwards had but little intercourse with the whites. They seem to have given name to the northern branch of that river, which is still called the Paducas fork. The most probable conjecture is, that, being still further reduced, they have divided into small wandering bands, which assumed the names of the sub-divisions of the Paducas nation, and are known to us at present under the appellation of Wetepahatoes, Kiawas, Kanenavish, Katteka, Dotame, &c. who still inhabit the country to which the Paducas are said to have removed. The majority of my information led me to believe that these people spoke different languages, but other and subsequent information has induced me to doubt the fact.

*Historical Sketches of the several Indian tribes in Louisiana, south of the Arkansas river, and between the Mississippi and river Grande.*

**CADDOQUES.**—Live about thirty-five miles west of the main branch of Red river, on a bayou or creek, called, by them, Sodo, which is navigable for pirogues only, within about six miles of their village, and that only in the rainy season. They are distant from Natchitoches about 120 miles, the nearest route by land, and in nearly a northwest direction. They have lived where they now do, only five years. The first year they moved there, the small pox got amongst them, and destroyed nearly one half of them; it was in the winter season, and they practised plunging into the creek, on the first appearance of the irruption, and died in a few hours. Two years ago they had the measles, of which several more of them died. They formerly lived on the south bank of the river, by the course of the river 375 miles higher up, at a beautiful prairie, which has a clear lake of good water in the middle of it, surrounded by a pleasant and fertile country, which had been the residence of their ancestors from time immemorial. They have a traditionary tale, which not only the Caddoes, but half a dozen other smaller nations believe in, who claim the honor of being descendants of the same family; they say, when all the world was drowning by a flood, that inundated the whole country, the Great Spirit placed on an eminence, near this lake, one family of Caddoes, who alone were saved; from that family all the Indians originated.

The French, for many years before Louisiana was transferred to Spain, had, at this place, a fort and some soldiers; several French families were likewise settled in the vicinity, where they had erected a good flour mill, with burr stones brought from France. These French families continued there till about twenty-five years ago, when they moved down and settled at Compti, on the Red river, about twenty miles above Natchitoches, where they now live; and the Indians left it about fourteen years ago, on account of a dreadful sickness that visited them. They settled on the river nearly opposite where they now live, on a low place, but were drove from there on account of its overflowing, occasioned by a jam of timber choking the river at a point below them.

The whole number of what they call warriors of the ancient Caddo nation, is now reduced to about one hundred, who are looked upon somewhat like Knights of Malta, or some distinguished military order. They are brave, despise danger or death, and boast that they have never shed white men's blood. Besides these, there are of old men, and strangers who live amongst them, nearly the same number; but there are forty or fifty more women than men. This nation has great influence over the Yattassees, Nandakoes, Nabadaches, Inies or Tackies, Nacogdoches, Keychies, Adaize, and Natchitoches, who all speak the Caddo language, look up to them as their fathers, visit and intermarry among them, and join them in all their wars.

The Caddoes complain of the Choctaws encroaching upon their country; call them lazy, thievish, &c. There has been a misunderstanding between them for several years, and small hunting parties kill one another when they meet.

The Caddoes raise corn, beans, pumpkins, &c. but the land on which they now live is prairie, of a white clay soil, very flat; their crops are subject to injury, either by too wet or too dry a season. They have horses, but few of any other domestic animal, except dogs; most of them have guns, and some of them have rifles. They, and all other Indians that we have any knowledge of, are at war with the Osages. The country, generally, round the Caddoes, is hilly, not very rich; growth, a mixture of oak, hickory, and pine, interspersed with prairies, which are very rich, generally, and fit for cultivation. There are creeks and springs of good water frequent.

**YATTASSEES.**—Live on Bayou river. (or Stony creek) which falls into Red river, western division, about fifty miles above Natchitoches. Their village is in a large prairie, about half way between the Caddoes and Natchitoches, surrounded by a settlement of French families. The Spanish Government, at present, exercise jurisdiction over this settlement, where they keep a guard of a non-commissioned officer and eight soldiers. A few months ago, the Caddo chief, with a few of his young men, were coming to this place to trade, and came that way, which is the usual road; the Spanish officer of the guard threatened to stop them from trading with the Americans, and told the chief, if he returned that way with goods, he should take them from him. The chief and his party were very angry, and threatened to kill the whole guard; and told them, that that road had been always theirs, and that, if the

Spaniards attempted to prevent their using it, as their ancestors had always done, he would soon make it a bloody road. He came here, purchased the goods he wanted, and might have returned another way, and avoided the Spanish guard, and was advised to do so, but he said he would pass by them, and let them attempt to stop him if they dare. The guard said nothing to him as he returned. This settlement, till some few years ago, used to belong to the district of Natchitoches, and the rights to their lands given by the Government of Louisiana, before it was ceded to Spain. Its now being under the Government of Texas, was only by an agreement between the commandant of Natchitoches and the commandant of Nacogdoches. The French formerly held a station and factory there, and another on the *Scbine* river, nearly a hundred miles northwest from the Bayou Pierre settlement. The Yattassees now say the French used to be their people, and now the Americans; but of the ancient Yattassees there are but eight men remaining, and twenty-five women, besides children; but a number of men of other nations have intermarried with them, and live together. I paid a visit at their village the last summer; there were about forty men of them altogether. Their original language differs from any other; but now, all speak Caddo. They live on rich land, raise plenty of corn, beans, pumpkins, tobacco, &c. have horses, cattle, hogs, and poultry.

**NANAKOES.**—Live on the Sabine river, sixty or seventy miles to the westward of the Yattassees, near where the French formerly had a station and factory. Their language is Caddo; about forty men of them only remaining. A few years ago they suffered very much by the small pox. They consider themselves the same as Caddoes, with whom they intermarry, and are occasionally visiting one another in the greatest harmony; have the same manners, customs, and attachments.

**ADAIZE.**—Live about forty miles from Natchitoches, below the Yattassees, on a lake called Lac Macdon, which communicates with that division of Red river that passes by Bayou Pierre; they live at, or near, where their ancestors have lived from time immemorial. They being the nearest nation to the old Spanish fort, or mission of Adaize, that place was named after them, being about twenty miles from them, to the south. There are now but twenty men of them remaining, but more women. Their language differs from all other, and is so difficult to speak, or understand, that no other nation can speak ten words of it; but they all speak Caddo, and most of them French, to whom they were always attached, and joined them against the Natchez Indians. After the massacre of Natchez, in 1798, while the Spaniards occupied the post of Adaize, their priests took much pains to proselyte these Indians to the Roman Catholic religion, but, I am informed, were totally unsuccessful.

**ALICHE,** (commonly pronounced Eyeish.)—Live near Nacogdoches, but are almost extinct as a nation, not being more than twenty-five souls of them remaining; four years ago the small pox destroyed the most of them. They were some years ago a considerable nation, and lived on a bayou which bears their name, which the road from Natchitoches to Nacogdoches crosses about twelve miles west of Sabine river, on which a few French and American families are settled. Their native language is spoken by no other nation; but they speak and understand Caddo, with whom they are in amity, often visiting one another.

**KEYES, or KEYCHES.**—Live on the east bank of Trinity river, a small distance above where the road from Natchitoches to St. Antoine crosses it. There are of them sixty men; have their peculiar native language, but mostly now speak Caddo, intermarry with them, and live together in much harmony, formerly having lived near them on the head waters of the Sabine. They plant corn, and some other vegetables.

**INIES, or TACHIES,** (called indifferently by both names.) From the latter name, the name of the province of Tachus or Texas is derived. The Inies live about twenty-five miles west of Natchitoches, on a small river, a branch of the Sabine, called the Natchez; they are like all their neighbors, diminishing; but have now eighty men. Their ancestors, for a long time, lived where they now do. Their language the same as that of the Caddoes, with whom they are in great amity. These Indians have a good character, live on excellent land, and raise corn to sell.

**NABEDACHES.**—Live on the west side of the same river, about fifteen miles above them; have about the same number of men; speak the same language; live on the best of land; raise corn in plenty; have the same manners, customs, and attachments.

**BEDIES.**—Are on the Trinity river, about sixty miles to the southward of Nacogdoches; have one hundred men; are good hunters for deer, which are very large and plenty about them; plant, and make good crops of corn; language differs from all other, but speak Caddo; are a peaceable quiet people, and have an excellent character for their honesty and punctuality.

**ACOKESAWS.**—Their ancient town, and principal place of residence, is on the west side of the Colorado, or Rio Rouge, about two hundred miles southwest of Nacogdoches, but often change their place of residence for a season; being near the bay, make great use of fish, oysters, &c. kill a great many deer, which are the largest and fattest in the province; and their country is universally said to be inferior to no part of the province, in soil, growth of timber, goodness of water, and beauty of surface; have a language peculiar to themselves, but have a mode of communication by dumb signs, which they all understand. Number, about eighty men. Thirty or forty years ago, the Spaniards had a mission there, but broke it up, and moved it to Nacogdoches; they talk of resettling it, and speak in the highest terms of the country.

**MAYES.**—Live on a large creek, called St. Gabriel, on the bay of St. Bernard, near the mouth of Gaudaloupe river; are estimated at two hundred men; never at peace with the Spaniards, towards whom they are said to possess a fixed hatred; but profess great friendship for the French, to whom they have been strongly attached since Monsieur de Salle landed in their neighborhood. The place where there is a talk of the Spaniards opening a new port, and making a settlement, is near them, where the party, with the Governor of St. Antoine, who were there last fall to examine it, say they found the remains of a French block-house. Some of the cannon now at Labahie are said to have been brought from that place, and known by the engravings now to be seen on them. The French speak highly of these Indians, for their extreme kindness and hospitality to all Frenchmen who have been amongst them. Have a language of their own, but speak Attakapas, which is the language of their neighbors the Carankouas; they have likewise a way of conversing by signs.

**CARANKOUAS.**—Live on an island, or peninsula, in the bay of St. Bernard, in length about ten miles, and five in breadth; the soil extremely rich and pleasant, on one side of which there is a high bluff or mountain of coal, which has been on fire for many years, affording always a light at night, and a strong thick smoke by day, by which vessels are sometimes deceived, and left on the shoaly coast, which shoals are said to extend nearly out sight of land. From this burning coal there is emitted a gummy substance, the Spaniards call *Cheta*, which is thrown on the shore by the surf, and collected by them in considerable quantities, which they are fond of chewing; it has the appearance and consistence of pitch, of a strong aromatic, and not disagreeable smell. These Indians are irreconcilable enemies to the Spaniards, always at war with them, and kill them whenever they can. The Spaniards call them cannibals, but the French give them a different character, who have always been treated kindly by them, since Monsieur de Salle, and his party, were in their neighborhood. They are said to be five hundred men strong; but I have not been able to estimate their numbers from any very accurate information; in a short time, expect to be well informed. They speak the Attakapas language, are friendly and kind to all other Indians, and, I presume, are much like all others, notwithstanding what the Spaniards say of them, for nature is every where the same.

Last summer an old Spaniard came to me from Labahie, a journey of about 500 miles, to have a barked arrow taken out of his shoulder, that one of these Indians had shot in it. I found it under his shoulder blade, near nine inches, and had to cut a new place to get at the point of it, in order to get it out the contrary way from that in which it had entered. It was made of a piece of an iron hoop, with wings like a fluke and an inch.

**CANCES,** are a very numerous nation, consisting of a great many different tribes, occupying different parts of the country, from the bay of St. Bernard, across river Grande, towards La Vera Cruz. They are not friendly to the Spaniards, and generally kill them when they have an opportunity. They are attached to the French; are good

hunters, principally using the bow. They are very particular in their dress, which is made of neatly dressed leather; the women wear a long loose robe, resembling that of a Franciscan friar; nothing but their heads and feet are to be seen. The dress of the men is straight leather leggings, resembling pantaloons, and a leather hunting shirt or frock. No estimate can be made of their number.

Thirty or forty years ago, the Spaniards used to make slaves of them when they could take them; a considerable number of them were brought to Natchitoches, and sold amongst the French inhabitants, at forty or fifty dollars a head, and a number of them are still living here, but are now free. About twenty years ago, an order came from the King of Spain that no more Indians should be made slaves, and those that were enslaved should be emancipated; after which, some of the women, who had been servants in good families, and taught spinning, sewing, &c. as well as managing household affairs, married natives of the country, and became respectable, well behaved women; and have now, grown up, decent families of children, have a language peculiar to themselves, and are understood by signs by all others. They are in amity with all other Indians except the Hietans.

TANKAWAYS, or TANKS, as the French call them, have no land, nor claim the exclusive right to any, nor have any particular place of abode, but are always moving, alternately occupying the country watered by the Trinity, Braees, and Colorado, towards Santa Fé. Resemble in their dress the Cances and Hietans; but all in one horde or tribe. Their number of men is estimated at about two hundred; are good hunters; kill buffalo and deer with the bow; have the best breed of horses; are alternately friends and enemies of the Spaniards. An old trader lately informed me, that he had received five thousand deer skins from them in one year, exclusive of tallow, rugs, and tongues. They plant nothing, but live upon wild fruits and flesh. Are strong athletic people, and excellent horsemen.

TAWAKENOS, or THREE CANES. They are called by both names indifferently, live on the west side of the Braees, but are often, for months at a time, lower down than their usual place of residence, in the great plain on the Tortuga, or Turtle, called so, from its being a hill in the prairie, which, at a distance, appears in the form of a Turtle, upon which there is some remarkable springs of water. Their usual residence is about two hundred miles to the westward of Nacogdoches, towards Santa Fé. They are estimated at two hundred men; are good hunters; have guns, but hunt principally with the bow; are supplied with goods from Nacogdoches, and pay for them in rugs, tongues, tallow, and skins.

They speak the same language of the Panis, or Towiaches, and pretend to have descended from the same ancestors.

PANIS, or TOWIACHES. The French call them, Panis, and the Spaniards Towiaches; the latter is the proper Indian name. They live on the south bank of the Red river, by the course of the river upwards of eight hundred miles above Natchitoches, and by land, by the nearest path, is estimated at about three hundred and forty. They have two towns near together; the lower town, where the chief lives, is called Witcheta, and the other is called Towaahack. They call their present chief the Great Bear; they are at war with the Spaniards, but friendly to those French and American hunters who have lately been among them; they are, likewise, at war with the Osages, as are every other nation. For many hundreds of miles around them, the country is rich prairie, covered with luxuriant grass, which is green, summer and winter, with skirts of wood on the river bank, by the springs and creeks.

They have many horses and mules; they raise more corn, pumpkins, beans, and tobacco, than they want for their own consumption; the surpluse they exchange with the Hietans, for buffalo rugs, horses, and mules; the pumpkins they cut round in their shreds, and when it is in a state of dryness, that it is so tough it will not break, but bend, they put and work it into large mats, in which state they sell it to the Hietans, who, as they travel, cut off, and eat it, as they want it. Their tobacco they manufacture and cut as fine as tea, which is put into leather bags of a certain size, and is, likewise, an article of trade. They have but few guns, and very little ammunition; what they have they keep for war, and hunt with the bow; their meat is principally buffalo; seldom kill a deer, though they are so plenty they come into their villages, and about their houses, like a domestic animal. Elk, bear, wolves, antelope, and wild hogs, are likewise plenty within their country, and white rabbits or hares, as well as the common rabbit; white bears sometimes come down among them, and wolves of all colors. The men go entirely naked, and the women nearly so, only wearing a small flap, of a piece of skin. They have a number of Spaniards amongst them, of a fair complexion, taken from the settlement of Santa Fé when they were children, who live as they do, and have no knowledge of where they came from. Their language differs from that of any other nation, the Tawakenoes excepted. Their present number of men is estimated at about four hundred. A great number of them, four years ago, were swept off by the small pox.

HIEANS or COMANCHES, who are likewise called by both names, have no fixed place of residence; have neither towns nor villages—divided into so many different hordes or tribes, that they have scarcely knowledge of one another. No estimate of their numbers can well be made; they never remain in the same place more than a few days, but follow the buffalo, the flesh of which is their principal food; some of them occasionally purchase of the Panis, corn, beans, and pumpkins, but they are so numerous, any quantity of these articles the Panis are able to supply them with, must make but a small proportion of their food. They have tents made of neatly dressed skins, fashioned in form of a cone, sufficiently roomy for a family of ten or twelve persons; those of the chiefs will contain, occasionally, fifty or sixty persons. When they stop, their tents are pitched in very exact order, so as to form regular streets and squares, which, in a few minutes, has the appearance of a town, raised, as it were, by enchantment. And they are equally dexterous in striking their tents and preparing for a march, when the signal is given; to every tent, two horses or mules are allotted, one to carry the tent and the other the poles or sticks, which are neatly made of red cedar; they all travel on horseback; their horses they never turn loose to graze, but always keep them tied with a long cabras or halter, and every two or three days, they are obliged to move, on account of all the grass near them being eaten up, they have such numbers of horses. They are good horsemen, and have good horses, most of which are bred by themselves, and being accustomed, when very young, to be handled, they are remarkably docile and gentle. They sometimes catch wild horses, which are every where amongst them, in immense droves; they hunt down the buffalo on horseback, and kill them, either with the bow or a sharp stick like a spear, which they carry in their hands. They are generally at war with the Spaniards, after committing depredations upon the inhabitants of Santa Fé and St. Antoine, but have always been friendly and civil to any French or Americans who have been amongst them.

They are strong and athletic, and the elderly men as fat as though they had lived upon English beef and porter. It is said, the man who kills a buffalo catches the blood and drinks it while warm; they likewise eat the liver raw, before it is cold, and use the gall by way of sauce. They are, for savages, uncommonly cleanly in their persons; the dress of the women is a long loose robe, that reaches from their chin to the ground, tied round with a fancy sash or girdle, all made of neatly dressed leather, on which they paint figures of different colors and significations. The dress of the men is close leather pantaloons and hunting shirt or frock of the same. They never remain long enough in the same place to plant any thing; the small Cayenne pepper grows spontaneously in the country, with which, and some wild herbs and fruits, particularly a bean that grows in great plenty on a small tree resembling a willow, called *Musheto*, the women cook their buffalo beef, in a manner that would be grateful to an English squire. They alternately occupy the immense space of country, from the Trinity and Braees, crossing the Red river, to the heads of Arkansas and Missouri, to river Grande, and beyond it, about Santa Fé, and over the dividing ridge on the waters of the Western ocean, where, they say, they have seen large pirogues, with masts to them, in describing which, they make a drawing of a ship, with all its sails and rigging; and they describe a place where they have seen vessels ascending a river, over which was a draw bridge, that opened to give them a passage. Their native language of sounds differs from the language of any other nation, and none can either speak or understand it; but they have a language by signs, that all Indians understand, and by which, they converse much among themselves. They have a number of Spanish men and women among them, who are slaves, and who, they made pri-

soners when young. An elderly gentleman, now living at Natchitoches, who, some years ago, carried on a trade with the Hietans, a few days ago related to me the following story:

About twenty years ago, a party of these Indians passed over river Grande to Chawawa, the residence of the Governor General of what is called the Five Internal Provinces, lay in ambush for an opportunity, and made prisoner the Governor's daughter, a young lady going in her coach to mass, and brought her off. The Governor sent a message to him, (my informant) with a thousand dollars, for the purpose of recovering his daughter. He immediately despatched a confidential trader, then in his employ, with the one thousand dollars in merchandise, who repaired to the nation, found her, and purchased her ransom, but, to his great surprise, she refused to return with him to her father, and sent by him, the following message: That the Indians had disfigured her face, by tattooing it according to their fancy and ideas of beauty, and a young man of them had taken her for his wife, by whom she believed herself pregnant; that she had become reconciled to their mode of life, and was well treated by her husband; and, that she should be more unhappy by returning to her father, under these circumstances, than by remaining where she was. Which message was conveyed to her father, who rewarded the trader by a present of three hundred dollars more, for his trouble and fidelity, and his daughter is now living with her Indian husband in the nation, by whom she has three children.

**NATCHITOCHEES**, formerly lived where the town of Natchitoches is now situated, which took its name from them. An elderly French gentleman lately informed me, he remembered when they were six hundred men strong. I believe it is now ninety-eight years since the French first established themselves at Natchitoches; ever since, these Indians have been their steady and faithful friends. After the massacre of the French inhabitants of Natchez, by the Natchez Indians, in 1728, those Indians fled from the French, after being reinforced, and came up Red river, and camped about six miles below the town of Natchitoches, near the river, by the side of a small lake of clear water, and erected a mound of considerable size, where it now remains. Monsieur St. Dennie, a French Canadian, was then commandant at Natchitoches; the Indians called him the *Big-foot*; were fond of him, for he was a brave man. St. Dennie, with a few French soldiers and what militia he could muster, joined by the Natchitoches Indians, attacked the Natchez in their camp, early in the morning; they defended themselves desperately for six hours, but were at length totally defeated by St. Dennie, and what of them that were not killed in battle, were drove into the lake, where the last of them perished, and the Natchez, as a nation, became extinct. The lake is now called by no other name than the Natchez lake.

There are now remaining of the Natchitoches, but twelve men and nineteen women, who live in a village, about twenty-five miles, by land, above the town which bears their name, near a lake called by the French, *Lac de Mûre*. Their original language is the same as the Yattasse, but speak Caddo, and most of them French.

The French inhabitants have great respect for this nation, and a number of very decent families have a mixture of their blood in them. They claim but a small tract of land, on which they live, and, I am informed, have the same rights to it from Government, that other inhabitants, in the neighborhood, have. They are gradually wasting away; the small pox has been their great destroyer; they still preserve their Indian dress and habits; raise corn, and those vegetables common in their neighborhood.

**BOLUSCAS**, are emigrants from near Pensacola; they came to Red river, about forty-two years ago, with some French families, who left that country about the time Pensacola was taken possession of by the English. They were then a considerably numerous tribe, and have generally embraced the Roman Catholic religion, and were very highly esteemed by the French. They settled first at Avoyelles; then moved higher up to Rapide Bayou, about forty miles from Natchitoches, where they now live, and are reduced to about thirty in number. Their native language is peculiar to themselves, but speak Mobilian, which is spoken by all the Indians, from the east side of the Mississippi. They are honest, harmless, and friendly people.

**APALACHIES**, are likewise emigrants from West Florida, from off the river whose name they bear; came over to Red river, about the same time the Boluscas did, and have since lived on the river, above Bayou Rapide. No nation has been more highly esteemed by the French inhabitants; no complaints against them are ever heard; there are only fourteen men remaining; have their own language, but speak French and Mobilian.

**ALABAMAS**, are likewise from West Florida, off the Alabama river, and came to Red river about the same time of the Boluscas and Apalachies. Part of them have lived on Red river, about sixteen miles above the Bayou Rapide, till last year, when most of this party, of about thirty men, went up Red river, and have settled themselves near the Caddoquies, where, I am informed, they last year made a good crop of corn. The Caddoes are friendly to them, and have no objection to their settling there; they speak the Creek and Choctaw languages, and Mobilian; most of them French, and some of them English. There is another party of them, whose village is on a small creek in Opelousas district, about thirty miles northwest from the church of Opelousas; they consist of about forty men; they have lived at the same place ever since they came from Florida; are said to be increasing a little in numbers for a few years past; they raise corn, have horses, hogs, and cattle, and are harmless, quiet people.

**CONCHATTAS**, are almost the same people as the Alabamas, but came over only ten years ago; first lived on Bayou Chico, in Opelousas district, but, four years ago, moved to the river Sabine, settled themselves on the east bank, where they now live, in nearly a south direction from Natchitoches, and distant about eighty miles. They call their number of men one hundred and sixty; but say, if they were all together, they would amount to two hundred; several families of them live in detached settlements; they are good hunters, and game is plenty about where they are.

A few years ago, a small party of them were here, consisting of fifteen persons, men, women, and children, who were on their return from a bear hunt up Sabine; they told me, they had killed one hundred and eighteen, but this year, an uncommon number of bears have come down; one man alone, on Sabine, during the summer and fall hunting, killed four hundred deer; sold his skins at forty dollars a hundred. The bears, this year, are not so fat as common; they usually yield from eight to twelve gallons of oil, which never sells for less than a dollar a gallon, and the skin a dollar more; no great quantity of the meat is saved; what the hunters don't use when out, they generally give to their dogs. The Conchattas are friendly with all other Indians, and speak well of their neighbors, the Carankouas, who, they say, live about eighty miles south of them, on the bay, which, I believe, is the nearest point to the sea, from Natchitoches. A few families of the Choctaws have lately settled near them, from Bayou Boeuf. The Conchattas speak Creek, which is their native language, and Choctaw; and several of them, English, and one or two of them can read it a little.

**PACANAS**, are a small tribe of about thirty men, who live on Quelqueshoe river, which falls into the bay, between Attakapas and Sabine, which heads in a prairie called Cooko prairie, about forty miles southwest of Natchitoches. These people are likewise emigrants from West Florida, about forty years ago; their village is about fifty miles southeast of the Conchattas; are said to be increasing a little in number; quiet, peaceable, and friendly people; their own language differs from any other, but speak Mobilian.

**ATTAKAPAS**.—This word, I am informed, when translated into English, means *man-eater*, but it is no more applicable to them than any other Indians. The district they live in, is called after them; their village is about 20 miles to the westward of the Attakapas church, towards Quelqueshoe; their number of men is about fifty; but some Runicas and Humas, who have married in their nation, and live with them, make them altogether about eighty; they are peaceable and friendly to every body; labor occasionally for the white inhabitants; raise their own corn; have cattle and hogs; their language, and the Carankouas, is the same; they were at, or near, where they now live, when that part of the country was first discovered by the French.

**OPELOUSAS**.—It is said the word Appalouas, in the Indian language, means black-head, or black-skull. They are aborigines of the district called by their name; their village is about fifteen miles west from the Opelousas church; have about forty men; their native language differs from all others; understand Attakapas, and speak French; plant corn; have cattle and hogs.

**TUNICAS.**—These People formerly lived on the Bayou Tunica, above point Coupée, on the Mississippi, East side; live now at Avoyelles; do not, at present, exceed twenty-five men. Their native language is peculiar to themselves, but speak Mobilian; are employed occasionally by the inhabitants as boatmen, &c.; in amity with all other People, and gradually diminishing in numbers.

**PASCAGOULAS.**—Live in a small village on Red river, about sixty miles below Natchitoches; are emigrants from Pascagoula river, in West Florida; twenty-five men only of them remaining; speak Mobilian, but have a language peculiar to themselves; most of them speak and understand French; they raise good crops of corn, and garden vegetables; have cattle, horses, and poultry plenty; their horses are much like the poorer kind of French inhabitants on the river, and appear to live about as well.

**TENSAWS.**—are likewise emigrants from the Tensaw river, that falls into the bay of Mobile; have been on Red river about forty years; are reduced to about twenty-five men. Their village is within one mile of the Pascagoulas, on the opposite side; but have lately sold their lands, and have, or are about moving, to Bayou Bœuf, about twenty-five miles south from where they lately lived. All speak French and Mobilian; and live much like their neighbors, the Pascagoulas.

**CHACTOOS.**—Live on Bayou Bœuf, about ten miles to the southward of Bayou Rapide, on Red river, towards Opelousas; a small, honest People; are aborigines of the country where they live; of men about thirty, diminishing; have their own peculiar tongue; speak Mobilian. The lands they claim on Bayou Bœuf, are inferior to no part of Louisiana, in depth and richness of soil, growth of timber, pleasantness of surface, and goodness of water. The Bayou Bœuf falls into the Chaffali, and discharges through Opelousas and Attakapas, into Vermillion bay.

**WASHAS.**—When the French first came into the Mississippi, this nation lived on an island, to the southwest of New Orleans, called Barataria, and were the first tribe of Indians they became acquainted with, and were always friends; they afterwards lived on Bayou La Fourche; and from being a considerable nation, are now reduced to five persons only, two men and three women, who are scattered in French families; have been many years extinct as a nation, and their language lost.

**CHOCTAWS.**—There are a considerable number of this nation on the West side of the Mississippi, who have not been home for several years; about twelve miles above the post on Ouachita, on that river, there is a small village of them, of about thirty men, who have lived there for several years, and made corn; and likewise on Bayou Chico, in the northern part of the district of Opelousas; there is another village of them, of about fifty men, who have been there for about nine years, and say they have the Governor of Louisiana's permission to settle there. Besides these, there are rambling hunting parties of them, to be met with all over lower Louisiana. They are at war with the Caddoquies, and liked by neither red nor white People.

**ARKANSAS.**—Live on the Arkansas river, south side, in three villages, about twelve miles above the post or station. The name of the first village is *Tawanima*, second *Ousolu*, and the third *Ocapa*; in all, it is believed, they do not at present exceed one hundred men, and diminishing. They are at war with the Osages, but friends with all other People, white and red; are the original proprietors of the country on that river, to all which they claim, for about 300 miles above them, to the junction of the river Cadron with Arkansas; above this fork the Osages claim; their language is Osage. They generally raise corn to sell; are called honest and friendly people.

The forementioned, are all the Indian tribes that I have any knowledge of, or can obtain an account of, in Louisiana, south of the river Arkansas, between the Mississippi and the river Grand; at Avoyelles, there did live a considerable tribe of that name, but, as far as I can learn, have been extinct for many years, two or three women excepted, who did lately live among the French inhabitants at Washita. There are a few of the Humas still living on the east side of the Mississippi, in Insussee parish, below Manchac, but scarcely exist as a nation.

That there are errors in these sketches, is not to be doubted; but in all cases out of my own personal knowledge, I have endeavored to procure the best information, which I have faithfully related; and I am confident, any errors that do exist, are too unimportant to affect the object for which they are intended.

I am, sir, &c. &c.

JOHN SIBLEY.

*Natchitoches, April 5, 1805.*

General H. DEARBORN.

NATCHITOCHEs, 10th April, 1805.

SIR:

You request me to give you some account of Red river, and the country adjacent; I will endeavor to comply with your request, to the best of my knowledge and capacity; my personal knowledge of it, is only from its mouth to about seventy or eighty miles above Natchitoches, being by the course of the river near four hundred miles. After that, what I can say of it is derived from information from others, on whose veracity I have great reliance, principally from Mr. Francis Grappe, who is my assistant, and interpreter of Indian languages; whose father was a French officer, and superintendent of Indian affairs, at a post or station occupied by France, where they kept some soldiers, and had a factory, previous to the cession of Louisiana to Spain; situated nearly five hundred miles, by the course of the river, above Natchitoches, where he, my informant, was born, and lived upwards of thirty years; his time, during which, being occupied alternately as an assistant to his father, an Indian trader and hunter; with the advantage of some learning, and a very retentive memory, acquired an accurate knowledge of the river, as well as the languages of all the different Indian tribes in Louisiana; which, with having been Indian interpreter, for the Spanish Government, for many years past, and (I believe) deservedly esteemed by the Indians, and all others, a man of strict integrity, has, for many years, and does now, possess their entire confidence, and a very extensive influence over them. And I have invariably found, that whatever information I have received from him, has been confirmed by every other intelligent person having a knowledge of the same, with whom I have conversed.

NOTE.—Contrary to geographical rules, as I ascended the river, I called the right bank the northern one, and the left the southern.

The confluence of Red river with the Mississippi is, by the course of the latter, estimated about two hundred and twenty miles from New Orleans. Descending the Mississippi, after passing the Spanish line at the thirty-first degree of north latitude, it makes a remarkable turn to the westward, or nearly northwest, for some distance before you arrive at the mouth of Red river, as though, notwithstanding the immense quantity of its waters, already, from its almost numberless tributary streams, it was still desirous of a farther augmentation, by hastening its union with Red river, (which perhaps is second only in dignity to it) that they might from thence flow on, and join the ocean together, which for many leagues is forced to give place to its mighty current. But there are reasons for believing the Red river did not always unite with the Mississippi, as it does at present; and that no very great length of time has elapsed, since the Mississippi left its ancient bed, some miles to the eastward, and took its course westwardly, for the purpose of intermarrying with Red river. The mouth of the Chaffali, which is now, properly speaking, one of the outlets of the river Mississippi to the ocean, is just below, in sight of the junction of Red river with the Mississippi, and, from its resemblance to Red river, in size, growth on its banks, appearance and texture of soil, and differing from that of the Mississippi, induces strongly the belief, that the Chaffali was once but the continuation of Red river to the ocean; and that it had in its bed no connexion with the Mississippi. There is no doubt but the Mississippi has alternately occupied different places in the low ground, through which it meanders almost from the high lands of one side, to those of the other, for the average space of nearly thirty miles. These two great rivers, happening to flow from a distance through the same mass of swamp, that annually is almost all inundated, it is not extraordinary that their channels should find their way together; the remarkable bend of the



Mississippi at this place, to the westward, seems to have been for the express purpose of forming this union; after which, it returns to its former course.

In the month of March, 1803, I ascended Red river from its mouth to Natchitoches, in an open boat, unless, when I chose to land, and walk across a point, or by the beauty of the river bank, the pleasantness of its groves, or the variety of its shrubs and flowers, I was invited ashore to gratify or please my curiosity. On entering the mouth of the river, found its waters turgid, of a red color, and of a brackish taste; and as the Mississippi was then falling, and Red river rising, found a current from its mouth upwards, varying considerably in places, but averaging about two miles an hour, for the first hundred miles, which at that time I found to be about the same in the Mississippi; but when that river is high, and Red river low, there is very little current in the latter, for sixty or seventy miles. The river for that distance is very crooked, increasing the distance by it, from a straight line, more than two-thirds, the general course of it nearly west: that I was able to ascertain, from hearing the morning gun at fort Adams, for three or four mornings after entering the river, which was not at the greatest height by about fourteen feet, and all the low grounds, for nearly seventy miles, entirely overflowed, like those of the Mississippi, which in fact is but a continuation of the same. Some places appeared, by the high water mark on the trees, to overflow not more than two or three feet, particularly the right bank, below the mouth of Black river, and the left bank above it; the growth, on the lowest places, willow and cotton wood, but on the highest, handsome oaks, swamp hickory, ash, grape-vines, &c. I made my calculation of our rate of ascent, and distances up the river, by my watch, noting carefully with my pencil the minute of our stops and settings off, the inlets and outlets, remarkable bends in the river, and whatever I observed any way remarkable. About six miles from the mouth of the river, left side, there is a bayou, as it is called, comes in, that communicates with a lake called lake Long, which by another bayou communicates again with the river, through which, when there is a swell in the river, boats can pass, and cut off about thirty miles, being only fourteen or fifteen through it, and about forty-five by the course of the river; and through the lake there is very little or no current, but the passage is intricate and difficult to find; a stranger should not attempt it without a pilot; people have been lost in it for several days; but not difficult for one acquainted; we, having no pilot on board to be depended on, kept the river. From the mouth of Red river, to the mouth of Black river, I made it thirty-one miles; the water of Black river is clear, and when contrasted with the water of Red river, has a black appearance. From the mouth of Black river, Red river makes a regular twining to the left, for about eighteen miles, called the Grand Bend, forming a segment of nearly three-fourths of a circle, when you arrive at the bayou, that leads into lake Long, which perhaps is in a right line, not exceeding fifteen miles from the mouth of the river. From bayou lake Long to Avoyelles landing, called Baker's landing, I made thirty-three miles, and the river is remarkably crooked. At this place the guns at fort Adams are distinctly heard, and the sound appears to be but little south of east; we came through a bayou called Silver bayou, that cut off, we understand, six miles; 'twas through the bayou about four miles. Until we arrived at Baker's landing, saw no spot of ground that did not overflow the high water marks, generally from three to fifteen feet above its banks. After passing Black river, the edge of the banks near the river are highest; the land falls from the river back. At Baker's landing I went ashore. I understood, from Baker's landing across the point, to La Glass' landing, was only three or four miles, and by water fifteen; but I found it six at least, and met with some difficulty in getting from where I landed to the high land, at Baker's house, for water; though at low water, it is a dry cart road, and less than a mile. I found Baker and his family very hospitable and kind; Mr. Baker told me he was a native of Virginia, and had lived there upwards of thirty years. He was living on a tolerable good high piece of land, not prairie, but joining it; after leaving Baker's house, was soon in sight of the prairie, which I understood is about forty miles in circumference, longer than it is wide, very level, only a few clumps of trees to be seen, all covered with good grass. The inhabitants are settled all around the out edge of it, by the woods, their houses facing inwards, and cultivate the prairie land; though the soil, when turned up with the plough, has a good appearance, what I could discover by the old corn and cotton stalks, they made but indifferent crops; the timbered land that I saw cleared and planted, produced the best; the prairie is better for grass than for planting. The inhabitants have considerable stocks of cattle, which appear to be their principal dependence, and I was informed their beef is of a superior quality; they have likewise good pork; hogs live very well; the timbered country all round the prairie is principally oak, that produces good mast for hogs; corn is generally scarce; they raise no wheat, for they have no mills. I was informed that the lower end of the prairie, that I did not see, was much the richest land, and the inhabitants lived better, and were more wealthy: they are a mixture of French, Irish, and Americans, generally poor and ignorant. Avoyelles, at high water, is an island, elevated thirty or forty feet above high water mark; the quantity of timbered land exceeds that of the prairie, which is likewise pretty level, but scarcely a second quality of soil. La Glass' landing, as it is called, I found about a mile and a half from the upper end of the prairie; the high lands bluff to the river. After leaving this place, found the banks rise higher and higher on each side, and fit for settlements; on the right side, pine woods sometimes in sight; I left the boat again, about eight miles from La Glass' landing, right side, walked two and an half miles across a point, to Mr. Hoome's; round the point is called sixteen miles. I found the lands through which I passed, high, moderately hilly; the soil a good second quality, clay, timber, large oak, hickory, some short leaved pine, and several small streams of clear running water. This description of lands extended back five or six miles, and bounded by open pine woods, which continue for thirty miles to Ocatahola. I found Mr. Hoome's house on a high bluff, very near the river; his plantation the same description of lands through which I had passed, producing good corn, cotton, and tobacco, and he told me he had tried it in wheat, which succeeded well, but having no mills to manufacture it, had only made the experiment; Mr. Hoomes told me all the lands round his, for many miles, were vacant. On the south side there is a large body of rich, low grounds, extending to the borders on Opelousas, watered and drained by Bayou Robert and Bayou Bœuf, two handsome streams of clear water, that rise in the high lands, between Red river and Sabine, and, after meandering through this immense mass of low grounds, of thirty or forty miles square, fall into the Chaffeli, to the southward of Avoyelles: I believe, in point of soil, growth of timber, goodness of water, and conveniency to navigation, there is not a more valuable body of land in this part of Louisiana. From Mr. Hoome's to the mouth of Rapide Bayou, is by the river thirty-five miles; a few scattering settlements on the right side, but none on the left; the right is preferred to settle on, on account of their stocks being convenient to the high lands; but the settlers on the right side own the lands on the left side too. The lands on the Bayou Rapide are the same quality as those on Bayou Robert and Bœuf, and in fact are a continuation of the same body of lands. Bayou Rapide is somewhat in the form of a half moon, the two points or horns meeting the river about twenty miles from each other; the length of the Bayou is about thirty miles; on the back of it there is a large Bayou falls in, on which there is a saw-mill, very advantageously situated in respect to a never failing supply of water, plenty of timber, and the plank can be taken from the mill tail by water. This Bayou is excellent water; rises in the pine woods, and discharges itself each way into the river by both ends of Bayou Rapide. Boats cannot pass through the Bayou from the river, to the river again, on account of rafts of timber choking the upper end of it; but can enter the lower end, and ascend it more than half through it. On the lower end of the Bayou, on each side, is the principal Rapide settlement, as it is called. No country whatever can exhibit handsomer plantations or better lands.

The Rapide is a fall or shoal, occasioned by a soft rock in the bed of the river, that extends from side to side; over which, for about five months in the year, viz: from July to December, there is not sufficient water for boats to pass without lightening; but at all other seasons it is the same as any other part of the river. This rock, or hard clay, for it resembles the latter almost as much as the former, is so soft it may be cut away with a penknife, or any sharp instrument, and scarcely turn the edge, and extends up and down the river but a few yards; and I have heard several intelligent persons give it as their opinion, that the extraordinary expense and trouble the inhabitants were at, in one year, in getting loaded boats over this shoal, would be more than sufficient to cut a passage through it: but it happens at a season of the year when the able planters are occupied at home, and would make no use of the river, were there no obstructions in it; but, at any rate, the navigation of the river is clear a longer proportion of the year than the rivers in the northern countries are clear of ice. But this obstruction is certainly removable at a very trifling expense, in comparison to the importance of having it done; and nothing but the nature of the Government we have lately emerged from, can be assigned as a reason for its not having been effected long ago.

After passing the rapids, there are very few settlements to be seen, on the main river, for about twenty miles, though both sides appeared, to me, to be capable of making as valuable settlements as any on the river; we arrive, then, at the Indian villages, on both sides situated exceedingly pleasant, and on the best lands. After passing which, you arrive at a large, beautiful plantation, of Mr. Gillard; the house is on a point of a high pine woods bluff, close to the river, sixty or seventy feet above the common surface of the country, overlooking, on the east, or opposite side, very extensive fields, of low grounds, in high cultivation, and a long reach of the river up and down; and there is an excellent spring of water issues from the bluff, on which the house is situated, from an aperture in the rock, that seems to have been cloven on purpose for it to flow; and, a small distance, back of the house, there is a lake of clear water, abounding with fish in summer, and fowl in winter. I have seen, in all my life, very few more beautiful or advantageously situated places.

Six miles above Mr. Gillard's, you arrive at the small village of Bolusca Indians, where the river is divided into two channels, forming an island of about fifty miles in length, and three or four in breadth; the right hand division is called the *Rigula de Bondieu*, on which are no settlements; but, I am informed, will admit of being well settled; the left hand division is the boat channel, at present, to Natchitoches; the other is, likewise, boatable. Ascending the left hand branch, for about twenty-four miles, we pass a thick settlement, and a number of wealthy inhabitants; this is called the River-cane settlement, called so, I believe, from the banks, some years ago, being a remarkably thick cane brake.

After passing this settlement, of about forty families, the river divides again, forming another island, of about thirty miles in length, and from two to four in breadth, called the *Ile Brevel*, after a reputable old man, now living in it, who first settled it. This island is sub-divided by a bayou, that communicates from one river to the other, called also Bayou Brevel. The middle division of the river is called Little river, and is thickly settled, and the best channel; the westward division of the river is called False river; is navigable, but not settled; the banks are too low; it passes through a lake called *Lac Accassa*. When you arrive at Natchitoches, you find it a small, irregular, and meanly built village, half a dozen houses excepted; on the west side of that division of the river it is on, the high pine and oak woods approach within two or three hundred yards of the river. In the village are about forty families; twelve or fifteen are merchants, or traders, nearly all French. The fort built by our troops, since their arrival, called fort Claiborne, is situated on a small hill, one street from the river, and about thirty feet higher than the river banks; all the hill is occupied by the fort and barracks, and does not exceed two acres of ground. The southern and eastern prospects from it are very beautiful; one has an extensive view of the fields and habitations down the river, and the other a similar view over the river, and of the whole village. This town, thirty or forty years ago, was much larger than at present, and situated on a hill about half a mile from its present site; then, most of the families of the district lived in the town; but finding it inconvenient, on account of the stocks and farms, they filed off, one after another, and settled up and down the river; the merchants and trading people, finding being on the bank of the river more convenient for loading and unloading their boats, left the hill on that account; and others, finding the river ground much superior for gardens, to which they are in the habit of paying great attention, followed the merchants; after them, the priests and commandant; then, the church and jail, (or Callaboose) and now nothing of the old town is left, but the form of their gardens and some ornamental trees. It is now a very extensive common of several hundred acres, entirely tufted with clover, and covered with sheep and cattle. The hill is a stiff clay, and used to make miry streets; the river soil, though much richer, is of a sandy loose texture; the streets are neither miry, nor very dirty. Our wells do not afford us good water, and the river water, in summer, is too brackish to drink, and never clear; our springs are about half a mile back from the river; but the inhabitants, many of them, have large cisterns, and use, principally, rain water, which is preferred to the spring water; the planters, along on the river, generally, use rain water; though, when the river is high, and the water taken up and settled, in large earthen jars, (which the Indian women make, of good quality, and at a moderate price) it can be drank tolerably well, but makes bad tea.

Near Natchitoches, there are two large lakes, one within a mile, the other six miles, to the nearest parts; one of them is fifty or sixty miles in circumference, the other upwards of thirty; these lakes rise and fall with the river. When the river is rising, the bayous that connect with the lakes run into the lakes, like a mill tail, till the lakes are filled; and when the river is falling, it is the same the contrary way, just like the tide, but only annual. On these creeks good mills might be erected; but the present inhabitants know nothing of mills by water, yet have excellent cotton gins, worked by horses. I do not know a single mechanic, in the district, who is a native of it, one tailor excepted; every thing of the kind is done by strangers, and mostly Americans. Though Natchitoches has been settled almost one hundred years, it is not more than twelve or fifteen years since they ever had a plough, or a flat to cross the river with; both which were introduced by an Irish Pennsylvanian, under a similar opposition to the Copernican system. 'Tis almost incredible the quantity of fish and fowl these lakes supply; it is not uncommon, in winter, for a single man to kill from two to four hundred fowl in one evening; they fly between sun-down and dark; the air is filled with them; they load and fire, as fast as they can, without taking any particular aim, continuing at the same stand, till they think they have killed enough, and then pick up what they have killed; they consist of several kinds of duck, geese, brant, and swan. In summer, the quantities of fish are nearly in proportion; one Indian will, with a bow and arrow, sometimes, kill them faster, than another, with two horses, can bring them in; they weigh, some of them, thirty or forty pounds. The lakes, likewise, afford plenty of shells for lime, and, at low water, the greater of them is a most luxuriant meadow, where the inhabitants fatten their horses. All around these, above high water mark, there is a body of rich land, generally wide enough for a field; on the bank of one of them there is plenty of stone coal and several quarries of tolerable good building stone; at high water, boats can go out of the river into them. Similar lakes are found, all along Red river, for five or six hundred miles; which, besides the uses already mentioned, nature seems to have provided as reservoirs for the immense quantity of water beyond what the banks of the river will contain; otherwise, no part of them could be inhabited; the low grounds, from hill to hill, would be inundated.

About twelve miles north of Natchitoches, on the north east side of the river, there is a large lake, called *Lac Moir*; the bayou of it communicates to the *Rigula de Bondieu*, opposite Natchitoches, which is boatable the greater part of the year. Near this lake are the salt works, from which all the salt, that is used in the district, is made; and which is made with so much ease that two old men, both of them cripples, with ten or twelve old pots and kettles, have, for several years past, made an abundant supply of salt for the whole district; they inform me that they make six bushels per day; I have not been at the place, but have a bottle of the water, brought to me, which I found nearly saturated; the salt is good; I never had better bacon than I make with it. I am informed there are twelve saline springs now open; and by digging for them, for aught any one knows, twelve hundred might be opened. A few months ago, Captain Burnet, of the Mississippi territory, coming to this place by Washington, came by the salt works, and purchased the right of one of the old men he found there, and has, lately, sent up a boat, with some large kettles and some negroes, under the direction of his son; and expects, when they get all in order, to be able to make thirty or forty bushels a day. Captain Burnet is of opinion that he shall be able to supply the Mississippi territory, and the settlements on Mississippi, from Point Coupée, upwards, lower than they can get it in New Orleans and bring it up. Cathartic salts and magnesia might, likewise, be made, in large quantities, if they understood it. The country all round the Saline and Black lake is vacant; and from thence to Washita, a distance of 120 miles, which, I am informed, affords considerable quantities of well timbered good uplands, and well watered. There is a small stream, we cross, on the Washita road, the English call *Little river*, the French *Dogûmona*, affording a wide rich bottom; this stream falls into the Acatahola lake; from thence to Washita, it is called Acatahola river; its course is eastwardly, and falls into Washita, near the mouth of Tensaw, where the road, from Natchitoches to Natchez, crosses it; from the confluence of these three rivers, downwards, it is called Black river, which falls into Red river, sixty miles below. There is a good salt spring near the Acatahola lake.

Ascending Red river, above Natchitoches, in about three miles, arrive at the upper mouth of the *Rigula de Bondieu*; there are settlements all along, plantations adjoining. From the upper mouth of the *Rigula de Bondieu*, the river is in one channel through the settlement of Grand Ecore, of about six miles; it is called Grand Ecore,



(or, in English, the Great Bluff) being such an one on the left hand side, near one hundred feet high. The face, next the river, almost perpendicular, of a soft, white rock; the top, a grand loam, of considerable extent, on which grow large oaks, hickory, black cherry, and grape vines. At the bottom of one of these bluffs, for there are two near each other, is a large quantity of stone-coal, and, near them, several springs of the best water in this part of the country; and a lake of clear water within two hundred yards, bounded by a gravelly margin. I pretend to have no knowledge of military tactics, but think, from the river in this place being all in one channel, the goodness of the water, a high, healthy country, and well timbered all round it, no height, near it, so high, its commanding the river, and a very public ferry just under it, and at a small expense, would be capable of great defence with a small force. The road from it to the westward, better than from Natchitoches, and, by land, only about five miles above it, and, near it, plenty of good building stone. These advantages it possesses beyond any other place, within my knowledge, on the river, for a strong fort, and safe place of deposit. Just above the bluff, the river makes a large bend to the right, and a long reach nearly due east and west by it; the bluff overlooks, on the opposite side, several handsome plantations. I have been induced, from the advantages this place appeared to me to possess, to purchase it, with four or five small settlements adjoining it, including both bluffs, the ferry, springs, and lake, the stone quarries, and coal; and a field of about five hundred acres of the best low grounds, on the opposite side. After leaving Grand Ecore, about a mile, on the east side, comes in a large bayou, from the Spanish lake, as it is called, boatable the greater part of the year. This lake is said to be about fifty miles in circumference, and rises and falls with the river, into which, from the river, the largest boats may ascend, and from it, up the mouths of several large bayous that fall into it, for some distance; one, in particular; called bayou Dupong, up which boats may ascend within one and a half mile of old fort Adaize. Leaving this bayou about two miles, arrive at a fork or division of the river; the left hand branch bears westwardly for sixty or 80 miles; the eastwardly meeting the branch it left, after forming an island of about one hundred miles long, and, in some places, nearly thirty miles wide. Six or seven years ago, boats used to pass this way into the main river again, its communication with which being above the great raft or obstruction; but it is now choked, and requires a portage of three miles; but, at any season, boats can go from Natchitoches, about eighty miles, to the place called the point, where the French had a factory, and a small station of soldiers, to guard the Indian trade, and is now, undoubtedly, a very eligible situation for a similar establishment. The country bounded to the east and north, by this branch or division of the river, is called the bayou Pierre settlement, which was begun, and some of the lands granted, before Louisiana was ceded to Spain by France, and continued under the jurisdiction of the commandant of Natchitoches until about twenty years ago, when, by an agreement between a Mr. Vogene, the commandant of this place, and a Mr. Eliberbe, commandant at Natchitoches, the settlement called bayou Pierre was placed under the jurisdiction of the latter, and has so continued ever since. The settlement, I believe, contains about forty families, and, generally, they have large stocks of cattle; they supply us with our cheese entirely, and of a tolerable quality, and we get from them some excellent bacon hams.

The country is interspersed with prairies, resembling, as to richness, the river bottoms, and in size from five to five thousand acres. The hills are a good grey soil, and produce very well, and afford beautiful situations. The creek called Bayou Pierre (Stony creek) passes through the settlement, and affords a number of good mill seats, and its bed and banks lined with a good kind of building stone; but no mills are erected on it. Some of the inhabitants have tried the uplands in wheat, which succeeded well; they are high, gently rolling, and rich enough; produce good corn, cotton, and tobacco. I was through the settlement in July last, and found good water, either from a spring or well, at every house. The inhabitants are all French, one family excepted. A few miles to the westward, towards Sabine, there is a saline where the inhabitants go and make their salt. On the whole, for health, good water, good living, plenty of food, and every kind of animal, general conveniency, and handsome surface, I have seen few parts of the world more inviting to settlers.

Returning back again to the fork of the main river we left, for the purpose of exploring the Bayou Pierre branch, we find irregular settlements, including Compti, where a few families are settled together on a hill near the river, northeast side. For about twenty miles, the river land is much the same every where; but the Compti settlement is more broken with bayous and lagoons than any place I am acquainted with on the river; and for want of about a dozen bridges, is inconvenient to get to, or travel through. The upper end of this settlement is the last on the main branch of Red river, which, straight by land, does not exceed twenty-five miles above Natchitoches. At the Upper House, the great raft or jam of timber begins; this raft chokes the main channel for upwards of one hundred miles by the course of the river; not one entire jam from the beginning to the end of it, but only at the point, with places of several leagues that are clear. The river is very crooked, and the low grounds are wide and rich; and I am informed no part of Red river will afford better plantations than along its banks by this raft, which is represented as being so important as to render the country above it of little value for settlements. This opinion is founded entirely upon incorrect information. The first or lowest part of the raft is at a point or bend in the river, just below the upper plantation; at which, on the right side, a large bayou, or division of the river, called Bayou Channo, comes in, which is free of any obstructions; and, the greater part of the year, boats of any size may ascend it into lake Bistino, through which, to its communication with the lake, is only about three miles; the lake is about sixty miles long, and lies nearly parallel with the river; from the upper end of which it communicates again with the river, by a bayou called Daichet, about forty miles above the upper end of the raft; from the lake to the river, through bayou Daichet, is called nine miles; there is always in this bayou sufficient water for any boat to pass; from thence, upwards, Red river is free of all obstructions to the mountains. By lake Bistino and these two bayous an island is formed, about seventy miles long, and three or four wide, capable of affording settlements inferior to none on the river. From the above account you will perceive, that the only difficulty in opening a boat passage by this raft, through the lake, which is much shorter than by the course of the river, and avoid the current, and, indeed, was the river unobstructed, would always be preferred, is this small jam of timber at the point, just below the bayou Channo, as it is called. After the receipt of your letter, I had an opportunity of seeing some of the inhabitants who live near this place, who informed me that that small raft was easily broken, and that they had lately been talking of doing it. I persuaded them to make the attempt, and they accordingly appointed the Friday following, and all the neighbors were to be invited to attend, and assist. They met accordingly, and effected a passage next to one bank of the river, so that boats could pass; but did not entirely break it; they intend to take another spell at it, when the water falls a little, and speak confidently of succeeding.

The country about the head of lake Bistino is highly spoken of, as well the high lands as the river bottom. There are falling into the river, and lake in the vicinity, some handsome streams, of clear wholesome water, from towards Washita, one in particular, called bayou Badkah by the Indians, which is boatable at some seasons; this bayou passes through a long, narrow, and rich prairie, on which, my informant says, five hundred families might be desirably settled. And from thence up to where the Caddoes lately lived, the river banks are high, bottoms wide and rich as any other part of the river; from thence, it is much the same to the mouth of the Little river at the left. This river is generally from fifty to a hundred yards wide, heads in the great prairies south of Red river, and interlocks with the head branches of the Sabine and Trinity rivers, and in times of high water is boatable forty or fifty leagues, affording a large body of excellent, well timbered, and rich land; the low grounds from three to six miles wide. But the quality of the water, though clear, is very inferior to that of the streams that fall into Red river on the north side. The general course of Red river from this upwards is nearly from west to east, till we arrive at the Panis towns, when it turns northwardly. After leaving the mouth of the little river of the left, both banks are covered with strong thick cane, for about twenty miles; the low grounds very wide, rich, and do not overflow; the river widening in proportion as the banks are less liable to overflow; you arrive at a handsome rich prairie, twenty-five miles long, on the right side, and four or five miles wide, bounded by handsome oak and hickory woods, mixed with some short leaved pine, interspersed with pleasant streams and fountains of water. The opposite, or left side, is a continuation of thick cane; the river, or low lands, ten or twelve miles wide. After leaving the prairie, the cane continues for about forty miles; you then arrive at another prairie, called Little Prairie, left side, about five miles in length, and from two to three in breadth; opposite side continues cane as before; low grounds wide, well timbered,

very rich, and overflow but little; the river still widening. Back of the low grounds is a well timbered, rich, upland country, gently rolling, and well watered. From the little prairie, both banks cane for ten or twelve miles, when the oak and pine woods come bluff to the river for about five miles; left hand side, cane as before, then the same on both sides, from ten to twenty miles wide, for about fifteen miles, when the cedar begins on both sides, and is the principal growth on the wide, rich river bottom, for forty miles. In all the world there is scarcely to be found a more beautiful growth of cedar timber; they, like the cedars of Libanus, are large, lofty, and straight.

You now arrive at the mouth of the little river of the right. This river is about one hundred and fifty yards wide; the water clear as chrystal; the bottom of the river stony, and is boatable, at high water, up to the great prairies, near two hundred miles by the course of the river; the low grounds generally from ten to fifteen miles wide, abounding with the most luxuriant growth of rich timber, but subject to partial inundation at particular rainy seasons. After leaving this river, both banks of Red river are cane, as before, for about twenty miles, when you come to the round prairie, right side, about five miles in circumference. At this place, Red river is fordable at low water; a hard stony bottom, and is the first place from its mouth where it can be forded. This round prairie is high and pleasant, surrounded by handsome oak and hickory uplands; left side, cane as before, and then the same both sides for twenty miles, to the long prairie, left side, forty miles long; opposite, cane as before. Near the middle of this prairie, there is a lake of about five miles in circumference, in an oval form, neither tree or shrub near it, nor stream of water running either in or out of it; it is very deep, and the water so limpid that a fish may be seen fifteen feet from the surface. By the side of this lake the Caddoques have lived from time immemorial. About one mile from the lake is the hill on which, they say, the Great Spirit placed one Caddo family, who were saved when, by a general deluge, all the world were drowned; from which family all the Indians have originated. To this little, natural eminence, all the Indian tribes, as well as the Caddoques, for a great distance, pay a devout and sacred homage. Here the French, for many years before Louisiana was ceded to Spain, had erected a small fort, kept some soldiers to guard a factory they had here established for the Indian trade, and several French families were settled in the vicinity, built a flour mill, and cultivated wheat successfully for several years; and it is only a few years ago that the mill irons and mill stones were brought down. It is about twenty-five years since those French families moved down, and fourteen years since the Caddoques left it. Here is another fording place when the river is low. On the opposite side, a point of high oak, hickory, and pine land comes bluff to the river for about a mile; after which, thick cane to the upper end of the prairie; then the same on both sides for about twelve miles; then prairie on the left side for twenty miles; opposite side cane; then the same for thirty miles; then an oak high bluff three miles; cane again for about the same distance on both sides; then, for about one league, left side, is a beautiful grove of pecans, intermixed with no other growth; after which cane both sides for forty miles; then prairie, left side, for twenty miles, and from one to two miles only in breadth; about the middle of which comes in a bayou of clear running water about fifty feet wide; then cane again both sides of the river for about forty miles; then, on the right side, a point of high pine woods, bluff to the river for about half a mile; cane again fifteen or sixteen miles; then a bluff of large white rocks for about half a mile, near a hundred feet high; cane again about forty-five miles, to a prairie on the right side, of about thirty miles long, and twelve or fifteen miles wide; there is a thin skirt of wood along the bank of the river, that, when the leaves are on the trees, the prairie is, from the river, scarcely to be seen. From the upper end of this prairie, it is thick cane for about six miles, when we arrive at the mouth of Bayou Galle, which is on the right side, about thirty yards wide, a beautiful, clear, running stream of wholesome well-tasted water; after passing which, it is thick cane again for twenty-five miles, when we arrive at a river that falls in on the right side, which is called by the Indians *Kiomitchie*, and by the French *La Riviere la Mine*, or Mine river, which is about one hundred and fifty yards wide, the water clear and good, and is boatable about sixty miles to the silver mine, which is on the bank of the river, and the ore appears in large quantities, but the richness of it is not known. The Indians inform of their discovering another, about a year ago, on a creek that empties into the *Kiomitchie*, about three miles from its mouth, the ore of which, they say, resembles the other. The bottom land of this river is not wide, but rich; the adjoining high lands are rich, well timbered, well watered and situated. About the mine the current of the river is too strong for boats to ascend it, the country being hilly. After passing the *Kiomitchie*, both banks of the river are covered with thick cane for twenty-five miles, then, left side, a high pine bluff appears again to the river for about half a mile; after which nothing but cane again on each side for about forty miles, which brings you to the mouth of a handsome bayou, left side, called by the Indians *Nahaucha*, which, in English, means the Kick; the French call it *Bois d'Arc*, or Bow-wood creek, from the large quantity of that wood that grows upon it. On this bayou, trappers have been more successful in catching beaver than on any other water of Red river; it communicates with a lake, three or four miles from its mouth, called Swan lake, from the great number of swans that frequent it. It is believed that this bayou is boatable, at high water, for twenty or thirty leagues, from what I have been informed by some hunters with whom I have conversed, who have been upon it. The low grounds are from three to six miles wide, very rich; the principal growth on it is the *bois d'arc*. The great prairies approach pretty near the low grounds on each side of this creek; leaving which it is cane both sides for about eight miles, when we arrive at the mouth of the *Vazzures*, or *Boggy* river, which is about two hundred yards wide, soft miry bottom, the water whitish, but well tasted. Attempts have been made to ascend it in pirogues, but it was found to be obstructed by a raft of logs, about twenty miles up it. The current was found to be gentle, and depth of water sufficient; was the channel not obstructed, might be ascended far up it. The low grounds on this river are not as wide as on most of the rivers that fall into Red river, but very rich; the high lands are a strong clay soil; the principal growth oak. After leaving this river the banks of Red river are alternately cane and prairie; timber is very small and scattered along only in places; it is now only to be seen along the water courses. From the *Boggy* river to the Blue river is about fifty miles, which comes in on the right side. The water of this river is called *blue*, from its extreme transparency; it is said to be well tasted, and admired, for its quality, to drink. The bed of this river is lined generally with black and greyish flint stones; it is about fifty yards wide, and represented as a beautiful stream; pirogues ascend it about sixty or seventy miles. The low grounds of Blue river are a good width for plantations, very rich; the growth pecan, and every species of walnut. The whole country here, except on the margin of the water courses, is one immense prairie. After passing this river, copses of wood only are to be seen here and there along the river bank for about twenty-five miles, to a small turbid river, called by the Indians *Bahachaha*, and by the French *Fauxacheta*; some call it the Missouri branch of Red river; it emits a considerable quantity of water; runs from north to south, and falls into Red river, nearly at right angles, and heads near the head of the Arkansas, and is so brackish it cannot be drank. On this river, and on a branch of the Arkansas, not far from it, the Indians find the salt rock; pieces of it have often been brought to Natchitoches by hunters, who procured it from the Indians.

From the mouth of this river, through the prairie, to the main branch of the Arkansas, is three days journey, perhaps sixty or seventy miles in a straight line; from this to the Panis or Towiache towns, by land, is about thirty miles, and by water, double the distance; the river is near a mile wide. The country on each side, for many hundreds of miles, is all prairie, except a skirt of wood along the river bank, and on the small streams; what trees there are, are small; the grass is green, summer and winter. In between thirty-three and thirty-four degrees of north latitude, the soil is very rich, producing luxuriantly every thing that is planted in it. The river from this upwards, for one hundred and fifty miles, continues at least a mile wide, and may be ascended in pirogues.

Mr. Grappe, to whom I am indebted for the foregoing accurate description of Red river, informed me, that his personal knowledge of it did not extend but little above the Panis towns; but Mr. Brevel, of the Isle Brevel, who was born at the Caddo old towns, where he was, had been further up it; and that whatever account he gave me, might be relied on.

I therefore sought an opportunity, a few days after, to obtain from Mr. Brevel the following narrative, which I wrote down from his own mouth as he related it:

"About forty years ago, I sat off on foot, from the Panis nation (who then lived about fifty leagues above where they now live) in company with a party of young Indian men, with whom I had been partly raised, on a hunting voyage, and to procure horses. We kept up on the south side of Red river, as near it as we could conveniently cross the small streams that fell in, sometimes at some distance, and at others very near it, in sight of it. We found

the country all prairie, except small copses of wood, cedar, cotton or musketo, amongst which, a stick six inches in diameter, could not be found; the surface becoming more and more light, sandy, and hilly, with ledges of cliffs of a greyish sandy rock, but every where covered with herbage. We found many small streams falling into the river, but none of any considerable size, or that discharged much water in dry seasons, but many deep gulleys formed by the rain water. After travelling for several days over a country of this description, the country became more broken, the hills rising into mountains, amongst which, we saw a great deal of rock salt, and an ore, the Indians said was my (meaning the white people's) treasure; which I afterwards learnt was silver; and that amongst these mountains of mines, we often heard a noise like the explosion of cannon, or distant thunder, which the Indians said was the spirit of the white people, working in their treasure; which I afterwards was informed, was the blowing of the mines, as it is called, which is common in all parts of Spanish America where mines exist. The main branch of the river becoming smaller, till it divided into large innumerable streams, that issued out of the valleys amongst these mountains; the soil very light and sandy, of a reddish grey color. We travelled on from the top of one mountain to the top of another, in hopes the one we were ascending was always the last, till the small streams we met with ran the contrary way, towards the setting sun, and the lands declined that way. We continued on till the streams enlarged into a river of considerable size, and the country became level, well timbered, the soil rich black loam; the waters were all clear and well tasted. Here we found a great many different tribes of the Hietan, Apaches, and Concee Indians; we likewise fell in with them frequently, from the time we had been a few days out from the Panis towns, and were always treated kindly by them.

"I believe the distance from the Panis towns to where we saw the last of Red river, is at least a hundred leagues; and that in crossing over the ridge, we saw no animals that were not common in all the interior of Louisiana, except the spotted tiger, and a few white bears. After spending some days on the Western waters, we set off for the settlements of Santa Fé; steering nearly a southeast course, and in a few days, were out of the timbered country into prairie; the country became broken and hilly; the waters all running westwardly; the country clothed with a very luxuriant herbage, and frequently passing mines of silver ore. We arrived, at length, at a small meanly built town, in the Santa Fé settlement, containing about one hundred houses, round which were some small cultivated fields, fenced round with small cedars, and musketo brush wattled in stakes; this little town was on a small stream of water that ran westwardly, that in a dry season did scarcely run at all; and that the inhabitants were obliged to water their cattle from wells; and I understand, that the Bayou upon which this town is situated, was no part of Rio Grande, but fell into the Western ocean; but of that I might have been mistaken. I understood that similar small towns or missions were within certain distances of each other, for a great extent southwardly, towards Mexico, and that the inhabitants were mostly christianised Indians and Maitiffs; that the mines in that settlement afforded very rich ore, which was taken away in large quantities, packed on mules, and had the same appearance of what we met with, about the head branches of Red river. After furnishing ourselves with horses at this place, we sat off again for the Panis towns, from whence we started; steering at first southwardly, in order to avoid a high mountainous country that is difficult to cross, that lies between Santa Fé and Red river; after travelling some distance south, we turned our course again northeastwardly, and arrived at the Panis towns in eighteen days from the day we left Santa Fé settlements, and in three months and twenty days from the time we started."

He is of the opinion that, from the Panis towns to Santa Fé, in a right line, is nearly three hundred miles; and all the country prairie, a few scattering cedar knobs excepted. After he had finished his narrative, I asked him how far Red river was boatable. He said, not much above the Panis old towns; not that he knew of any particular falls or obstructions, but that the head branches of the river came from steep mountains, on which the rain often poured down in torrents, and runs into the river with such velocity, sweeping along with it large quantities of loose earth, of which these hills and mountains are composed, that it rolls like a swell in the sea, and would either sink or carry along with it, any boat that it might meet in the river. But, he observed at the same time, that his opinion was founded on no experiment that he had ever known made. I asked him, if the Indians had no pirogues high up in the river. He told me, that the Indians there knew nothing of the use of them; for instead of their being, for hundreds of miles, a tree large enough for a canoe, one could scarcely be found large enough to make a fowl trough. I asked him what animals were found in the great prairies. He told me, that from Blue river, upwards, on both sides of Red river, there were innumerable quantities of wild horses, buffalo, bears, wolves, elk, deer, foxes, sangers or wild hogs, antelope, white hares, rabbits, &c. and on the mountains, the spotted tiger, panther, and wild cat. He farther told me, that, about twenty-three years ago, he was employed by the Governor of St. Antoine, to go from that place into some of the Indian nations who lived towards Santa Fé, who were at war with the Spaniards, to try to make a peace with them, and bring in some of the chiefs to St. Antoine. He sat off from that place with a party of soldiers, and was to have gone to Santa Fé; they passed on a northwardly course for about two hundred miles, but after getting into the great prairie, being a dry season, they were forced to turn back, for want of water for themselves and horses, and that he does not know how near he went to Santa Fé, but believes he might have been half way.

The accounts given by Mr. Brevel, Mr. Grappe, and all other hunters with whom I have conversed, of the immense droves of animals that, at the beginning of winter, descend from the mountains down southwardly, into the timbered country, is almost incredible. They say the buffalo and bear particularly, are in droves of many thousands together, that blacken the whole surface of the earth, and continue passing, without intermission, for weeks together, so that the whole surface of the country is, for many miles in breadth, trodden like a large road.

I am, sir, &c.

JOHN SIBLEY.

To General HENRY DEARBORN, *Secretary of War.*

*Distances up Red river, by the course of the river.*

	<i>Miles.</i>		<i>Miles.</i>
From the mouth of Red river to Black river,	31	Through Bayou Diachet to the river again,	9
To Baker's landing, lower end Avoyelles,	51	Late Caddo villages, where they lived five years ago,	80
La Glass' do. upper end do.	15		— 197
Rice's, - - - - -	6	Little river of the left, - - - - -	80
Hoome's, - - - - -	18	Long prairie, right side, - - - - -	25
Nicholas Grubb's, - - - - -	21	Upper end of ditto, - - - - -	25
Mouth of Bayou Rapide, - - - - -	15	Little prairie, left side, - - - - -	40
	— 157	Upper end, ditto, - - - - -	5
Indian villages, - - - - -	22	Pine bluff, right side, - - - - -	12
Mount Pleasant, Gillard's place,	7	Upper end, ditto, - - - - -	5
Mouth of Rigula de Bondieu, - - - - -	6	Cedars, - - - - -	15
Mounett's plantation, - - - - -	10	Upper end ditto and mouth of Little river of the right,	40
Mouth of Little River, - - - - -	24		— 247
Bayou Brevel, - - - - -	20	Round prairie, right side (first fording place) - - - - -	20
Natchitoches, - - - - -	20	Lower end of long prairie, left side, - - - - -	25
	— 109	Upper end ditto, - - - - -	40
Grand Ecore, - - - - -	10	Next prairie, same side, - - - - -	13
Compti, - - - - -	20	Upper end of the same, - - - - -	20
Bayou Channo, - - - - -	15	Three mile oak and pine bluff,	30
Lake Bistino, through Bayou Channo,	3		
Through lake Bistino to the upper end of Channo, - - - - -	60		

	Miles.		Miles.
Pecan grove, - - - - -	9	Panis or Towiache old towns, - - -	150
Upper end of the same, - - - - -	6	Head branch of Red river, or dividing ridge, 300	300
	— 162		— 603
Prairie next above the Pecan's,	40		
Upper end of the same, - - - - -	25		1,771.
Pine bluff right side, - - - - -	45	To which may be added for so much the	
White rock bluff, - - - - -	15	distance being shortened, by going through	
Next prairie, right side, - - - - -	45	lake Bristino, than the course of the river,	60
Upper end, ditto, - - - - -	30		—
Bayou Galle, right side, - - - - -	6		1,831
Mouth of Kiomitchie, or Mine river,	25	Computed length of Red river, from where	
Pine Bluff left side, - - - - -	25	it falls into the Mississippi, to which add	
Bayou Kick or Bois d'arc, - - - - -	40	the distance from the mouth of Red river	
	— 296	to the ocean, by either the Mississippi or	
The Vazzures, or Boggy river, right side,	8	the Chaffeli, which was once probably the	
Blue river, right side, - - - - -	50	mouth of Red river, - - - - -	320
Faux Ouachita, a Missouri branch, - - -	25		—
Panis or Towiache towns, - - - - -	70	Total length of Red river, miles,	2,151

*A description of the Washita river, in Louisiana, and the country bordering thereon.—Compiled from the Journals of William Dunbar, Esq. and Dr. Hunter.*

Observations made in a voyage, commencing at St. Catherine's landing, on the east bank of the Mississippi, proceeding downwards to the mouth of the Red river; and from thence, ascending that river, the Black river, and the Washita river, as high as the Hot Springs, in the proximity of the last mentioned river. Extracted from the journals of William Dunbar, Esquire, and Doctor Hunter.

Mr. Dunbar, Dr. Hunter, and the party employed by the United States, to make a survey of, and explore, the country traversed by the Washita river, left St. Catherine's Landing, on the Mississippi, in latitude  $31^{\circ} 26' 30''$ , north, and longitude  $6h. 5' 56''$ , west, from the meridian of Greenwich, on Tuesday, the 16th of October, 1804. A little distance below St. Catherine's creek, and five leagues from Natchez, they passed the White cliffs, composed chiefly of white sand, surmounted by pine, and from one hundred to two hundred feet high. When the waters of the Mississippi are low, the base of the cliff is uncovered; which consists of different colored clays, and some beds of ochre, over which there lies, in places, a thin lamina of iron ore. Small springs, possessing a petrifying quality, flow over the clay and ochre; and numerous logs and pieces of timber, converted into stone, are strewed about the beach. Fine pure argil, of various colors, chiefly white and red, is found here.

On the 17th, they arrived at the mouth of Red river, the confluence of which, with the Mississippi, agreeably to the observations made by M. de Ferrer, lies in latitude  $31^{\circ} 1' 15''$ , north, and longitude  $6h. 7' 11''$ , west of Greenwich. Red river is here about five hundred yards wide, and without any sensible current. The banks of the river are clothed with willow; the land low, and subject to inundation, to the height of thirty feet, or more, above the level of the water at this time. The mouth of the Red river is accounted to be seventy five leagues from New Orleans, and three miles higher up than the Chafalayas or Opelousas river, which was probably a continuation of the Red river when its waters did not unite with those of the Mississippi but during the inundation.

On the 18th, the survey of the Red river was commenced, and, on the evening of the 19th, the party arrived at the mouth of the Black river, in latitude  $31^{\circ} 15' 48''$ , north, and about twenty-six miles from the Mississippi. The Red river derives its name from the rich fat earth, or marl of that color, borne down by the floods; the last of which appeared to have deposited on the high bank a stratum, upwards of half an inch in thickness. The vegetation on its banks is surprisingly luxuriant, no doubt owing to the deposition of marl, during its annual floods. The willows grow to a good size; but other forest trees are much smaller than those seen on the banks of the Mississippi. As you advance up the river, it gradually narrows; in latitude  $31^{\circ} 8'$ , north, it is about two hundred yards wide, which width is continued to the mouth of Black river; where, each of them appears one hundred and fifty yards across. The banks of the river are covered with pea vine, and several sorts of grass bearing seed, which geese and ducks eat very greedily; and there are generally seen willows growing on one side, and, on the other, a small growth of black oak, packawn, hickory, elm, &c. The current in the Red river is so moderate, as scarcely to afford an impediment to its ascent.

On sounding the Black river, a little above its mouth, there was found twenty feet of water, with a bottom of black sand. The water of Black river is rather clearer than that of the Ohio, and of a warm temperature, which it may receive from the water flowing into it from the valley of the Mississippi, particularly by the Catahoola. At noon, on the 23d, by a good meridian observation, they ascertained their latitude to be  $30^{\circ} 36' 29''$ , north, and were then a little below the mouths of the Catahoola, Washita, and Bayou Tensa, the united waters of which form the Black river. The current is very gentle the whole length of the Black river, which, in many places, does not exceed eighty yards in width. The banks on the lower part of the river present a great luxuriance of vegetation and rank grass, with red and black oak, ash, packawn, hickory, and some elms.\* The soil is black marl, mixed with a moderate proportion of sand, resembling much the soil on the Mississippi banks; yet, the forest trees are not lofty, like to those on the margin of the Great river, but resembling the growth on the Red river. In latitude  $31^{\circ} 22' 46''$ , north, they observed that canes grew on several parts of the right bank; a proof that the land is not deeply overflowed; perhaps from one to three feet. The banks have the appearance of stability, very little willow, or other productions of a newly formed soil, being seen on either side. On advancing up the river, the timber becomes larger, some places rising to the height of forty feet; yet, the land is liable to be inundated, not from the waters of this small river, but from the intrusion of its more powerful neighbor, the Mississippi. The lands decline rapidly, as in all alluvial countries, from the margin to the Cypress swamps, where more or less water stagnates all the year round.

On the 21st, they passed a small, but elevated island, said to be the only one on this river, for more than one hundred leagues ascending. On the left bank, near this island, a small settlement, of a couple of acres, has been begun by a man and his wife. The banks are not less than forty feet above the present level of the water in the river, and are but rarely overflowed: on both sides they are clothed with rich cane-brake, pierced by creeks, fit to carry boats during the inundation.

\* Among the plants growing on the margin of the river, is the China root, used in medicine, and the cantac, occasionally used by the hunters for food; the last has a bulbous root, ten times the size of a man's fist. In preparing it, they first wash it clean from earth, then pound it well, and add water to the mass, and stir it up; after a moment's settlement, the water and fecula is poured off. This operation is repeated till it yields no more fecula, the fibrous part only being left, which is thrown away as useless. The water is then poured from the sediment, which is dried in the sun, and will keep a long time. It is reduced into powder, and mixed with Indian meal or flour, and makes wholesome and agreeable food. The labor is performed by the women whilst they are keeping the camp, and their husbands are in the woods hunting.

They saw many cormorants, and the hooping crane; geese and ducks are not yet abundant, but are said to arrive in myriads with the rains, and winter's cold. They shot a fowl of the duck kind, whose web-foot was partially divided, and the body covered with a bluish or leadcolored plumage. On the morning of the 22d, they observed green matter floating on the river, supposed to come from the Catahoola, and other lakes and bayous of stagnant water, which, when raised a little by rain, flow into the Black river; and, also, many patches of an aquatic plant, resembling small islands; some floating on the surface, and others adhering to, or resting on, the shore and logs. On examining this plant, it was found to have a hollow jointed stem, with roots of the same form, extremely light, with very narrow willow-shaped leaves projecting from the joint, embracing, however, the whole of the tube, and extending to the next inferior joint or knot: the extremity of each branch is terminated by a spike of very slender narrow seminal leaves, from one to two inches in length, and one-tenth, or less, in breadth, producing its seed on the underside of the leaf, in a double row, almost in contact; the grains alternately placed in perfect regularity. Not being able to find the flower, its class and order could not be determined, although it is not probably new. Towards the upper part of the Black river, the shore abounded with muscles and periwinkles. The muscles were of the kind called pearl muscles: the men dressed and ate a quantity of them, considering them as an agreeable food; but Mr. D. found them tough and unpalatable.

On arriving at the mouth of the Catahoola, they landed to procure information from a Frenchman settled there. Having a grant from the Spanish Government, he has made a small settlement, and keeps a ferry-boat, for carrying over men and horses, travelling to or from Natchez, and the settlements on Red river, and on the Washita river. The country here, is all alluvial. In process of time, the rivers shutting up ancient passages, and elevating the banks over which their waters pass, no longer communicate with the same facility as formerly; the consequence is, that many large tracts, formerly subject to inundation, are now entirely exempt from that inconvenience. Such is the situation of a most valuable tract upon which this Frenchman is settled; his house stands on an Indian mount, with several others in view; there is, also, a species of rampart, surrounding this place, and one very elevated mount, a view and description of which is postponed till the return, their present situation not allowing of the requisite delay. The soil is equal to the best Mississippi bottoms; there is an embankment running from the Catahoola to Black river, (enclosing about 200 acres of rich land) at present about 10 feet high, and 50 feet broad; this surrounds four large mounds of earth, at the distance of a bow shot from each other; each of which may be 20 feet high, 100 feet broad, and 300 feet long on the top; besides a stupendous turret, situate on the back part of the whole, or farthest from the water, whose base covers about an acre of ground, rising by two steps or stories tapering in the descent; the whole surmounted by a great cane, with its top cut off. This tower of earth, on a measurement, was found to be 80 feet perpendicular.

They obtained from the French settler, the following list of distances between the mouth of Red river and the post on the Washita, called fort Miro:

From the mouth of Red river to the mouth of Black river,	-	-	-	10 leagues.
To the mouth of the Catahoola, Washita, and Tensa,	-	-	-	22 "
To the river Ha-ha, on the right	-	-	-	1 "
To the Prairie de Villemont, on the same side,	-	-	-	5 "
To the Bayou Louis, on the same; rapids here,	-	-	-	1 "
To Bayou Bœuf, on the same side	-	-	-	4 "
To the Prairie Noyu, (drown'd Savanna)	-	-	-	3 "
To Pine Point, on the left,	-	-	-	4½ "
To Bayou Calumet,	-	-	-	3½ "
To the Coal-mine on the right, and Gypsum on opposite shore,	-	-	-	3 "
To the first settlement,	-	-	-	12 "
To fort Miro,	-	-	-	22 "
				—
				Leagues, 91

From this place, they proceeded to the mouth of the Washita, in latitude 35° 37' 7" N. and encamped on the evening of the 23d.

This river derives its appellation from the name of an Indian tribe, formerly resident on its banks; the remnant of which, it is said, went into the great plains to the Westward, and either compose a small tribe themselves, or are incorporated into another nation. The Black river loses its name at the junction of the Washita, Catahoola, and Tensa, although our maps represent it as taking place of the Washita. The Tensa and Catahoola are also named from Indian tribes, now extinct; the latter is a creek twelve leagues long, which is the issue of a lake of the same name, eight leagues in length, and about two leagues in breadth. It lies West, from the mouth of the Catahoola, and communicates with the Red river during the great annual inundation. At the west or northwest angle of the lake, a creek called Little river enters, which preserves a channel with running water at all seasons, meandering along the bed of the lake; but in all other parts, its superficialities, during the dry season, from July to November, and often later, is completely drained, and becomes covered with the most luxuriant herbage; the bed of the lake then becomes the residence of immense herds of deer, of turkeys, geese, crane, &c. which feed upon the grass and grain. Bayou Tensa serves only to drain off a part of the waters of the inundation from the low lands of the Mississippi, which here communicate with the Black river during the season of high water.

Between the mouth of the Washita, and Villemont's prairie on the right, the current of the river is gentle, and the banks favorable for towing. The lands, on both sides, have the appearance of being above the inundation; the timber generally such as high lands produce, being chiefly red, white, and black oaks, interspersed with a variety of other trees. The magnolia grandiflora, that infallible sign of the land not being subject to inundation, is not however among them. Along the banks, a stratum of solid clay, or marl, is observable, apparently of an ancient deposition; it lies in oblique positions, making an angle of nearly thirty degrees with the horizon, and generally inclined with the descent of the river, although, in a few cases, the position was contrary; timber is seen projecting from under the solid bank, which seems indurated, and unquestionably very ancient, presenting a very different appearance from recently formed soil. The river is about eighty yards wide. A league above the mouth of the Washita, the Bayou Ha-ha, comes in unexpectedly from the right, and is one of the many passages through which the waters of the great inundation penetrate, and pervade all the low countries, annihilating, for a time, the currents of the lesser rivers in the neighborhood of the Mississippi. The vegetation is remarkably vigorous along the alluvial banks, which are covered with a thick shrubbery, and innumerable plants, in full blossom at this late season.

Villemont's prairie is so named, in consequence of its being included within a grant under the French Government, to a gentleman of that name. Many other parts on the Washita are named after their early proprietors. The French people projected and began extensive settlements on this river; but the general massacre planned, and in part executed, by the Indians, against them, and the consequent destruction of the Natchez tribe by the French, broke up all these undertakings, and they were not re-commenced under that Government. Those prairies are plains or savannas, without timber, generally very fertile, and producing an exuberance of strong, thick, and coarse herbage. When a piece of ground has once got into this state, in an Indian country, it can have no opportunity of re-producing timber; it being an invariable practice to set fire to the dry grass in the fall or winter, to obtain the advantage of attracting game, when the young tender grass begins to spring; this destroys the young timber, and the prairie annually gains upon the woodland. It is probable that the immense plains, known to exist in America, may owe their origin to this custom. The plains of the Washita lie chiefly on the east side; and being generally formed like the Mississippi lands, sloping from the bank of the river to the great river, they are more or less subject to inundation in the rear, and in certain great floods, the water has advanced so far, as to be ready to pour over the margin into the Washita; this has now become a very rare thing, and it may be estimated that, from a quarter of a mile, to a mile in depth, will remain free from inundation during high floods. This is pretty much the case with those lands,



nearly as high as the post of the Washita, with the exception of certain ridges of primitive high land; the rest being evidently alluvial, although not now subject to be inundated by the Washita river, in consequence of the great depth which the bed of the river has acquired by abrasion. On approaching towards the bayou Louis, which empties its waters into the Washita on the right, a little below the rapids, there is a great deal of high land on both sides, which produces pine and other timber, not the growth of inundated lands. At the foot of the rapids, the navigation of the river is impeded by beds of gravel formed in it. The first rapids lie in latitude  $31^{\circ} 48' 57.5''$  North, a little above which, there is a high ridge of primitive earth, studded with abundance of fragments of rock or stone, which appears to have been thrown up to the surface in a very irregular manner. The stone is of a friable nature, some of it having the appearance of indurated clay; the outside is blackish from exposure to the air; within, it is of a greyish white. It is said, that, in the hill, the strata are regular, and that good grindstones may be here obtained. The last of the rapids, which is formed by a ledge of rocks crossing the entire bed of the river, was passed in the evening of the 27th; above it, the water became again like a mill-pond, and about one hundred yards wide. The whole of these first shoals or rapids embraced an extent of a mile and a half; the obstruction was not continual, but felt at short intervals in this distance. On the right, about four leagues from the rapids, they passed the 'bayou aux Bœufs,' a little above a rocky hill; high land and savanna is seen on the right. On sounding the river, they found three fathoms water on a bottom of mud and sand. The banks of the river, above the bayou, seem to retain very little alluvial soil; the high land earth, which is a sandy loam of a light grey color, with streaks of red sand and clay, is seen on the left bank; the soil not rich, bearing pines, interspersed with red oak, hickory, and dogwood. The river is from sixty to one hundred yards wide here, but decreases as you advance. The next rapid is made by a ledge of rocks traversing the river, and narrowing the water channel to about thirty yards. The width between the high banks cannot be less than one hundred yards, and the banks from thirty to forty feet high. In latitude  $32^{\circ} 10' 13''$  rapids and shoals again occurred, and the channel was very narrow; the sand bars at every point extended so far into the bend, as to leave little more than the breadth of the boat of water sufficiently deep for her passage; although it spreads over a width of seventy or eighty yards upon the shoal.

In the afternoon of the 31st, they passed a little plantation, or settlement, on the right, and at night arrived at three others, adjoining each other. These settlements are on a plain, or prairie, the soil of which, we may be assured, is alluvial, from the regular slope which the land has from the river. The bed of the river is now sufficiently deep to free them from the inconvenience of its inundation; yet, in the rear, the waters of the Mississippi approach, and sometimes leave dry, but a narrow strip along the bank of the river. It is, however, now more common, that the extent of the fields cultivated (from a quarter to half a mile) remains dry during the season of the inundation. The soil is here very good, but not equal to the Mississippi bottoms; it may be esteemed second rate. At a small distance to the east are extensive cypress swamps, over which the waters of the inundation always stand, to the depth of from fifteen to twenty-five feet. On the west side, after passing over the valley of the river, whose breadth varies from a quarter of a mile to two miles, or more, the land assumes a considerable elevation, from one hundred to three hundred feet, and extends all along to the settlements of the Red river. These high lands are reported to be poor, and badly watered, being chiefly what is termed pine barren. There is here a ferry and road of communication between the post of the Washita and the Natchez; and a fork of this road passes on to the settlement called the Rapids, on Red river, distant from this place, by computation, one hundred and fifty miles.

On this part of the river lies a considerable tract of land, granted by the Spanish Government to the Marquis of Maison Rouge, a French emigrant, who bequeathed it, with all his property, to Mr. Bouigny, son of the late Colonel of the Louisiana regiment, and by him sold to Daniel Clarke. It is said to extend from the post of the Washita, with a breadth of two leagues, including the river, down to the Bayou Calumet; the computed distance of which, along the river, is called thirty leagues, but supposed not more than twelve, in a direct line.

On the 6th of November, in the afternoon, the party arrived at the post of the Washita, in lat.  $32^{\circ} 29' 37.25''$  north, where they were politely received by Lieut. Bowmar, who immediately offered the hospitality of his dwelling, with all the services in his power.

From the ferry to this place, the navigation of the river is, at this season, interrupted by many shoals and rapids. The general width is from eight to a hundred yards. The water is extremely agreeable to drink, and much clearer than that of the Ohio. In this respect it is very unlike its two neighbors, the Arkansas and Red rivers, whose waters are loaded with earthy matters of a reddish-brown color, giving to them a chocolate-like appearance; and, when those rivers are low, their waters are not palatable, being brackish, from the great number of salt-springs which flow into them, and probably from the beds of rock-salt over which they may pass. The banks of the river presented very little appearance of alluvial land, but furnished an infinitude of beautiful landscapes, heightened by the vivid coloring they derive from the autumnal change of the leaf. Mr. Dunbar observes, that the change of color in the leaves of vegetables, which is probably occasioned by the oxygen of the atmosphere acting on the vegetable matter, deprived of the protecting power of its vital principle, may serve as an excellent guide to the naturalist who directs his attention to the discovery of new objects for the use of the dyer. For, he has always remarked, that the leaves of those trees whose bark or wood is known to produce a dye, are changed in autumn to the same color which is extracted in the dyer's vat from the woods; more especially by the use of alum, or some other mordant, which yields oxygen: thus, the foliage of the hickory and oak, which produces the Quercitron bark, is changed, before its fall, into a beautiful yellow; other oaks assume a fawn color, a liver color, or a blood color, and are known to yield dyes of the same complexion.

In about lat.  $32^{\circ} 18' N$ . Dr. Hunter discovered, along the river side, a substance nearly resembling mineral coal; its appearance was that of the carbonated wood described by Kirwan. It does not easily burn; but, on being applied to the flame of a candle, it sensibly increased it, and yielded a faint smell, resembling, in a slight degree, that of the gum lac of common sealing wax.

Soft friable stone is common, and great quantities of gravel and sand upon the beaches in this part of the river. A reddish clay appears in the strata, much indurated, and blackened by exposure to the light and air.

The position called fort Miro, being the property of a private person, who was formerly civil commandant here, the lieutenant has taken post about four hundred yards lower; has built himself some log houses, and enclosed them within a slight stockade. Upon viewing the country east of the river, it is evidently alluvial; the surface has a gentle slope from the river to the rear of the plantations. The land is of excellent quality, being a rich black mould, to the depth of a foot, under which there is a friable loam of a brownish liver color.

At the post of the Washita, they procured a boat of less draught of water than the one in which they ascended the river thus far. At noon, on the 11th of November, they proceeded on the voyage; and in the evening encamped at the plantation of Baron Bastrop.

This small settlement on the Washita, and some of the creeks falling into it, contains not more than five hundred persons, of all ages and sexes. It is reported, however, that there is a great quantity of excellent land upon these creeks, and that the settlement is capable of extension, and may be expected, with an accession of population, to become very flourishing. There are three merchants settled at the post, who supply, at very exorbitant prices, the inhabitants with their necessaries; these, with the garrison, two small planters, and a tradesman or two, constitute the present village. A great portion of the inhabitants continue the old practice of hunting, during the winter season, and they exchange their peltry for necessaries with the merchants, at a low rate. During the summer, these people content themselves with raising corn, barely sufficient for bread during the year. In this manner they always remain extremely poor. Some few, who have conquered that habit of indolence, which is always the consequence of the Indian mode of life, and attend to agriculture, live more comfortably, and taste a little the sweets of civilized life.

The lands along the river, above the post, are not very inviting, being a thin, poor soil, and covered with pine wood. To the right, the settlements on the Bayou Barthelemi, and Siard, are said to be on rich land.

On the morning of the 13th, they passed an island, and a strong rapid, and arrived at a little settlement below a chain of rocks, which cross the channel between an island and the main land, called Roque-raw. The Spaniard, and

his family, settled here, appear, from their indolence, to live miserably. The river acquires here a more spacious appearance, being about one hundred and fifty yards wide. In the afternoon they passed the bayou Barthelemi, on the right, above the last settlements, and about twelve computed leagues from the post. Here commences Baron Bastrop's great grant of land from the Spanish Government, being a square of twelve leagues to each side, a little exceeding a million of French acres. The banks of the river continue about thirty feet high; of which eighteen feet from the water are a clayey loam, of a pale ash color, upon which the water has deposited twelve feet of light sandy soil, apparently fertile, and of a dark brown color. This description of land is of small breadth, not exceeding half a mile on each side of the river, and may be called the valley of the Washita, beyond which there is high land, covered with pines.

The soil, to the 'Bayou des Buttes,' continues thin, with a growth of small timber. This creek is named from a number of Indian mounds discovered by the hunters along its course. The margin of the river begins to be covered with such timber as usually grows on inundated land; particularly, a species of white oak, vulgarly called the overcup oak; its timber is remarkably hard, solid, ponderous, and durable; and it produces a large acorn in great abundance, upon which the bear feeds, and which is very fattening to hogs.

In lat.  $32^{\circ} 50' 8''$  north, they passed a long and narrow island. The face of the country begins to change; the banks are low and steep, the river deeper and more contracted, from thirty to fifty yards in width. The soil in the neighborhood of the river, is a very sandy loam, and covered by such vegetables as are found on the inundated lands of the Mississippi. The tract presents the appearance of a new soil, very different from what they passed below. This alluvial tract may be supposed the site of a great lake, drained by a natural canal formed by the abrasion of the waters; since which period, the annual inundations have deposited the superior soil; eighteen or twenty feet is yet wanting to render it habitable for man; it appears, nevertheless, well stocked with the beasts of the forest, several of which were seen.

Quantities of water fowl are beginning to make their appearance, which are not very numerous here until the cold rains and frost compel them to leave a more northern climate. Fish is not so abundant as might be expected; owing, it is said, to the inundation of the Mississippi, in the year 1799, which dammed up the Washita some distance above the Post, and produced a stagnation, and consequent corruption of the waters, that destroyed all the fish within its influence.

At noon, on the fifteenth of November, they passed the island of Mallet, and at ninety yards northeast from the upper point of the island, by a good observation, ascertained their latitude to be  $32^{\circ} 59' 27.5''$  north, or two seconds and a half of latitude south of the dividing line between the territories of Orleans and Louisiana. The bed of the river, along this alluvial country, is generally covered with water, and the navigation uninterrupted; but in the afternoon of this day, they passed three contiguous sand bars, or beaches, called "Les Trois Battures;" and before evening, the "Bayou des Grande Marais," or Great Marsh creek, on the right; and "La Cyprieri Chattelrau," a point of high land on the same side, which reaches within half a mile of the river. As they advanced towards the Marais de Saline on the right, a stratum of dirty white colored clay, under the alluvial tract, showed them to be leaving the sunken, and approaching the high land country. The salt lick marsh does not derive its name from any brackishness in the water of the lake or marsh, but from its contiguity to some of the licks, sometimes termed "saline," and sometimes "glaise," generally found in a clay, compact enough for potters' ware. The Bayou de la Tulipe, forms a communication between the lake and the river. Opposite to this place, there is a point of high land forming a promontory, advancing within a mile of the river, and to which boats resort when the low grounds are under water. A short league above, is the mouth of the Grand Bayou de la Saline, (Salt Lick creek.) This creek is of a considerable length, and navigable for small boats. The hunters ascend it, to a distance of one hundred of their leagues, in pursuit of game; and all agree that none of the springs which feed this creek are salt. It has obtained its name from the many buffalo salt licks which have been discovered in its vicinity. Although most of these licks, by digging, furnish water which holds marine salt in solution, there exists no reason for believing that many of them would produce nitre. Notwithstanding this low and alluvial tract appears in all respects well adapted to the growth of the long moss, (*tilandsia*) none was observed since entering it in lat.  $32^{\circ} 52'$ ; and as the pilot informed them none would be seen in their progress up the river, it is probable that the latitude of thirty-three degrees is about the northern limit of its vegetation. The long-leaf pine, frequently the growth of rich and even inundated lands, was here observed in great abundance; the short-leaved, or pitch pine, on the contrary, is always found upon arid lands, and generally in sandy and lofty situations.

This is the season when the poor settlers on the Washita turn out to make their annual hunt. The deer is now fat, and the skins in perfection; the bear is now also in his best state, with regard to the quality of his fur, and the quantity of fat or oil he yields; as he has been feeding luxuriantly on the autumnal fruits of the forest. It is here well known, that he does not confine himself, as some writers have supposed, to vegetable food; he is particularly fond of hog's flesh; sheep and calves are frequently his prey; and no animal escapes him which comes within his power, and which he is able to conquer. He often destroys the fawn, when chance throws it in his way; he cannot, however, discover it by smelling, notwithstanding the excellence of his scent; for nature has, as if for its protection, denied the fawn the property of leaving any effluvia upon his track, a property so powerful in the old deer.\* The bear, unlike most other beasts of prey, does not kill the animal he has seized upon, before he eats it; but, regardless of its struggles, cries, and lamentations, fastens upon, and, if the expression is allowable, devours it alive. The hunters count much on their profits from the oil drawn from the bear's fat; which, at New Orleans, is always of ready sale, and much esteemed for its wholesomeness in cooking, being preferred to butter or hog's lard. It is found to keep longer than any other animal oil without becoming rancid; and boiling it from time to time, upon sweet bay leaves, restores its sweetness, or facilitates its conservation.

In the afternoon of the 17th, they passed some sand beaches, and over a few rapids. They had cane-brakes on both sides of the river; the canes were small, but demonstrate that the water does not surmount the bank more than a few feet. The river begins to widen as they advance, the banks of the river show the high land soil, with a stratum of three or four feet of alluvion, deposited by the river upon it. This superstratum is greyish, and very sandy, with a small admixture of loam, indicative of the poverty of the mountains and uplands where the river rises. Near this, they passed through a new, and very narrow channel, in which all the water of the river passes, except in time of freshes, when the interval forms an island. A little above this pass is a small clearing, called "Cache la Tulipe" (Tulip's Hiding-place;) this is the name of a French hunter, who here concealed his property. It continues the practice, of both white and red hunters, to leave their skins, &c. often suspended to poles, or laid over a pole placed upon two forked posts, in sight of the river, until their return from hunting. These deposits are considered as sacred, and few examples exist of their being plundered. After passing the entrance of a bay, which, within, must form a great lake during the inundation, great numbers of the long-leaf pine were observed; and the increased size of the canes along the river's bank, denoted a better and more elevated soil. On the left, was a high hill, (300 feet) covered with lofty pine trees.

The banks of the river present more the appearance of upland soil, the understratum being a pale, yellowish clay, and the alluvial soil of a dirty white, surmounted by a thin covering of a brown vegetable earth. The trees improve in appearance, growing to a considerable size and height, though yet inferior to those on the alluvial banks of the Mississippi. After passing the 'Bayou de Hachis,' on the left, points of high land, not subject to be overflowed, frequently touch the river, and the valley is said to be more than a league in breadth, on each side. On the left are pine hills, called 'Cote de Champignole.' The river is not more than fifty or sixty yards wide. On the morning of the 20th, they passed a number of sand beaches, and some rapids, but found good depth of water between

\* It may not be generally known to naturalists, that between the hoofs of deer, &c. there is found a sac, with its mouth inclining upwards, containing more or less of musk, and which, by escaping over the opening in proportion to the secretion, causes the foot to leave a scent on the ground wherever it passes. During the rutting season, this musk is so abundant, particularly in old males, as to be smelt by the hunters at a considerable distance.



them. A creek, called 'Chemin Couvert,' which forms a deep ravine in the high lands, here enters the river. Almost immediately above this is a rapid, where the water in the river is confined to a channel of about forty yards in width; above it, they had to quit the main channel, on account of the shallowness and rapidity of the water, and pass along a narrow channel of only sixty feet wide: without a guide, a stranger might take this passage for a creek.

Notwithstanding the lateness of the season, and the northern latitude they were in, they this day met with an alligator. The banks of the river are covered with cane, or thick underbrush, frequently so interwoven with thorns and briars as to be impenetrable. Birch, maple, holly, and two kinds of wood to which names have not yet been given, except 'water-side wood,' are here met with; as also, persimmons, and small black grapes. The margin of the river is fringed with a variety of plants and vines, among which are several species of convolvulus.

On the left, they passed a hill and cliff, one hundred feet perpendicular, crowned with pines, and called 'Cote de Finn, (Fin's hill,) from which a chain of high land continues some distance. The cliff presents the appearance of an ash-colored clay. A little further, on the right, is the Bayou d'Acacia, (Locust creek.) The river varies here from eighty to an hundred yards in width, presenting frequent indications of iron along its banks, and some thin strata of iron ore; the ore is from half an inch to three inches in thickness.

On the morning of the 22d of November, they arrived at the road of the Cadadoquis Indian nation, leading to the Arkansas nation. A little beyond this, is the 'Ecore a Fabri, (Fabri's cliffs,) from eighty to an hundred feet high; and a little distance above, a smaller cliff, called 'le petit ecor a Fabri,' (the little cliff of Fabri;) these cliffs appear chiefly to be composed of ash-colored sand, with a stratum of clay at the base, such as runs all along under the banks of this river. Above these cliffs are several rapids, the current is swifter, and denotes their ascent into a higher country. The water becomes very clear, and equal to any, in its very agreeable taste, and as a drinking water. In the river are immense beds of gravel and sand, over which the water passes with great velocity, in the season of its floods, carrying with it vast quantities of drift wood, which it piles up, in many places, to the height of twenty feet above the present surface, pointing out the difficulty and danger of navigation, in certain times of the flood; accidents, however, are rare with the canoes of the country.

As the party ascended, they found the banks of the river less elevated, being only from nine to twelve feet, and are, probably, surmounted by the freshes, some feet. The river becomes more obstructed by rapids, and sand and gravel beaches; among which, are found, fragments of stone, of all forms, and a variety of colors, some highly polished and rounded by friction. The banks of the river, in this upper country, suffer greatly by abrasion; one side, and sometimes both, being broken down by every flood.

At a place on the left, called 'Auges d'Arclon,' (Arclon's troughs,) is laminated iron ore, and a stratum of tenacious black sand, shining with minute crystals. The breadth of the river is, here, about eighty yards; in some places, however, it is enlarged by islands, in others, contracted to eighty or a hundred feet. Rocks of a greyish color, and rather friable, are here found in many places on the river. The banks rise into hills of free stone, of a very sharp and fine grit, fit for grindstones, the strata irregular, inclining from 20° to 30° down the river. On the banks grow willows, of a different form from those found below and on the margin of the Mississippi; the last are very brittle; these, on the contrary, are extremely pliant, resembling the osier, of which they are, probably, a species.

At noon, on the 24th, they arrived at the confluence of the lesser Missouri with the Washita; the former is a considerable branch, perhaps a fourth of the Washita, and comes in from the left hand. The hunters often ascend the little Missouri, but are not inclined to penetrate far up, because it reaches near the great plains, or prairies, upon the Red river, visited by the lesser Osage tribe of Indians, settled on the Arkansas; these last frequently carry war into the Cadadoquis tribe, settled on the Red river, about west-southwest from this place, and, indeed, they are reported not to spare any nation or people. They are prevented from visiting the head waters of the Washita, by the steep hills in which they rise. These mountains are so difficult to travel over, that the savages, not having an object sufficiently desirable, never attempt to penetrate to this river, and it is supposed to be unknown to the nation. The Cadadoquis (or Cadaux, as the French pronounce the word,) may be considered as Spanish Indians; they boast, and it is said, with truth, that they never have imbrued their hands in the blood of a white man. It is said, that the stream of the Little Missouri, some distance from its mouth, flows over a bright, splendid bed of mineral, of a yellowish white color, (most probably martial pyrites) that, thirty years ago, several of the inhabitants, hunters, worked upon this mine, and sent a quantity of the ore to the government at New Orleans, and they were prohibited from working any more.

There is a great sameness in the appearance of the river banks; the islands are skirted with osier, and immediately within, on the bank, grows a range of birch trees, and some willows; the more elevated banks are covered with cane, among which grows the oak, maple, elm, sycamore, ash, hickory, dogwood, holly, iron wood, &c. From the pilot, they learned, that there is a body of excellent land on the little Missouri, particularly on the creek called the Bayou à terre noire', which falls into it. This land extends to Red river, and is connected with the great prairies which form the hunting grounds of the Cadaux nation, consisting of about two hundred warriors. They are warlike, but frequently unable to defend themselves against the tribe of Osages settled on the Arkansas river, who, passing round the mountains at the head of the Washita, and along the prairies which separate them from the main chain on the west, where the waters of the Red and Arkansas rivers have their rise, pass into the Cadaux country, to rob and plunder them.

The water in the river Washita rising, the party are enabled to pass the numerous rapids and shoals which they meet with in the upper country, some of which are difficult of ascent. The general height of the main banks of the river are from six to twelve feet above the level of the water; the land is better in quality, the canes, &c. shewing a more luxuriant vegetation; it is subject to inundation, and shevs a brown soil, mixed with sand. Near Cache Maçon, (Mason's hiding place,) on the right, they stopped to examine a supposed coal mine. Doctor Hunter and the pilot set out for this purpose, and, at about a mile and a half northwest from the boat, in the bed of a creek called Coal Mine creek, they found a substance similar to what they had before met with under that name, though more advanced towards the state of perfect coal. At the bottom of the creek, in a place then dry, was found detached pieces, of from fifty to one hundred pounds weight, adjoining to which, lay wood, changing into the same substance. A stratum of this coal, six inches thick, lay on both sides of this little creek, over another of yellow clay, and covered by one foot of gravel; on the gravel is eight inches of yellow loam, which bears a few inches of vegetable mould. This stratum of coal is about three feet higher than the water in the creek, and appears, manifestly, to have been, at some period, the surface of the ground. The gravel and loam have been deposited there since, by the waters. Some pieces of this coal were very black and solid, of an homogeneous appearance, much resembling pit coal, but of less specific gravity. It does not appear sufficiently impregnated with bitumen, but may be considered as vegetable matter in the progress of transmutation to coal.

Below the 'Bayou de l'eau froide,' which runs into the Washita from the right, the river is one hundred and seventy yards wide, flowing through tolerably good land; they passed a beautiful forest of pines, on the 28th, fell in with an old Dutch hunter and his party, consisting in all of five persons.

This man has resided forty years on the Washita, and before that period has been up the Arkansas river, the White river, and the river St. Francis; the two last, he informed, are of difficult navigation, similar to the Washita; but the Arkansas river is of great magnitude, having a large and broad channel, and when the water is low, has great sand banks, like to those in the Mississippi. So far as he has been up it, the navigation is safe and commodious, without impediment from rocks, shoals, or rapids; its bed being formed of mud and sand. The soil on it, is of the first rate quality. The country is easy of access, being lofty open forests, unembarrassed by canes or other under growth. The water is disagreeable to drink, being of a red color, and brackish when the river is low. A multitude of creeks, which flow into the Arkansas, furnish sweet water, which the voyager is obliged to carry with him for the supply of his immediate wants. This man confirms the accounts of silver being abundant up that river; he has not been so high as to see it himself, but says he received a silver pin from a hunter, who assured him that he himself collected the virgin silver from the rock, out of which he made the epinglette, by hammering it out. The tribe of Osages live higher up than this position, but the hunters rarely go so high, being afraid of these savages, who are at

war with all the world, and destroy all strangers they meet with. It is reported that the Arkansas nation, with a part of the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Shawanese, &c. have formed a league, and are actually gone, or going, eight hundred strong, against these depredators, with a view to destroy or drive them entirely off, and possess themselves of their fine prairies, which are most abundant hunting grounds, being plentifully stocked with buffalo, elk, deer, bear, and every other beast of the chase, common to those latitudes in America. This hunter having given information of a salt spring in their vicinity, from which he frequently supplied himself by evaporating the water, Dr. Hunter, with a party, accompanied him, on the morning of the 29th November, to the place; they found the saline about a mile and a half north of the camp from whence they set out, and near a creek which enters the Washita a little above. It is situated in the bottom of the bed of a dry gully. The surrounding land is rich, and well timbered, but subject to inundation, except an Indian mound on the creek side, having a base of eighty or a hundred feet diameter and twenty feet high. After digging about three feet, through blue clay, they came to a quicksand, from which the water flowed in abundance; its taste was salt and bitter, resembling that of water in the ocean. In a second hole, it required them to dig six feet before they reached the quicksand, in doing which, they threw up several broken pieces of Indian pottery. The specific gravity, compared with the river, was, from the first pit, or that three feet deep, 1.02720; from the second pit, or that six feet deep, 1.02104, yielding a saline mass, from the evaporation of ten quarts, which, when dry, weighed eight ounces; this brine is, therefore, about the same strength as that of the ocean on our coast, and twice the strength of the famous licks in Kentucky, called Bullet's lick, and Mann's lick, from which so much salt is made.

The "Fourche des Cadeaux" (Cadadoquis fork) which they passed on the morning of the 30th, is about one hundred yards wide at its entrance into the Washita from the left; immediately beyond which, on the same side, the land is high, probably elevated three hundred feet above the water. The shoals and rapids here impede their progress. At noon, they deduced their latitude by observation, to be  $34^{\circ} 11' 37''$  north.

Receiving information of another saline or salt lick, Dr. Hunter landed with a party to view it. The pit was found in a low place, subject to be overflowed from the river; it was wet and muddy, the earth on the surface yellow, but on digging through about four feet of blue clay, the salt water oozed from a quicksand; ten quarts of this water, produced, by evaporation, six ounces of a saline mass, which, from taste, was principally marine salt; to the taste, however, it showed an admixture of soda, and muriated magnesia; but the marine salt greatly predominated. The specific gravity was about 1.0176; probably weakened from the rain which had fallen the day before. The ascent of the river becomes more troublesome from the rapids and currents, particularly at the Isle du bayou des roches (Rocky creek island) where it required great exertions, and was attended with some hazard, to pass them. This island is three-fourths of a mile in length. The river presents a series of shoals, rapids, and small cataracts; and they passed several points of high land, full of rocks and stones, much harder and more solid than they had yet met with.

The rocks were all silicious, with their fissures penetrated by sparry matter. Indications of iron were frequent, and fragments of poor ore were common, but no rich ore of that or any other metal was found. Some of the hills appear well adapted to the cultivation of the vine; the soil being a sandy loam, with a considerable portion of gravel, and a superficial covering of good vegetable black earth. The natural productions are, several varieties of oak, pine, dogwood, holly, &c. with a scattering undergrowth of whortleberry, hawthorn, china brier, and a variety of small vines.

Above the Isle de Mallon, the country wears another aspect; high lands and rocks frequently approach the river. The rocks, in grain, resemble free stone, and are hard enough to be used as hand-mill stones, to which purpose they are frequently applied. The quality of the land improves, the stratum of vegetable earth being from six to twelve inches, of a dark brown color, with an admixture of loam and sand. Below Deer island, they passed a stratum of free-stone, fifty feet thick, under which is a quarry of imperfect slate, in perpendicular layers. About a league from the river, and a little above the slate quarry, is a considerable plain, called "Prairie de Champignole," often frequented by buffalo; some salt licks are found near it, and in many situations, on both sides of this river, there are said to be salines which may hereafter be rendered very productive, and from which the future settlements may be abundantly supplied.

About four miles below the "chutes" (falls) they, from a good observation, found the latitude  $34^{\circ} 29' 25.5''$ . The land on either hand continues to improve in quality, with a sufficient stratum of dark brown earth. Hills frequently rise out of the level country, full of rocks and stones, hard and flinty, and often resembling turkey oil stones; of this kind was a promontory, which came in from the right hand a little below the chutes. At a distance, it presented the appearance of ruined buildings and fortifications; and several isolated masses of rock, conveyed the idea of redoubts and out-works. This effect was heightened by the rising of a flock of swans, which had taken their station in the water, at the foot of these walls. As the voyagers approached, the birds floated about majestically on the glassy surface of the water, and in tremulous accents seemed to consult upon means of safety. The whole was a sublime picture. In the afternoon of the 3d of December, they reached the chutes, and found the falls to be occasioned by a chain of rocks, of the same hard substance seen below, extending in the direction of northeast and southwest, quite across the river. The water passes through a number of breaches, worn by the impetuosity of the torrent, where it forms so many cascades. The chain of rock, or hill on the left, appears to have been cut down to its present level by the abrasion of the waters. By great exertions, and lightening the boat, they passed the chutes this evening, and encamped just above the cataracts, and within the hearing of their incessant roar.

Immediately above the chutes, the current of the water is slow, to another ledge of hard free stone; the reach between is spacious, not less than two hundred yards wide, and terminated by a hill three hundred feet high, covered with beautiful pines. This is a fine situation for building. In lat.  $34^{\circ} 25' 48''$  they passed a very dangerous rapid, from the number of rocks which obstruct the passage of the water, and break it into foam. On the right of the rapid, is a high, rocky hill, covered with very handsome pine woods. The strata of the rock has an inclination of thirty degrees to the horizon, in the direction of the river, descending. This hill may be three hundred, or three hundred and fifty feet high. A border, or list of green cane, skirts the margin of the river, beyond which, generally rises a high, and, sometimes, a barren hill. Near another rapid, they passed a hill on the left, containing a large body of blue slate. A small distance above the Bayou de saline, they had to pass a rapid of one hundred and fifty yards in length, and four feet and a half fall, which, from its velocity, the French hunters have denominated "La Cascade." Below the cascade, there are rocky hills on both sides, composed of very hard freestone. The stone in the bed of the river, and which had been rolled from the upper country, was of the hardest flint, or of a quality resembling the Turkey oil-stone. Fourche au Tigre, (Tiger's creek) which comes in from the right, a little above the cascade, is said to have many extensive tracts of rich level land upon it. The rocky hills here frequently approach the Washita on both sides; rich bottoms are, nevertheless, unfrequent, and the upland is sometimes of moderate elevation, and tolerably level. The stones and rocks here met with, have their fissures filled by sparry and crystalline matter.

Wild turkeys become more abundant, and less difficult of approach, than below; and the howl of the wolves is heard during the night.

To the Fourche of Calfat (Caulker's creek) where the voyage terminates, they found level and good land on the right, and high hills on the left hand. After passing over a very precipitous rapid, seemingly divided into four steps or falls, one of which was at least fifteen inches in perpendicular height, and which, together, could not be less than five and a half feet, they arrived at Ellis's camp, a small distance below the Fourche au Calfat, where they stopped on the 6th of December, as the pilot considered it the most convenient landing, from whence to carry their necessary baggage to the hot springs: the distance being about three leagues. There is a creek, about two leagues higher up, called "Bayou des sources chaudes," (Hot Spring creek) upon the banks of which, the hot springs are situated, at about two leagues from its mouth. The banks of it are hilly, and the road less eligible from Ellis's camp.

On ascending the hill, to encamp, they found the land very level and good; some plants in flower, and a great many ever-green vines; the forest oak, with an admixture of other woods. The latitude of this place is,  $34^{\circ} 27' 35.5''$  north. The ground on which they encamped, was about fifty feet above the water in the river, and supposed to be thirty feet higher than the inundation. Hills of considerable height, and clothed with pine, were in view;

but the land around, and extending beyond their view, lies handsomely for cultivation. The superstratum is of a blackish brown color, upon a yellow basis, the whole intermixed with gravel and blue schistus, frequently so far decomposed as to have a strong aluminous taste. From their camp, on the Washita, to the hot springs, a distance of about nine miles, the first six miles of the road is in a westerly direction, with many sinuosities, and the remainder northerly: which courses are necessary, to avoid some very steep hills. In this distance, they found three principal salt licks, and some inferior ones, which are all frequented by buffalo, deer, &c. The soil around them, is a white tenacious clay, probably fit for potter's ware: hence the name of "glaise," which the French hunters have bestowed upon most of the licks frequented by the beasts of the forest; many of which exhibit no saline impregnation. The first two miles from the river camp, is over level land, of the second rate quality; the timber chiefly oak, intermixed with other trees, common to the climate, and a few scattering pines. Further on, the lands on either hand, rise into gently swelling hills, covered with handsome pine woods. The road passes along a valley, frequently wet by the numerous rills and springs of excellent water, which issue from the foot of the hills. Near the hot springs, the hills become more elevated, steeper of ascent, and rocky. They are here called mountains, although none of them in view, exceed four or five hundred feet in altitude. It is said, that mountains of more than five times the elevation of these hills, are to be seen in the northwest, towards the sources of the Washita. One of them is called the Glass, Crystal, or Shining mountain, from the vast number of hexagonal prisms of very transparent and colorless chrysal, which are found on its surface: they are generally surmounted by pyramids at one end, rarely on both. These crystals do not produce a double refraction of the rays of light. Many searches have been made over these mountains for the precious metals, but, it is believed, without success.

At the hot springs, they found an open log cabin and a few huts of split boards, all calculated for summer encampment, and which had been erected by persons resorting to the springs for the recovery of their health. They slightly repaired these huts, or cabins, for their accommodation during the time of their detention at the springs, for the purpose of examining them and the surrounding country, and making such astronomical observations as were necessary, for ascertaining their geographical position.

It is understood, that the hot springs are included within a tract of some hundreds of acres, granted by the late Spanish commandant of Washita to some of his friends; but it is not believed that a regular patent was ever issued for the place, and it cannot be asserted, that residence, with improvement, here form a plea to claim the land upon.

On their arrival, they immediately tasted the waters of the hot springs; that is, after a few minutes cooling, for it was impossible to approach it with the lips when first taken up, without scalding. The taste does not differ from that of good water rendered hot by culinary fire.

On the tenth they visited all the hot springs. They issue on the east side of the valley, where the huts are, except one spring, which rises on the west bank of the creek, from the sides and foot of a hill. From the small quantity of calcareous matter yet deposited, the western spring does not appear to be of long standing; a natural conduit probably passes under the bed of the creek and supplies it. There are four principal springs rising immediately on the east bank of the creek, one of which may rather be said to spring out of the gravel bed of the run; a fifth, a smaller one, that above mentioned as rising on the west side of the creek; and a sixth of the same magnitude, the most northerly, and rising near the bank of the creek. These are all the sources which merit the name of springs, near to the huts; but there is a considerable one some distance below; and all along, at intervals, the warm water oozes out, or drips from the bank into the creek, as appears from the condensed vapour floating along the margin of the creek, where the drippings occur.

The hill from which the hot springs issue, is of a conical form, terminating at the top with a few loose fragments of rock, covering a flat space twenty-five feet in diameter. Although the figure of the hill is conical, it is not entirely isolated, but connected with the neighboring hills by a very narrow ridge. The primitive rock of this hill, above the base, is principally silicious, some part of it being of the hardest flint; others, a freestone, extremely compact and solid, and of various colors. The base of the hill, and for a considerable extent, is composed of a blackish blue schistus, which divides into perpendicular lamina, like blue slate. The water of the hot springs is therefore delivered from the silicious rock, generally invisible at the surface, from the mass of calcareous matter with which it is incrustated, or rather buried, and which is perpetually precipitating from the water of the springs. A small proportion of iron, in the form of a red cala, is also deposited, the color of which is frequently distinguishable in the lime.

In ascending the hill, several patches of rich black earth are found, which appear to be formed by the decomposition of the calcareous matter; in other situations the superficial earth is penetrated or incrustated by limestone, with fine lamina, or minute fragments of iron ore. The water of the hot springs must formerly have issued at a greater elevation in the hill, and run over the surface, having formed a mass of calcareous rock one hundred feet perpendicular, by its deposition. In this high situation they found a spring, whose temperature was 140° of Fahrenheit's thermometer. After passing the calcareous region, they found the primitive hill covered by a forest of not very large trees, consisting chiefly of oak, pine, cedar, holly, hawthorn, and others common to the climate, with a great variety of vines, some said to produce black, and others green grapes, both excellent in their kinds. The soil is rocky, interspersed with gravel, sand, and fine vegetable mould. On reaching the height of two hundred feet perpendicular, a considerable change in the soil was observable; it was stony, and gravelly, with a superficial coat of black earth, but, immediately under it, lies a stratum of fat, tenacious, soapy, red clay, inclining to the color of bright Spanish snuff, homogeneous, with scarcely any admixture of sand, no saline, but rather a soft agreeable taste. The timber diminishes, and the rocks increase in size to the summit; the whole height is estimated at three hundred feet above the level of the valley.

On examining the four principal springs, or those which yield the greatest quantity of water, or of the highest temperature, No. 1 was found to raise the mercury to 150°, No. 2 to 154°, No. 3 to 136°, and No. 4 to 132° of Fahrenheit's thermometer. The last is on the west side of the creek. No. 3 is a small basin, in which there is a considerable quantity of green matter, having much the appearance of a vegetable body, being detached from the bottom, yet connected with it by something like a stem, which rests in calcareous matter. The body of one of these pseudo plants was from four to five inches in diameter, the bottom a smooth film of some tenacity, and the upper surface divided into ascending fibres of one-half or three-fourths of an inch long, resembling the gills of a fish, in transverse rows. A little further on was another small muddy basin, in which the water was warm to the finger; in it was a vermes, about half an inch long, moving with a serpentine or vermicular motion. It was invariably observed, that the green matter forming on the stones and leaves, covered a stratum of calcareous earth, sometimes a little hard or brittle, at others, soft and imperfect. From the bottom of one of the hot springs, a frequent ebullition of gas was observed, which, not having the means of collecting, they could not ascertain its nature; it was not inflammable, and there is little doubt of its being carbonic acid, from the quantity of lime, and the iron held in solution by the water.

They made the following rough estimate of the quantity of water delivered by the springs: There are four principal springs, two of inferior note, one rising out of the gravel, and a number of drippings and drainings, all issuing from the margin, or from under the rock which overhangs the creek. Of the four first mentioned, three deliver nearly equal quantities; but No. 1, the most considerable, delivers about five times as much as one of the other three; the two of inferior note, may, together, be equal to one, and all the drippings, and small springs, are probably under-rated at double the quantity of one of the three; that is, all together, they will deliver a quantity equal to eleven times the water issuing from the one most commodiously situated for measurement. This spring filled a vessel of eleven quarts in eleven seconds; hence, the whole quantity of hot water delivered from the springs at the base of the hill, is one hundred and sixty five gallons in a minute, or 3,771½ hogsheds, in 24 hours; which is equal to a handsome brook, and might work an overshot mill. In cool weather, condensed vapour is seen rising out of the gravel bed of the creek, from springs which cannot be taken into account. During the summer and fall, the creek receives little or no water but what is supplied by the hot springs. At that season the creek itself is a hot bath, too hot, indeed, near the springs; so that a person may choose the temperature most agreeable to himself, by selecting a natural basin nearer to, or farther from, the principal springs. At three or four miles below the springs, the water is tepid, and unpleasant to drink.

From the Western mountain, estimated to be of equal height with that from which the hot springs flow, there are several fine prospects. The valley of the Washita, comprehended between the hills on either side, seemed a perfect flat, and about twelve miles wide. On all hands were seen the hills, or mountains, as they are here called, rising behind each other. In the direction of north, the most distant were estimated to be fifty miles off, and are supposed to be those of the Arkansas river, or the rugged mountains which divide the waters of the Arkansas from those of the Washita, and prevent the Osage Indians from visiting the latter, of which they are supposed to be ignorant; otherwise, their excursions here would prevent this place from being visited by white persons, or even Indians of other tribes. In a southwest direction, at about fifty miles distance, is seen a perfect level ridge, supposed to be the high prairies of the Red river.

Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, a considerable number, and some variety of plants were in flower, and others retained their verdure: indeed, the ridge was more temperate than the valley below; there, it was cold, damp, and penetrating; here, dry, and the atmosphere mild. Of the plants growing here, was a species of cabbage; the plants grow with expanded leaves spreading on the ground, of a deep green, with a shade of purple; the taste of the cabbage was plainly predominant, with an agreeable warmth, inclining to that of the radish; several tap roots penetrated with the soil, of a white color, having the taste of horse radish, but much milder. A quantity of them taken to the camp and dressed, proved palatable and mild. It is not probable that cabbage seed has been scattered on this ridge; the hunters ascending this river, have always had different objects. Until further elucidation, this cabbage must be considered indigenous to this sequestered quarter, and may be denominated the cabbage radish of the Washita. They found a plant, then green, called by the French "racine rouge" (red root) which is said to be a specific in female obstructions; it has also been used, combined with the china-root, to dye red; the last, probably, as a mordant. The top of this ridge is covered with rocks of a flinty kind, and so very hard, as to be improper for gun flints: for, when applied to that use, it soon digs cavities in the hammer of the lock. This hard stone is generally white, but frequently clouded with red, brown, black, and other colors. Here and there fragments of iron stone were met with; and where a tree had been overturned, its roots brought to view fragments of schistus, which were suffering decomposition from exposure to the atmosphere. On digging, where the slope of the hill was precipitous, they found the second stratum to be a reddish clay, resembling that found on the conical hill, east of the camp. At two thirds down the hill, the rock was a hard free stone, intermixed with fragments of flint, which had probably rolled from above. Still lower was found a blue schistus, in a state tending to decomposition, where exposed to the atmosphere, but hard, and resembling coarse slate, in the interior. Many stones had the appearance of the turkey oil stone. At the foot of the hill, it expands into good farming land.

Doctor Hunter, on examining the water of the hot springs, obtained the following results:

It differed nothing from other hot water in smell or taste; but caused a slight eructation shortly after drinking it. Its specific gravity is equal to rain or distilled water.

It gave to litmus paper, a slight degree of redness, evincing the presence of the carbonic acid, or fixed air. Sulphuric acid threw down a few detached particles. Oxylat of ammoniac caused a deposition and white cloud, shewing the presence of a small portion of lime. Prussiat of potash produced a slight and scarcely perceptible tinge of blue, designating the presence of a small quantity of iron.

Sixteen pounds of water, evaporated to dryness, left ten grains of grey powder, which proved to be lime.

The myrtle wax tree grows in the vicinity of the springs. At the season in which the voyagers were there, the wax was no longer green, but had changed its color to a greyish white, from its long exposure to the weather. The berry, when examined by a microscope, is less than the smallest garden pea, approaching to an oval in form. The nucleus, or real seed, is the size of the seed of a radish, and is covered with a number of brownish kidney shaped glands, of a brown color, and sweet taste; these glands secrete the wax, which completely envelops them, and at this season, gives to the whole the appearance of an imperfectly white berry. This is a valuable plant, and merits attention: its favorite position is a dry soil, rather poor, and looking down upon the water. It is well adapted to ornament the margins of canals, lakes, or rivulets. The cassina yapon, is equally beautiful, and proper for the same purpose; it grows here along the banks of this stony creek, intermingled with the myrtle, and bears a beautiful little red berry, very much resembling the red currant.

The rock through which the hot springs either pass or trickle over, appears undermined by the waters of the creek. The hot water is continually depositing calcareous, and, perhaps, some silicious matter; forming new rocks, always augmenting, and projecting their promontories over the running water of the creek, which prevents its formation below the surface. Wherever this calcareous crust is seen spreading over the bank and margin of the creek, there most certainly the hot water will be found; either running over the surface, or through some channel, perhaps below the new rock, or dripping from the edges of the overhanging precipice. The progress of nature, in the formation of this new rock, is curious, and worthy the attention of the mineralogist. When the hot water issues from the fountain, it frequently spreads over a superficies of some extent; so far as it reaches, on either hand, there is a deposition or growth of green matter: several lamina of this green matter will be found lying over each other; and immediately under, and in contact with the inferior lamina, which is not thicker than paper, is found a whitish substance, resembling a coagulum; when viewed with a microscope, this last is also found to consist of several, sometimes a good number of lamina, of which that next the green is the finest, and thinnest, being the last formed; those below increasing in thickness and tenacity, until the last terminates in a soft earthy matter, which reposes on the more solid rock. Each lamina of the coagulum is penetrated in all its parts by calcareous grain, extremely minute, and divided in the more recent web, but much larger, and occupying the whole of the inferior lamina. The under stratum is continually consolidating, and adding bulk and height to the rock; when this acquires such an elevation as to stop the passage of the water, it finds another course over the rock, hill, or margin of the creek; forming, in turn, accumulations of recent matter, over the whole of the adjacent space; when the water has found itself a new channel, the green matter, which sometimes acquires a thickness of half an inch, is speedily converted into a rich vegetable earth, and becomes the food of plants. The surface of the calcareous rock also decomposes, and forms the richest black mould intimately mixed with a considerable portion of soil; plants and trees vegetate luxuriantly upon it.

On examining a piece of ground upon which the snow dissolved as it fell, and which was covered with herbage, they found in some places a calcareous crust on the surface, but in general a depth of from five inches to a foot of the richest black mould. The surface was sensibly warm to the touch. In the air, the mercury in the thermometer stood at forty-four degrees; when placed four inches under the surface, and covered with earth, it rose rapidly to sixty eight degrees; and upon the calcareous rock, eight inches beneath the surface, it rose to eighty degrees. This result was uniform over the whole surface, which was about a quarter of an acre.

On searching, they found a spring about fifteen inches under the surface, in the water of which, the thermometer shewed a temperature of one hundred and thirty degrees. Beneath the black mould, was found a brown mixture of lime and silix, very loose and divisible, apparently in a state of decomposition, and progressing towards the formation of black mould; under this brownish mass, it became gradually whiter and harder, to the depth of from six to twelve inches, where it was a calcareous sparkling stone. It was evident, that the water had passed over this place, and formed a flat superficies of "silicious lime stone;" and that its position, nearly level, had facilitated the accumulation of earth in proportion as the decomposition advanced. Similar spots of ground were found higher up the hill, resembling little savannas, near which hot springs were always discovered, which had once flowed over them.

It appears probable that the hot water of the springs, at an early period, had all issued from its grand reservoir in the hill at a much greater elevation than at present. The calcareous crust may be traced up, in most situations, on the west side of the hill, looking down the creek and valley, to a certain height, perhaps one hundred feet perpendicular. In this region the hill rises precipitously, and is studded with hard silicious stones; below, the descent is more gradual, and the soil a calcareous black earth. It is easy to discriminate the primitive hill from that which has accumulated by precipitation from the water of the springs. This last is entirely confined to the west side of the hill, and washed at its base by the waters of the creek, no hot spring being visible in any other part of its circumference. By actual measurement, along the base of the hill, the influence of the springs is found to extend

seventy perches, in a direction a little to the eastward of north. Along the whole of this place, the springs have deposited stony matter, calcareous, with an admixture of siliceous, or crystallized lime. The accumulation of calcareous matter is more considerable at the north end of the hill than the south; the first may be above a hundred feet perpendicular, but sloping much more gradually than the primitive hill above, until it approaches the creek, where, not unfrequently, it terminates in a precipice, of from six to twenty feet. The difference between the primitive and secondary hill is so striking, that a superficial observer must notice it. The first is regularly very steep, and studded with rock and stone of the hardest flint, and other silicious compounds; and a superficies of two or three inches of good mould covers a red clay. Below, on the secondary hill, which carries evident marks of recent formation, no flint or silicious stone is found; the calcareous rock conceals all from view, and is itself frequently covered by much fine, rich, black earth. It would seem that this compound, precipitated from the hot waters, yields easily to the influence of the atmosphere: for, when the waters cease to flow over any portion of the rock, it speedily decomposes: probably more rapidly from the heat communicated from the interior of the hill, as insulated masses of the rock are observed to remain without change.

The cedar, the wax myrtle, and the cassia yapon, all evergreens, attach themselves particularly to the calcareous region, and seem to grow and thrive, even in the clefts of the solid rock.

A spring, enjoying a freedom of position, proceeds with great regularity in depositing the matter it holds in solution. The border, or rim, of its basin, forms an elevated ridge, from whence proceeds a glacis, all around. When the waters have flowed for some time over one part of the brim, this becomes more elevated, and the water has to seek a passage where there is less resistance; thus forming, in miniature, a crater, resembling, in shape, the conical summit of a volcano. The hill being steep above, the progress of petrification is stopped, on that side, and the waters continue to flow and spread abroad, encrusting the whole face of the hill below. The last formed calcareous border of the circular basin is soft, and easily divided. At a small depth, it is more compact; and, at the depth of five inches, it is generally hard white stone. If the bottom of the basin is stirred up, a quantity of the red calx of iron rises, and escapes over the summit of the crater.

Visitors to the hot springs, having observed shrubs and trees, with their roots, in the hot water, have been induced to try experiments, by sticking branches of trees in the run of hot water. Some branches of the wax myrtle were found thrust into the bottom of a spring run, the water of which was 130°, by Fahrenheit's thermometer. The foliage and fruit of the branch were not only sound and healthy, but, at the surface of the water, roots were actually sprouting from it. On pulling it up, the part which had penetrated the hot mud, was found decayed.

The green substance discoverable at the bottom of the hot springs, and which, at first sight, has the appearance of plush, on examination by the microscope, was found to be a vegetable production. A film of green matter spreads itself on the calcareous base, from which rise fibres more than half an inch in length, forming a beautiful vegetation. Before the microscope, it sparkled with innumerable nodules of lime, some part of which was beautifully crystallized. This circumstance might cause a doubt of its being a true vegetable; but its great resemblance to some of the mosses, particularly the byssi, and the discovery which Mr. Dunbar made, of its being the residence of animal life, confirmed his belief in its being a true moss. After a diligent search, he discovered a very minute shell fish, of the bivalve kind, inhabiting this moss, its shape nearly that of the fresh water muscle, the color of the shell a greyish brown, with spots of a purplish color. When the animal is undisturbed, it opens its shell, and thrusts out four legs, very transparent, and articulated like those of a quadruped. The extremities of the fore legs are very slender and sharp, but those of the hind legs somewhat broader, apparently armed with minute toes. From the extremity of each shell issues three or four forked hairs, which the animal seems to possess the power of moving. The fore legs are probably formed for making incisions into the moss, for the purpose of procuring access to the juices of the living plant, upon which, no doubt, it feeds. It may be provided with a proboscis, although it did not appear while the animal was under examination. The hind legs are well adapted for propelling it in its progress over the moss, or through the water.

It would be desirable to ascertain the cause of that perpetual fire which keeps up the high temperature of so many springs as flow from this hill, at a considerable distance from each other. Upon looking around, however, sufficient data for the solution of the difficulty is not discoverable. Nothing of a volcanic nature is to be seen in this country. Neither could they learn that any evidence, in favor of such a supposition, was to be found in the mountains connected with this river. An immense bed of dark blue schistus appears to form the base of the hot spring hill, and of all those in its neighborhood. The bottom of the creek is formed of it; and pieces are frequently met with, rendered soft by decomposition, and possessing a strong alluminous taste, requiring nothing but lixiviation, and crystallization, to complete the manufacture of alum. As bodies undergoing chemical changes generally produce an alteration of temperature, the heat of these springs may be owing to the disengagement of caloric, or the decomposition of the schistus. Another, and, perhaps, a more satisfactory cause may be assigned: It is well known, that, within the circle of the waters of this river, vast beds of martial pyrites exist; they have not yet, however, been discovered in the vicinage of the hot springs, but may, nevertheless, form immense beds under the bases of these hills, and as in one place, at least, there is evidence of the presence of bitumen.\* The union of these agents will, in the progress of decomposition, by the admission of air and moisture, produce degrees of heat capable of supporting the phenomena of hot springs. No sulphuric acid is present in this water; the springs may be supplied by the vapor of heated water ascending from caverns where the heat is generated; or the heat may be immediately applied to the bottom of an immense natural cauldron of rock, contained in the bowels of the hill, from which, as a reservoir, the springs may be supplied.

A series of accurate observations determined the latitude of the hot springs to be 34° 31' 4.16" north, and longitude 6h. 11' 25", or 92° 50' 45" west from the meridian of Greenwich.

While Mr. Dunbar was making arrangements for transporting the baggage back to the river camp, Doctor Hunter, with a small party, went on an excursion into the country. He left the hot springs on the morning of the 27th, and after travelling, sometimes over hills and steep craggy mountains, with narrow valleys between them, then up the valleys, and generally by the side of a branch emptying into the Washita, they reached the main branch of the Calfat in the evening, about twelve miles from the springs. The stones they met with, during the first part of the day, were silicious, of a whitish grey, with flints, white, cream colored, red, &c. The beds of the rivulets, and often a considerable way up the hills, shewed immense bodies of schistus, both blue and grey; some of it efflorescing and tasting strongly of alum. The latter part of the day they travelled over, and between hills of black, hard, compact flint, in shapeless masses, with schistus, as before. On ascending these high grounds, you distinctly perceive the commencement of the piny region; beginning at the height of sixty or seventy feet, and extending to the top. The soil in these narrow valleys is thin and full of stones. The next day, which was stormy, they reached a branch of the Bayou de Saline, which stretches towards the Arkansas, and empties into the Washita many leagues below, having gone about twelve miles. The mountains they had passed being of the primitive kind, which seldom produce metals, and having hitherto seen nothing of a mineral kind, a little poor iron ore excepted, and the face of the country, as far as they could see, presenting the same aspect, they returned to the camp at the hot springs, on the evening of the 30th, by another route; in which, they met with nothing worthy notice.

In consequence of the rains which had fallen, Mr. Dunbar, and those who were transporting the baggage to the river camp, found the road watery. The soil on the flat lands, under the stratum of vegetable mould, is yellowish, and consists of decomposed schistus, of which there are immense beds in every stage of dissolution, from the hard stone, recently uncovered, and partially decomposed, to the yellow and apparently homogeneous earth. The covering of vegetable mould between the hills and river; is, in the most places, sufficiently thick to constitute a good soil, being from four to six inches; and it is the opinion of the people upon the Washita, that wheat will grow here to great perfection, although the higher hills, three hundred to six hundred feet in height, are very rocky; yet, the

\* Having thrust a stick down into the crater of one of the springs, at some distance up the hill, several drops of petroleum, or naphtha, rose, and spread upon the surface. It ceased to rise, after three or four attempts.



inferior hills, and the sloping bases of the first, are generally covered with a soil of a middling quality. The natural productions are sufficiently luxuriant, consisting chiefly of black and red oak, intermixed with a variety of other woods, and a considerable undergrowth. Even on these rocky hills, are three or four species of vines, said to produce, annually, an exuberance of excellent grapes. A great variety of plants, which grow here, some of which, in their season, are said to produce flowers highly ornamental, would probably reward the researches of the botanist.

On the morning of the 8th January, 1805, the party left Ellis's, on the river camp, where they had been detained for several days, waiting for such a rise in the waters of the river, as would carry their boat in safety over the numerous rapids below. A rise of about six feet, which had taken place the evening before, determined them to move this morning; and they passed the chutes about one o'clock. They stopped to examine the rocky promontory below these falls, and took some specimens of the stone, which so much resemble the turkey oil stone. It appears too hard. The strata of this chain was observed to run perpendicularly, nearly east and west, crossed by fissures at right angles, from five to eight feet apart; the lamina, from one-fourth of an inch to five inches in thickness. About a league below, they landed at Whetstone Hill, and took several specimens. This projecting hill, is a mass of greyish blue schistus, of considerable hardness, and about twenty feet perpendicular, not regularly so; and, from a quarter to two inches in thickness, but does not split with an even surface.

They landed again on the morning of the 9th, in sight of the Bayou de la prairie de Champignole, to examine and take specimens of some free stone, and blue slate: the slate is a blue schistus, hard, brittle, and unfit for the covering of a house; none proper for that purpose have been discovered, except on the Calfat, which Doctor Hunter met with in one of his excursions. On the evening of the 10th, they encamped near "Arclon's troughs," having been only three days in descending the distance, which took them thirteen to ascend. They stopped sometime at the camp of a Mr. Le Fevre. He is an intelligent man, a native of the Illinois, but now residing at the Arkansas. He came there with some Delaware and other Indians, whom he had fitted out with goods; and receives their peltry, fur, &c. at a stipulated price, as it is brought in by the hunters. Mr. Le Fevre possesses considerable knowledge of the interior of the country; he confirms the accounts before obtained, that the hills or mountains which give rise to this little river, are in a manner insulated; that is, they are entirely shut in and enclosed by the immense plains, or prairies, which extend beyond the Red river to the south, and beyond the Missouri, or at least, some of its branches, to the north, and range along the eastern base of the great chain, or dividing ridge, commonly known by the name of the Sand hills, which separate the waters of the Mississippi from those which fall into the Pacific ocean. The breadth of this great plain is not well ascertained; it is said by some to be, at certain parts, or in certain directions, not less than two hundred leagues; but it is agreed by all that have a knowledge of the Western country, that the mean breadth is at least two-thirds of that distance. A branch of the Missouri, called the river Platte, or Shallow river, is said to take its rise so far south, as to derive its first waters from the neighborhood of the sources of the Red and Arkansas rivers. By the expression plains, or prairies, in this place, is not to be understood a dead flat, resembling certain savannas, whose soil is stiff and impenetrable, often under water, and bearing a coarse grass, resembling reeds. Very different are the Western prairies, which expression signifies only a country without timber. These prairies are neither flat nor hilly, but undulating into gently swelling lawns, and expanding into spacious valleys, in the centre of which is always found a little timber, growing on the banks of brooks and rivulets of the finest water. The whole of these prairies are represented to be composed of the richest and most fertile soil. The most luxuriant and succulent herbage covers the surface of the earth, interspersed with millions of flowers and flowering shrubs, of the most ornamental kinds. Those who have viewed only a skirt of these prairies, speak of them with a degree of enthusiasm, as if it was only there that nature was to be found truly perfect: they declare, that the fertility and beauty of the rising grounds, the extreme richness of the vales, the coolness and excellent quality of the water found in every valley, the salubrity of the atmosphere, and above all, the grandeur of the enchanting landscape which this country presents, inspires the soul with sensations not to be felt in any other region of the globe. This paradise is now very thinly inhabited by a few tribes of savages, and by the immense herds of wild cattle (bison) which people these countries. The cattle perform regular migrations, according to the seasons, from south to north, and from the plains to the mountains; and in due time, taught by their instincts, take a retrograde direction. These tribes move in the rear of their herds, and pick up stragglers, and such as lag behind, which they kill with the bow and arrow, for their subsistence. This country is not subjected to those sudden deluges of rain, which, in most hot countries, and even in the Mississippi territory, tear up, and sweep away with irresistible fury, the crop and soil together: on the contrary, rain is said to become more rare in proportion as the great chain of mountain is approached; and it would seem that, within the sphere of the attraction of those elevated ridges, little or no rain falls upon the adjoining plains. This relation is the more credible, as in that respect our new country may resemble other flat, or comparatively low countries, similarly situated; such as the country lying between the Andes and the western Pacific. The plains are supplied with nightly dews, so extremely abundant as to have the effect of refreshing showers of rain; and the spacious valleys, which are extremely level, may, with facility, be watered by the rills and brooks, which are never absent from these situations.

Such is the description of the better known country lying to the south of the Red river from Nacogdoches towards St. Antonio, in the province of Texas. The richest crops are said to be procured there without rain; but, agriculture, in that quarter, is at a low ebb; the small quantities of maize furnished by the country, are said to be raised without cultivation. A rude opening is made in the earth, sufficient to deposite the grain at the distance of four or five feet in irregular squares, and the rest is left to nature. The soil is tender, spongy, and rich, and seems always to retain humidity sufficient, with the bounteous dews of Heaven, to bring the crops to maturity.

The Red and Arkansas rivers, whose courses are very long, pass through portions of this fine country; they are both navigable, to an unknown distance, by boats of proper construction; the Arkansas river is, however, understood to have greatly the advantage with respect to the facility of navigation. Some difficult places are met with in the Red river, below the Natchitoches, after which, it is good, for one hundred and fifty leagues, (probably computed leagues of the country, about two miles each.) There the voyager meets with a very serious obstacle—the commencement of the "raft," as it is called; that is, a natural covering, which conceals the whole river, for an extent of seventeen leagues, continually augmenting by the drift wood brought down by every considerable fresh. This covering, which for a considerable time was only drift wood, now supports a vegetation of every thing abounding in the neighboring forest, not excepting trees of considerable size; and the river may be frequently passed, without any knowledge of its existence. It is said that the annual inundation is opening for itself a new passage, through the low grounds, near the hills; but it must be long before nature, unaided, will excavate a passage sufficient for the waters of Red river. About fifty leagues above this natural bridge, is the residence of the Cadeaux, or Cadadoquis nation, whose good qualities are already mentioned. The inhabitants estimate the post of Natchitoches to be half way between New Orleans and the Cadeaux nation. Above this point, the navigation of Red river is said to be embarrassed by many rapids, falls, and shallows.

The Arkansas river is said to present a safe, agreeable, and uninterrupted navigation, as high as it is known. The lands on each side, are of the best quality, and well watered with springs, brooks, and rivulets, affording many situations for mill seats. From description, it would seem, that, along this river, there is a regular gradation of hill and dale, presenting their extremities to the river; the hills are gently swelling eminences, and the dales, spacious valleys, with living water meandering through them; the forests consist of handsome trees, chiefly what is called open woods, without cane brake, or much underwood. The quality of the land is supposed superior to that on Red river, until it ascends to the prairie country, where the lands on both rivers are probably similar. About two hundred leagues up the Arkansas is an interesting place, called the Salt prairie; there is a considerable fork of the river there, and a kind of savanna, where the salt water is continually oozing out, and spreading over the surface of a plain. During the dry summer season, the salt may be raked up in large heaps; a natural crust, of a hand-breadth in thickness, is formed at this season. This place is not often frequented, on account of the danger from the Osage Indians; much less dare the white hunters venture to ascend higher, where it is generally believed that silver is to be found. It is further said, that, high up the Arkansas river, salt is found in form of a solid rock, and may be dug out with the crowbar. The waters of the Arkansas, like those of Red river, are not potable during the dry season,

being both charged highly with a reddish earth or marl, and extremely brackish. This inconvenience is not greatly felt upon the Arkansas, where springs and brooks of fresh water are frequent; the Red river is understood not to be so highly favored. Every account seems to prove, that immense natural magazines of salt must exist in the great chain of mountains to the westward; as, all the rivers, in the summer season, which flow from them, are strongly impregnated with that mineral, and are only rendered palatable after receiving the numerous streams of fresh water, which join them in their course. The great Western prairies, besides the herds of wild cattle (bison, commonly called buffalo), are also stocked with vast numbers of a wild goat, (not resembling the domestic goat) extremely swift footed. As the description given of this goat is not perfect, it may, from its swiftness, prove to be the antelope; or, it may, possibly, be a goat which has escaped from the Spanish settlements of New Mexico. A Canadian, who had been much with the Indians, to the westward, speaks of a wool-bearing animal, larger than a sheep; the wool much mixed with hair, which he had seen in large flocks; he pretends, also, to have seen the unicorn, the single horn of which, he says, rises out of the forehead, and curls back, conveying the idea of the fossil cornu ammonis. This man says, he has travelled beyond the great dividing ridge, so far as to have seen a large river, flowing to the westward. The great dividing mountain is so lofty, that it requires two days to ascend from the base to its top; other ranges of inferior mountains lie before and behind it; they are all rocky and sandy; large lakes and valleys lie between the mountains. Some of the lakes are so large as to contain considerable islands, and rivers flow from some of them. Great numbers of fossil bones, of very large dimensions, are seen among the mountains, which the Canadian supposed to be of the elephant. He does not pretend to have seen any of the precious metals, but has seen a mineral which he supposed might yield copper. From the top of the high mountain, the view is bounded by a curve, as upon the ocean, and extends over the most beautiful prairies, which seem to be unbounded, particularly towards the east. The finest of the lands he has seen, are on the Missouri; no other can compare in richness and fertility with them. This Canadian, as well as Le Fevre, speak of the Osages, of the tribe of White Hairs, as lawless and unprincipled; and the other Indian tribes hold them in abhorrence, as a barbarous and uncivilized race; and the different nations who hunt in their neighborhood have been concerting plans for their destruction.

On the morning of the 11th, the party passed the *petit ecore à Fabri*. The osier which grows on the beaches above, is not seen below upon this river; and here they began to meet with the small tree, called "charnier," which grows only on the water side, and is met with all the way down the Washita. The latitude of 33° 40', seems the northern boundary of the one, and the southern boundary of the other of these vegetables. Having noticed the limits set to the long moss, (tillandria) on the ascent of the river, in latitude 33°, Mr. Dunbar made inquiry of Mr. Le Fevre, as to its existence on the Arkansas settlement, which is known to lie in about the same parallel; he said, that its growth is limited about ten miles south of the settlement, and that, as remarkably, as if a line had been drawn east and west for the purpose; as it ceases all at once, and not by degrees. Hence, it appears that nature has marked, with a distinguishing feature, the line established by Congress between the Orleans and Louisiana territories. The cypress is not found on the Washita, higher than thirty four degrees of North latitude.

In descending the river, they found their rate of going to exceed that of the current about six miles and a half, in twenty-four hours; and that, on the 12th, they had passed the apex of the tide, or wave occasioned by the fresh, and were descending along an inclined plane, as they encamped at night; they found themselves in deeper water the next morning, and on a more elevated part of the inclined plane than they had been in the preceding evening, from the progress of the apex of the tide during their repose.

At noon, on the 16th, they reached the post of the Washita.

Mr. Dunbar being anxious to reach Natchez, as early as possible, and being unable to procure horses at the post, took a canoe, with one soldier, and his own domestic, to push down to the Catahoola, from whence to Concord, there is a road of thirty miles, across the low grounds. He set off early on the morning of the 20th, and at night reached the settlement of an old hunter, with whom he had conversed on his way up the river. This man informed him, that, at the place called the Mine, on the Little Missouri, there is a smoke which ascends perpetually from a particular place, and that the vapour is sometimes insupportable. The river, or a branch of it, passes over a bed of mineral, which, from the description given, is, no doubt, martial pyrites. In a creek or branch of the *fourche à Luke\**, there is found, on the beaches, and in the cliffs, a great number of globular bodies, some as large, or larger, than a man's head; which, when broken, exhibit the appearance of gold, silver, and precious stones; most probably, pyrites and chrysalized spar. And at the "*fourche des glaises à Paul*,"† near the river, there is a cliff full of hexagonal prisms, terminated by pyramids, which appear to grow out of the rock; they are from six to eight inches in length, and some of them an inch in diameter. There are beds of pyrites found in several small creeks communicating with the Washita; but it appears that the mineral indications are greatest on the Little Missouri, because, as before noted, some of the hunters actually worked on them, and sent a parcel of the ore to New Orleans. It is the belief here, that the mineral contained precious metal, but that the Spanish Government did not choose a mine should be opened so near to the British settlements. An express prohibition was issued against working these mines.

At this place Mr. Dunbar obtained one or two slips of the "bois d'arc," (bow wood) or yellow wood, from the Missouri. The fruit which had fallen before maturity, lay upon the ground; some were of the size of a small orange, with a rind full of tubercles; the color, though it appeared faded, still retained a resemblance to pale gold. The tree, in its native soil, when laden with its golden fruit, (nearly as large as the egg of an ostrich), presents the most splendid appearance; its foliage is of a deep green, resembling the varnished leaf of the orange tree, and upon the whole, no forest tree can compare with it in ornamental grandeur. The bark of the young tree resembled in texture the dogwood bark; the appearance of the wood recommends it for trial, as an article which may yield a yellow dye. It is deciduous, the branches are numerous, and full of short thorns or prickles, which seem to point it out as proper for hedges, or live fences. This tree is known to exist near the Natchitoches (perhaps in latitude 32°) and upon the river Arkansas high up, (perhaps in latitude 36°); it is, therefore, probable that it may thrive from latitude 38° to 40°, and will be a great acquisition to the United States, if it possess no other merit than that of being ornamental.

In descending the river, both Mr. Dunbar and Dr. Hunter searched for the place said to yield gypsum, or plaster of Paris, but failed. The former gentleman states that he has no doubt of its existence; having noted two places where it has been found; one of which is the first hill or high land which touches the river on the west, above Bayou Calumet, and the other is the second high land on the same side. As these are two points of the same continued ridge, it is probable that an immense body of gypsum will be found in the bowels of the hill where they meet, and perhaps extending far beyond them.

On the evening of the twenty-second, Mr. Dunbar arrived at the Catahoola, where a Frenchman, of the name of Hebrard, who keeps the ferry across Black river, is settled. Here the road from the Washita forks, one branch of it leading to the settlements on Red river, the other up to the post of the Washita. The proprietor of this place has been a hunter, and a great traveller up the Washita, and into the Western country; he confirms, generally, the accounts received from others. It appears, from what they say, that, in the neighborhood of the hot springs, but higher up, among the mountains, and upon the Little Missouri, during the summer season, explosions are very frequently heard, proceeding from under the ground. And, not rarely, a curious phenomenon is seen, which is termed the blowing of the mountains; it is confined elastic gas, forcing a passage through the side or top of a hill, driving before it a great quantity of earth or mineral matter. During the winter season the explosions and blowing of the mountains entirely cease, from whence we may conclude that the cause is comparatively superficial, being brought into action by the increased heat of the more direct rays of the summer sun.

The confluence of the Washita, Catahoola, and Tensa, is an interesting place. The last of these communicates with the Mississippi low lands, by the intervention of other creeks and lakes, and by one in particular, called "Bayou d'Argent," which empties into the Mississippi about fourteen miles above Natchez. During high water there is a navigation for batteaux, of any burthen, along the Bayou. A large lake, called St. John's lake, occupies

\* Three leagues above Ellis' camp.

† Higher up the river than *fourche à Luke*.



a considerable part of the passage between the Mississippi and the Tensa; it is in a horse-shoe form, and has, at some former period, been the bed of the Mississippi. The nearest part of it is about one mile removed from the river, at the present time. This lake, possessing elevated banks, similar to those of the river, has been lately occupied and improved. The Catahoola bayou is the third navigable stream; during the time of the inundation, there is an excellent communication by the lake of that name, and from thence, by large creeks, to the Red river. The country around the point of union of these three rivers, is altogether alluvial; but the place of Mr. Hebrard's residence is no longer subject to inundation. There is no doubt, that, as the country augments in population and riches, this place will become the site of a commercial inland town, which will keep pace with the progress and prosperity of the country. One of the Indian mounts here is of a considerable elevation, with a species of rampart surrounding a large space, which was, no doubt, the position of a fortified town.

While here, Mr. Dunbar met with an American, who pretended to have been up the Arkansas river three hundred leagues. The navigation of this river, he says, is good to that distance, for boats drawing three or four feet water. Implicit faith, perhaps, ought not to be given to his relation respecting the quantity of silver he pretends to have collected there. He says he has found silver on the Washita, thirty leagues above the hot springs, so rich, that three pounds of it yielded one pound of silver; and that this was found in a cave. He asserts, also, that the ore of the mine upon the Little Missouri was carried to Kentucky, by a person of the name of Boon, where it was found to yield largely in silver. This man says he has been up the Red river likewise; and that there is a great rapid just below the raft, or natural bridge, and several others above it; that the Cadeaux nation is about fifty leagues above the raft, and near to their village commences the country of the great prairies, which extend four or five hundred miles west, to the Sand mountains, as they are termed. These great plains reach far beyond the Red river to the south, and northward over the Arkansas river, and among the numerous branches of the Missouri. He confirms the account of the beauty and fertility of the Western country.

On the morning of the twenty-fifth, Mr. Dunbar set out on horseback, from the Catahoola to Natchez. The rain which had fallen on the preceding days, rendered the roads wet and muddy, and it was two in the afternoon before he reached the bayou Crocodile, which is considered half way between the Black river and the Mississippi. It is one of the numerous creeks in the low grounds, which assist in venting the waters of the inundation. On the margin of the water courses the lands are highest, and produce canes; they fall off in the rear, into cypress swamps and lakes. The waters of the Mississippi were rising, and it was with some difficulty that they reached a house near Concord that evening. This settlement was begun since the cession of Louisiana to the United States, by citizens of the Mississippi territory, who have established their residence altogether upon newly acquired lands, taken up under the authority of the Spanish commandant, and have gone to the expense of improvement, either in the names of themselves, or others, before the twentieth of December, 1803, hoping, thereby, to hold their new possessions under the sanction of the law. Exclusive of the few actual residents on the banks of the Mississippi, there are two very handsome lakes in the interior, on the banks of which similar settlements have been made. He crossed at the ferry, and at mid-day of the twenty-sixth, reached his own house.

Dr. Hunter, and the remainder of the party, followed Mr. Dunbar down the Washita, with the boat in which they ascended the river; and, ascending the Mississippi, reached St. Catherine's Landing on the morning of the 31st January, 1805.

*Common names of some of the trees, shrubs, and plants, growing in the vicinity of the Washita.*

Three kinds of white oak; four kinds of red oak; black oak; three kinds of hickory, one of which has an oblong nut, white and good; chinquapin; three kinds of ash, one of which is the prickly; three kinds of elm; two kinds of maple; two kinds of pine; red cedar; sweet gum; black gum; linden; two kinds of iron wood, growing on high and low lands; sycamore; box elder; holly; sweet bay; laurel; magnolia acuminata; black walnut; filbert; buckeye; dogwood; three kinds of locust, the three thorned and honey locust; hazle; beech; wild plum, the fruit red, but not good; bois d'arc, (bow wood) called also bois jaune, (yellow wood) a famous yellow dye; three kinds of hawthorn, with berries, red, scarlet, and black; lote tree, for Indian arrows; bois de cabane, a small growth, and proper for hoops; two kinds of osier; myrtle; tooth-ache tree; and magnolia.

A vine, bearing large good black grapes, in bunches; black grape; hill grape; yellow grape; muscadine, or fox grape, and a variety of other vines. The saw brier, single rose brier, and china root brier; wild gooseberry, with a dark red fruit; three kinds of whortleberry; wild pomegranate; passion flower; two sorts of sumach; winter's berry; winter's green; a small red farinaceous berry, like a haw, on a plant one inch high, which grows under the snow, it is eaten by the Indians; the silk plant; wild endive; wild olive; pink root; snake root; wild mint, of three kinds; coloquintida, (bitter apple) growing along the river side; clover; sheeps' clover; life-everlasting; wild liquorice; marygold; misletoe; thistle; wild hemp; bull-rush; dittany; white and red poppy; yellow jessamine; poke; fern; capillaire; honeysuckle; mopes; petu, to make ropes with; wormwood; hops; ipecacuanha; persicaria; Indian turnip; wild carrot; wild onion; ginger; wild cabbage; and bastard indigo.

*Meteorological Observations, made by Mr. Dunbar and Dr. Hunter, in their voyage up the Red and Washita rivers, in the year 1804.*

Time of observation and day of the month.	THERMOMETER.				WIND.	WEATHER AND METEOROLOGICAL PHENOMENA, &c.
	sun rise.	3 p. m.	8 p. m.	in river water.		
1804—Oct. 20	40°	80°	-	73°		
21	60	83	-		SSE.	Light clouds.
22	65	79	-		SSE.	Cloudy.
23	67	73	-			
24	54	68	-	71	N. NNW.	Cloudy in morning, evening clear.
25	49	60	-	68	N.	Cloudy morning, clear evening.
26	40	70	-	65	NW.	Light clouds.
27	32	73	-	64	N.	Hoar frost, fog on river, clear above.
28	40	73	56°	63		
29	41	85	62	62	NW. SW.	Fog on river.
30	47	83	60	60	WNW.	Fog on river, clear above.
31	44	84	-	62	N. NW.	Fog on river, clear above.
Nov. 1	48	85	64	62	-	Calm and clear above.
2	48	84	78	62	SSE.	
3	52	86	72	64	-	Some light clouds.
4	54	83	63	64	-	Clear.
5	52	68	58	62	NW.	Heavy fog and damp air.
6	45	79	-	64	W.	Heavy fog.
7	52	80	67	64	-	Clear, lat. 32° 29' N.
8	53	61	56	58	-	Cloudy, a disagreeable damp day.
9	42	72	-	61	-	Cloudy, damp and cold.
10	40	72	34	58	-	Clear and calm.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS—Continued.

Time of obser- vation and day of the month.	THERMOMETER.				WIND.	WEATHER AND METEOROLOGICAL PHENOMENA, &c.
	sun rise.	3 p. m.	8 p. m.	in river water.		
1804—Nov. 11	24°	-	-	53°	- - -	Clear and calm.
12	36	-	54°	54	- - -	Clear and calm, cloudy in the evening.
13	33	66°	62	55	S. - - -	Fog on river, calm, evening cloudy.
14	44	58	44	55	- - -	Clear and calm.
15	38	60	50	54	- - -	Clouds, calm.
16	38	51	42	54	N. - - -	Morn. calm, aft'n cl'dy damp, and disagreeable.
17	40	41	44	54	- - -	Calm, fog on river, lat. 33° 13' N.
18	32	-	57	52	- - -	Serene morning, cloudy evening.
19	54	67	62	54	- - -	Cloudy, calm.
20	59	62	54	54	- - -	Cloudy, calm.
21	43	72	58	54	- - -	Calm, a little fog.
22	40	68	-	-	- - -	-
23	48	72	54	54	- - -	Light clouds, calm.
24	48	72	59	54	- - -	Light clouds, calm.
25	-	-	-	-	- - -	Rainy.
26	50	68	62	57	- - -	Clear.
27	54	71	66	58	- - -	Cloudy.
28	68	78	73	60	- - -	Cloudy, calm.
29	72	76	52	62	S. - - -	Cl'dy and strong w'd r'n 9 a. m. clear at noon.
30	32	57	-	60	- - -	Cloudy and calm.
Dec. 1	32	58	35	54	- - -	Clear and calm.
2	30	59	38	50	- - -	Clear and calm.
3	38	59	44	48	- - -	Clear and calm.
4	36	50	36	48	- - -	Clear and calm.
5	23	56	38	47	- - -	Serene and calm.
6	45	67	56	48	SW. - - -	Cloudy, light wind.
7	38	50	24	47	NW. - - -	Cloudy, lat. 34°, 27', 31".
8	10	47	-	43	NW. - - -	High wind, very serene.
9	19	42	28	41	NW. - - -	Very serene, wind moderate. [Springs.
10	26	50	28	-	NW. - - -	Very serene, wind mod. lat. 34° 31' N. At Hot
11	48	59	50	-	SE. - - -	Cloudy, damp, and penetrating.
12	36	44	32	-	N. - - -	Cloudy, damp, and disagreeable.
13	26	40	30	-	N. - - -	Cloudy, dark, and disagreeable.
14	28	40	32	-	NE. - - -	Cloudy, dark and cold, with sleet.
15	26	32	30	-	NW. - - -	Wind strong, cloudy.
16	21	34	22	-	NW. - - -	Wind moderate.
17	26	42	28	-	NW. - - -	Wind mod. bright morn. fine day, rain in night.
18	34	36	32	-	N. - - -	C'd d'p d'k cl'dy r'n at noon, hail & s'w in even.
19	30	30	23	-	W. - - -	Snowing, ground covered 4 inches with snow.
20	30	36	32	-	W. - - -	Light driving clouds from NW.
21	32	-	31	-	N. - - -	Cloudy and damp, snow on ground.
22	31	36	34	-	N. - - -	Dark and cl'dy, rain early in day, snow in even.
23	30	44	33	-	NW. - - -	Clouds begin to dissipate.
24	32	45	34	-	NW. - - -	Wind moderate.
25	34	50	44	-	NW. - - -	Cloudy.
26	34	50	34	-	NW. - - -	Clear and windy.
27	26	45	38	-	NE. - - -	Clear and cold.
28	34	32	30	-	SW. - - -	Cloudy in morning, snow in afternoon.
29	25	-	24	-	NW. - - -	Strong wind, stormy afternoon, calm night.
30	9	38	21	36	NW. - - -	High wind, last night very cold.
31	29	32	-	36	SE. - - -	Snow, lat. 34° 28' N.
1805—Jan. 1	26	32	18	-	- - -	Snow.
2	6	45	32	32	- - -	Calm.
3	22	48	30	34	NW. - - -	Wind moderate.
4	22	50	32	36	- - -	-
5	22	55	28	36	NW. SE. - - -	Clear.
6	28	50	44	38	- - -	Cloudy, and a little rain.
7	64	78	38	44	- - -	Night cloudy, cold, and moist.
8	28	37	37	46	- - -	Rain in evening and night.
9	42	36	24	44	N. - - -	Dark, cloudy, and cold, with hail.
10	23	32	19	42	N. - - -	Cold and damp, lat. 34, N.
11	11	32	26	39	- - -	Fine morning, and very cold.
12	20	43	30	40	- - -	The air damp and penetrating.
13	27	53	30	40	NE. - - -	Morning fine and dry, evening moist.
14	23	53	32	40	NW. - - -	Light wind, atmosphere dry.
15	30	63	43	40	SE. - - -	Cloudy, wind light.
16	36	65	60	41	- - -	At fort Miro, lat. 32° 30' N.
17	60	-	-	44	SW. - - -	Cloudy.
19	-	58	50	43	SW. - - -	Clear.
20	56	51	40	43	- - -	Clouds and drizzling rain.
21	21	36	26	40	E. - - -	Wind variable.
22	21	48	40	39	NE. - - -	Weather raw and cold.
23	49	64	54	42	SE. - - -	Clouds and drizzling rain.
24	55	50	46	43	- - -	Rain, lat. 31° 37' N.
25	36	40	40	40	- - -	Windy, cold, and raw.
26	32	36	33	42	NE. - - -	Stormy and snow.
27	24	50	32	44	E. - - -	Lat. 31° N.
28	26	56	40	34	N. - - -	On Mississippi river, clear and moderate.
29	34	56	-	33	N. - - -	Fine weather.
30	36	55	53	34	NE. - - -	Raw and cloudy.
31	56	-	-	38	SE. - - -	Cloudy and moderate.

9th CONGRESS.]

No. 114.

[2d SESSION.

## THE DELAWARES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DECEMBER 26, 1806.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress, the memorial and petition of Montgomery Montour, respectfully sheweth:*

That he is one of the Delaware nation, who resides on White Woman's creek, near Sandusky, in the State of Ohio, and son of the late Captain Montour, who served the United States faithfully during the Revolutionary war. That his nation, who anciently resided in the lower parts of Pennsylvania, gradually moved back to make room for the white people, until they settled down in their present situation; that, after a war with other Indians, about the land they have long occupied, they came to be peaceably possessed of it by a treaty, made long since with the other Indians. That, however, it appears, by a late treaty made by, and between the United States and the Delawares, Pattawafimies, Miamies, &c. that the Delawares had relinquished their claims to the said tract, and guaranteed the same to the United States. This treaty is ratified by the President, April 24, 1806; and another treaty of purchase appears to have been negotiated by William H. Harrison, with the Delawares and other Indians, on the 21st of August, 1805, and ratified on the same day as the former. Both treaties appear to have been signed by one or more chiefs of the Delaware nation, but your memorialist asserts, from his own knowledge, and undertakes to prove, that the chiefs of his nation, whose names are affixed to the said treaties, were not present, but at a great distance, when these treaties were negotiated and signed, and that, therefore, the commissioner of the United States must have been some how or other imposed upon, with respect to these Delaware chiefs. He also asserts, that they claim, and always have claimed, the complete right of soil, as secured to their fathers by treaty with the other Indians; but that, even admitting that they only claimed the use and occupancy of the soil, as long as they thought proper to occupy it, it appears reasonable that they should have had some compensation for relinquishing that right, with their extensive fields of clear land, houses, &c. but no such compensation is mentioned in the treaty. Your memorialist believes, that, by the laws and usages of the white people, so long undisturbed possession, residence, and improvements, would be sufficient to confirm a title; your memorialist, in behalf of the Delawares, long settled on White Woman's creek, does not wish nor propose to enter into a controversy with the United States, as he has perfect confidence in their justice and sympathy.

The Delawares, formerly a numerous and powerful nation, are reduced, as near as your petitioner can recollect, to forty-seven, or at most to fifty men, some of whom have very numerous families of children, some more than twenty and some of them more yet; but he thinks they may on an average have from three to four or five each; they have always lived nearest the white people, and still earnestly wish to do so. They reside at present in two towns, about ten miles apart. The lowest town contains much the greatest number of inhabitants, and amount of clear land, and at this town they are all willing to reside. Your petitioner, therefore, prays the honorable Congress to direct a survey of land, including the lower town, and its improvements, to be secured to the present inhabitants of the two towns and their heirs. He is the more anxious to obtain this, as his people have no other land to go to; and, should they be obliged to go to the Missouri, to settle among strange and warlike tribes, the remains of their already exhausted nation would be cut off, or lose what advances they have already made in the arts and manners of the white people. Your petitioner is the more confident of the reasonable attention of Congress, as he believes, he asks nothing but what the white people would think reasonable to be granted to them, if they were in the same situation in which the remains of his nation now are. He assures Congress that his people love the white people, and wish to be settled near them, and even round about them; they earnestly wish to learn agriculture and other improvements of life and manners, from the white people: in short, as soon as convenient, to become willingly one people with them.

Your petitioner, in behalf of his people, would prefer a natural boundary to be run by Killbuck, or otherwise Apple creek, as this would prevent disputes between them and the neighboring Indians, and secure to the United States much the best land. And if Congress are pleased to do so, the petitioners will guaranty the remainder, free of all compensation, to the United States, and relinquish the perpetual annuities already engaged by the United States; he begs leave further to observe, that the chiefs of his nation take it very hard that their property was sold, and their names affixed to a treaty, in their absence, and without their consent. Hoping for a favorable attention to the premises, your petitioner, as in duty bound, will pray.

MONTGOMERY MONTOUR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *January 8, 1807.*

SIR:

In reply to yours of the 2d instant, covering the petition of Montgomery Montour, I must remark that, previous to the information given by the petitioner since his arrival at this place, it was not known by the Executive that the Delaware Indians pretended to have any claim on the lands now petitioned for; and that, in the instructions given to the commissioner, who presided at the treaty, by which said lands were ceded to the United States, the Delawares were not contemplated as having any claim. Why the names of any Delawares were introduced among the signatures to said treaty, we have not been informed.

That the two detached villages of Delawares have any claim to said lands, rests, merely, on the declaration of the petitioner; but, as the inhabitants of those two villages are presumed to be destitute of any lands, which they have a right to cultivate, or on which to continue, their situation appears to call for some friendly aid; and Congress will decide whether grants of land, for the use of said villages, as long as the individuals, respectively, and their descendants, may continue thereon, will, under existing circumstances, be reasonable and expedient. A grant, on the foregoing principle, of such a tract, for each village, as would include their improvements, and afford to each family one hundred acres, would probably render general satisfaction.

The petition is herewith returned.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

H. DEARBORN.

Honorable JOHN BOYLE, *Chairman, &c.*

10th CONGRESS.]

No. 115.

[1st Session.

## PATAWATAMIES AND OTHERS.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, ON THE 30TH OF DECEMBER, 1807.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:*

I communicate to Congress the enclosed letters from Governor Hull, respecting the Indians in the vicinity of Detroit, residing within our lines. They contain information of the state of things in that quarter, which will properly enter into their view, in estimating the means to be provided for the defence of our country, generally.

TH: JEFFERSON.

December 30, 1807.

DETROIT, November —, 1807.

SIR:

In consequence of your letter of the 27th September last, containing the instructions of the President of the United States, to be communicated to the Indians, I have called together a number of the chiefs of different nations, and delivered to them the following speech:

MY CHILDREN:

I have received a speech from your Great Father of the Seventeen Fires, with directions to communicate it to you. I do it with pleasure, because the advice in it is a further evidence of his paternal care. It is designed for your own good, and the good of your women and children. Listen to it with attention, and seriously consider its contents.

Your Father, the President of the United States, desires to recall to your minds the paternal policy pursued towards you by the United States, and still meant to be pursued. That the United States never wished to do you an injury; but, on the contrary, to give you all the assistance in their power towards improving your condition, and enabling you to support yourselves and your families. He observes, that a misunderstanding having arisen between the United States and the English, war may possibly ensue: That, in this war, it is his wish the Indians should be quiet spectators; not wasting their blood in quarrels which do not concern them: That we are strong enough to fight our own battles, and therefore ask no help: and, if the English should ask theirs, it should convince them that it proceeds from a sense of their own weakness, which would not augur success in the end: That, at the same time, as we have learnt that some tribes are already expressing intentions hostile to the United States, we think it proper to apprise them of the ground on which they now stand, and that on which they will stand; for which purpose we make to them this solemn declaration of our unalterable determination, that we wish them to live in peace with all nations, as well as with us; and we have no intention ever to strike them as to do them an injury of any sort, unless first attacked or threatened: but, that, learning that some of them meditate war on us, we, too, are preparing for war against those, and those only, who shall seek it: and that, if ever we are constrained to lift the hatchet against any tribe, we will never lay it down till that tribe is exterminated, or driven beyond the Mississippi. He adjures them, therefore, if they wish to remain on the land which covers the bones of their fathers, to keep the peace with a people who ask their friendship without needing it; who wish to avoid war without fearing it: in war they will kill some of us; we shall destroy all of them. Let them then continue quiet at home; take care of their women and children, and remove from among them the agents of any nation, persuading them to war, and let them declare to us explicitly, and categorically, that they will do this; in which case they will have nothing to fear from the preparations we are now unwillingly making, to secure our own safety.

MY CHILDREN: Thus you see the interest your Great Father takes in your welfare; how anxious he is to promote your happiness; how desirous he is to prevent you from taking any measures, which will involve you in ruin; how generous in advising you to remain quiet spectators of any differences that may take place between the white people; how candid in warning you of the fate of any tribe, who shall have the hardihood to raise the hatchet against us.

MY CHILDREN: If you are faithful to yourselves; if you desire to promote your own happiness, and that of your women and children; if you expect a continuance of protection, and those friendly offices which you are constantly receiving; if, indeed, as your Great Father expresses it, you expect to continue in the land which covers the bones of your fathers, you will listen to his paternal counsel, and call the Great Spirit to witness your solemn determination to follow his advice.

MY CHILDREN: I expect from you a plain and decided answer, which I shall immediately transmit to the great council fire of the nation.

To which Nanaume, a chief of the Pattawatamy nation, made the following reply:

FATHER:

We have listened to what you said to us yesterday: we have had a council by ourselves, and I now speak the opinion of all my brethren present; and I believe I express the wishes of the whole Pattawatamy nation.

FATHER: We thank the Great Spirit that our Father of the Seventeen Fires does not wish to involve us in the quarrels of the white people: we hope they will have none; if they have any, they had better settle them by themselves.

FATHER: We wish the British would give us the same advice as we receive from our Great Father, the President of the United States. We believe he is strong, because he does not want any aid from us: we believe the British are weak, because they want us to assist them.

FATHER: We remember former times; how they deceived us. When we pass the banks of the Miami, we see the ruins of the old British fort: it reminds us of our fathers, who fell on those fatal plains: it reminds us how they were driven to combat against the Americans, and the fatal consequences which followed: it reminds us of the ingratitude of the British; how they shut the gates against us, when we were flying to them for protection.

FATHER: We never will again place any dependence on them; they have deceived us once, and we will not confide in them again.

FATHER: Why should we fight their battles? If they should be successful, we shall gain nothing by the contest; if they should be unfortunate, it will end in our destruction.

FATHER: We live in your country: we are under your protection. You feed us when we are hungry: you clothe us when we are naked: we receive every year money and valuable goods from our Great Father, the President. Although we have not the advantages of learning, as you white people have, we have too much understanding to forfeit all these advantages: we have too much justice and gratitude to injure our friends and benefactors.

FATHER: It is true we were invited to Malden. We have been there some time: we have been promised valuable presents: we have received little besides promises.

FATHER: We have left them; we will not return to them. We will take the advice of our Great Father of the Seventeen Fires, and remain quiet spectators of your quarrels, if you should have any. This is the determination of all the chiefs here present.

FATHER: When you first sent for us, we immediately prepared to come to see you. Captain McKee prevented us from coming then; he renewed his promises of presents to us, and gave us a keg of spirits: that fatal keg then stopped us. We were stopped a second and a third time: at last, without his knowledge, we crossed the river. We are now happy on your shore, and safe under your protection.

FATHER: Inform our Great Father we take him by the hand: we will hold it fast, and always listen to, and follow, his counsel. May the Great Spirit ever protect him and the people of the United States.

Then Pooquiboad, a chief of the Chippewa nation, spoke as follows:

FATHER: Your red children present salute you. Father, your red children, through you, take their good and Great Father, the President of the United States, by the hand, and to his advice make the following reply:

Our Great Father, the President of the United States, bad birds hover about us, but our ears are shut to their advice; our ears are open to nothing but the counsels of our Great Father.

FATHER: You cannot, you must not, suppose our intentions bad, or that we are hostile to our brethren, the whites of the United States: for, do you not see us here, surrounded by our women and children, counselling with you?

FATHER: We are informed that it is possible a rupture may take place between the English and the Americans; if that event should happen, we are determined not to take a part on either side, but remain quietly in our villages, taking care of our women and children, and cultivating our cornfields.

FATHER: Your children wish to enjoy a continuance of the blessings of peace with you; our hopes are in you; our dependence is on you; our only wish is to remain forever with you.

FATHER: Many of our people are ignorant; many of them are wicked; we cannot answer for their conduct. If some of them should raise the tomahawk, they must answer for the consequences.

FATHER: Our solemn determination is, never to raise the hatchet against the United States. We too well know the fatal consequences of it: for, if we are hungry, our Father feeds us; if we are dry, our Father gives us to drink; if we are naked, our Father clothes us; all which benefits we should forfeit by so doing.

FATHER: If the war pipe is offered us to smoke, we will reject it: we will send from among us all persons who give us bad counsel.

FATHER: One of our war chiefs is going on a visit to see our Great Father, the President of the United States, we hope he will be received and treated as his son; and we pray the Great Spirit to return him to us in health.

FATHER: Bad birds fly among the whites, as well as the red people; we hope you would not listen to them, but trust to the honor of your children. May the Great Spirit watch over us all.

The chiefs of the Ottawa nation, and of the Wyandot nation, have made similar determinations, and I have great confidence in their sincerity.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM HULL.

The Hon. HENRY DEARBORN, *Secretary of War.*

DETROIT, 24th November, 1807.

SIR:

I now have the pleasure to inform you that a number of principal chiefs have returned from Malden, and are now here. I have examined them separately, and they give this account, in which they all agree: That Aubayway called there on his way home from here: That great attention was paid to him by McKee and the British officers: That, four days ago, they were called to a council: That they were informed that a war would soon take place between them and the Americans, and that they (the Indians) must take up the hatchet, in their favor, against the Americans: That, before they gave an answer, they held a council by themselves, and appointed Aubayway to make their answer, which was as follows:

That they lived under the protection the United States: That they were treated with justice and kindness by their Great Father, the President: That they had lately made a treaty, in which they acknowledge themselves under the protection of the United States, and no other Power: That they had received, and were entitled to, valuable presents from the United States: That their Great Father, the President, did not ask them to involve themselves in the quarrels of the white people, but to remain quiet spectators: That they were all determined to take his advice: That it was an evidence he was strong enough to fight his own battles: That, after this council, many of them left Malden, although they were all urged to remain.

I have every reason to believe this to be true; as many as seven or eight hundred have called here within two or three days, on their way to their villages. I treat them kindly, and give them what they want to eat. I hope in a few days they will go to their villages and hunting grounds, and the issue of provisions will cease. You will find the issues of provisions the last month and this, very large, on account of the treaty; paying them their fort Industry money, and vast numbers of them returning from Malden. It is, however, nothing, compared to what has been issued by the British: that you say is no rule for us. I think, however, we had better feed them than fight them. The President's advice has a very happy effect on them.

I am, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM HULL.

To HENRY DEARBORN, Esq. *Secretary of War.*

[10th CONGRESS.]

No. 116.

[1st SESSION.]

### THE OTTAWAS AND OTHERS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE ON THE 15TH JANUARY, 1808.

*To the Senate of the United States:*

The posts of Detroit and Mackinac having been originally intended, by the government which established and held them, as mere depots for commerce with the Indians, very small cessions of land round them were obtained, or asked from the native proprietors, and these posts depended for protection, on the strength of their garrisons. The principles of our government leading us to the employment of such moderate garrisons, in time of peace, as may merely take care of the post, and to a reliance on the neighboring militia for its support in the first moments of war, I have thought it would be important to obtain from the Indians, such a cession in the neighborhood of these posts, as might maintain a militia proportioned to this object; and I have particularly contemplated, with this view, the acquisition of the eastern moiety of the peninsula between lakes Michigan and Huron, comprehending the waters of the latter, and of Detroit river, so soon as it could be effected with the perfect good will of the natives. Governor Hull was, therefore, appointed a commissioner to treat with them on this subject; but was instructed to confine his propositions, for the present, to so much of the tract, before described, as lay south of Saguna bay, and round to the Connecticut reserve, so as to consolidate the new with the present settled country. The result has been an acquisition of so much only of what would have been acceptable, as extends from the neighborhood of Saguna bay to the Miami of the lakes; with a prospect of soon obtaining a breadth of two miles, for a communication from the

Miami to the Connecticut reserve. The treaty for this purpose, entered into with the Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots, and Pattawatamies, at Detroit, on the 17th of November last, is now transmitted to the Senate; and I ask their advice and consent as to its ratification.

I communicate herewith, such papers as bear any material relation to the subject.

TH: JEFFERSON.

January 15, 1808.

*Articles of a Treaty between the United States of America and the Ottawa, Chippewa, Wyandot, and Pattawatamy nations of Indians.*

Articles of a treaty made at Detroit, this seventh day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven, by William Hull, Governor of the territory of Michigan, and superintendent of Indian affairs, and sole commissioner of the United States, to conclude and sign a treaty or treaties with the several nations of Indians, northwest of the river Ohio, on the one part; and the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the Ottawa, Chippewa, Wyandot, and Pattawatamy nations of Indians, on the other part.

To confirm and perpetuate the friendship which happily subsists between the United States and the nations aforesaid, to manifest the sincerity of that friendship, and to settle arrangements mutually beneficial to the parties; after a full explanation and perfect understanding, the following articles are agreed to, which, when ratified by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, shall be binding on them, and the respective nations of Indians:

ARTICLE 1. The sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the nations aforesaid, in consideration of money and goods to be paid to the said nations, by the Government of the United States, as hereafter stipulated, do hereby agree to cede, and forever quit claim, and do, in behalf of their nations, hereby cede, relinquish, and forever quit claim, unto the said United States, all right, title, and interest, which the said nations now have, or claim, or ever had, or claimed, in or unto the lands comprehended within the following described lines and boundaries: Beginning at the mouth of the Miami river of the lakes, and running thence up the middle thereof, to the mouth of the great Auglaize river; thence, running due north, until it intersects a parallel of latitude, to be drawn from the outlet of lake Huron, which forms the river Sinclair; thence, running northeast, the course that may be found will lead in a direct line to White rock in lake Huron; thence, due east, until it intersects the boundary line between the United States and Upper Canada, in said lake; thence southerly, following the said boundary line, down said lake, through river Sinclair, lake St. Clair, and the river Detroit, into lake Erie, to a point due east of the aforesaid Miami river; thence west, to the place of beginning.

ARTICLE 2. It is hereby stipulated and agreed, on the part of the United States, as a consideration for the lands ceded by the nations aforesaid, in the preceding article, that there shall be paid to the said nations, at Detroit, ten thousand dollars, in money, goods, implements of husbandry, or domestic animals, (at the option of the said nations, seasonably signified, through the superintendent of Indian affairs, residing with the said nations, to the Department of War,) as soon as practicable, after the ratification of the treaty, by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States. Of this sum, three thousand three hundred and thirty-three dollars, thirty-three cents and four mills, shall be paid to the Ottawa nation: three thousand three hundred and thirty-three dollars, thirty-three cents and four mills, to the Chippewa nation: one thousand six hundred and sixty-six dollars, sixty-six cents and six mills, to the Wyandot nation: one thousand six hundred and sixty-six dollars, sixty-six cents and six mills, to the Pattawatamy nation; and likewise an annuity forever, of two thousand four hundred dollars, to be paid at Detroit, in manner as aforesaid; the first payment to be made on the first day of September next, and to be paid to the different nations in the following proportions: Eight hundred dollars to the Ottawas; eight hundred dollars to the Chippewas; four hundred dollars to the Wyandots; and four hundred dollars to such of the Pattawatamies as now reside on the river Huron of lake Erie, the river Raisin, and in the vicinity of the said rivers.

ARTICLE 3. It is further stipulated and agreed, if at any time, hereafter, the said nations should be of the opinion, that it would be more for their interest, that the annuity aforesaid should be paid by instalments, the United States will agree to a reasonable commutation for the annuity, and pay it accordingly.

ARTICLE 4. The United States, to manifest their liberality, and disposition to encourage the said Indians in agriculture, further stipulate to furnish the said Indians with *two blacksmiths*; one to reside with the Chippewas at Saguina; and the other to reside with the Ottawas, at the Miami, during the term of ten years; said blacksmiths are to do such work for the said nations, as shall be most useful to them.

ARTICLE 5. It is further agreed and stipulated, that the said Indian nations shall enjoy the privilege of hunting and fishing on the lands ceded as aforesaid, as long as they remain the property of the United States.

ARTICLE 6. It is distinctly to be understood, for the accommodation of the said Indians, that the following tracts of land, within the cession aforesaid, shall be, and hereby are, reserved to the Indian nations: One tract of land, six miles square, on the Miami of lake Erie, above Roche de Bœuf, to include the village where Fondagame (or the Dog) now lives; also three miles square on the said river, (above the twelve mile square ceded to the United States by the treaty of Greenville) including what is called Presqu' Isle; also, four miles square, on the Miami bay, including the villages where Meshkeman and Waugau now live; also, three miles square, on the river Raisin, at a place called Macon, and where the river Macon falls into the river Raisin, which place is about fourteen miles from the mouth of said river Raisin; also, two sections, of one mile square, each, on the river Rouge, at Seginservin's village; also, two sections, of one mile square, each, at Tonquish's village, near the river Rouge; also, three miles square, on lake St. Clair, above the river Huron, to include Machonee's village; also, six sections, each section containing one mile square, within the cession aforesaid, in such situations as the said Indians shall elect, subject, however, to the approbation of the President of the United States, as to the places of location. It is further understood and agreed, that whenever the reservations cannot conveniently be laid out in squares, they shall be laid out in parallelograms or other figures, as found most practicable and convenient, so as to obtain the area specified in miles; and in all cases, they are to be located in such manner, and in such situations, as not to interfere with any improvements of the French, or other white people, or any former cessions.

ARTICLE 7. The said nations of Indians acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States and no other Power, and will prove, by their conduct, that they are worthy of so great a blessing.

In testimony whereof, the said William Hull, and the sachems and war chiefs, representing the said nations, have hereunto set their hands and seals. Done at Detroit, in the territory of Michigan, the day and year first above written.

WILLIAM HULL, [L. s.]  
PEE-WEN-SHE-ME-NOGH, [L. s.]  
And other Indians.

*Extract of a letter from Governor Hull to the Secretary of War, dated*

DETROIT, 23d December, 1807.

Before this reaches you, you will have received the treaty, which I have concluded with the Indians. As yet, I have heard of no complaint from a single individual of the Indians, respecting it. I believe a treaty was never made on fairer principles. Every thing relating to it, has been fully explained; they were not even urged to the measure; full time was given for them to deliberate, and this, sir, you may be assured of, it was the result of their own choice.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *January 27th, 1807.*

SIR:

With this, you will receive a commission, to hold a treaty with the chiefs of such Indian tribes or nations as are actually interested in the lands hereafter described, and to which, the President of the United States is desirous of obtaining the Indians' title, on reasonable terms, if practicable.

You will determine on the most suitable time and place for holding the treaty, and will, accordingly, take the necessary measures for having the chiefs duly notified.

No greater number of Indians should attend the treaty than what will be necessary to include all the chiefs of note, of the respective nations.

You will find it necessary for you to be particularly attentive to this object, otherwise, you will have such a concourse, as will not be only troublesome, but very expensive. From fifty to one hundred is as great a number as ought to be allowed to attend. You will, I presume, find it expedient to hold the treaty in the vicinity of Detroit, and will, of course, give due notice to the contractor's agent, to be prepared to furnish necessary rations.

You will have such articles procured, as may be necessary for your own and for the accommodation of the secretary to the commission, whom you will appoint, and who will be allowed three dollars per day, while actually employed as such. You will employ such faithful interpreters as may be requisite, who will be allowed one dollar per day, each, while actually employed, except such as are in the service of the Government, who ought not to receive any other compensation, in addition to their annual pay, than their subsistence while attending the treaty.

It ought to be understood, that you are not to entertain, at the public expense, a concourse of white people, who may have the curiosity to attend the treaty.

Very little spirit ought to be allowed the Indians, pending the negotiation.

It will be difficult to ascertain, with any tolerable degree of certainty, the quantity of acres included in any purchase you may make, but you will endeavor to calculate the price in such manner, as not, on any condition, to exceed two cents per acre. And I presume it will not be necessary to exceed one cent per acre.

A suitable proportion of the consideration money may be stipulated to be paid on the ratification of the treaty, and for the remainder, an annuity, payable annually, equal to the yearly interest of said remainder. The payments should be stipulated to be made, partly in money, and partly in such articles as may be most useful. The first tract contemplated to be treated for, comprehends, (besides certain lands heretofore ceded and confirmed to the United States by the treaty of Greenville) the residue of the lands included within the following lines, viz: Beginning at the mouth of the river Miami of the lake; thence, up said river, to a bound, to be fixed opposite the mouth of the Auglaize; thence, to run northwesterly without deviating materially from a north line, as nearly as may be, between the head waters of such rivers and streams as empty into the river St. Joseph and lake Michigan, on the one side, and those which empty eastwardly into lake Huron and lake Erie, and the intermediate waters, on the other; the said line to be continued northwardly, until a due east course will strike the head of Saguna bay; thence, by said course, to the head of Saguna bay; thence, by said bay, to lake Huron; thence, by lake Huron, and the shore below, to the mouth of the Miami of the lake.

This tract, calculating the line from the mouth of Auglaize to run nearly north, probably contains (exclusive of former cessions and confirmations to the United States) from four to five millions of acres.

The other tract to be treated for, is comprehended between the following lines, viz: Beginning at the mouth of the river Auglaize; thence, running due east to Sandusky river and to the Western line of the Connecticut western reserve; thence, north by the said western line, to lake Erie; thence, by lake Erie, to the mouth of the Miami of the lake; thence, up the Miami, to the mouth of the river Auglaize.

It will probably be necessary and proper to stipulate for such reservations, adjoining and contiguous to the eastern line of this tract, as may be useful to the Indians, for the purposes of agriculture &c. If they should be inclined to dispose of this tract on reasonable terms, with the condition of reserving ten or fifteen miles in width, on the eastern side, it will be desirable to make the purchase, reserving a right to a road through such reserved tract, from the Connecticut reserve to the Miami river.

It should be recollected, that, by the treaty of Greenville, we have one tract of six miles square, and one of two miles square, on the bay and river Sandusky.

The last mentioned tract to be treated for, will, probably, contain from seven to nine hundred thousand acres, exclusive of the tract obtained by the treaty of Greenville. Each mile reserved on the eastern end, will probably be about twenty thousand acres; of course, ten miles would contain two hundred thousand acres, to be deducted, say from eight hundred thousand acres, leaving, for the cession now contemplated to be obtained within the lines of the last described tract, six hundred thousand acres.

For such expenses as may be necessary for holding the proposed treaty, you will draw bills on this Department. But I must take the liberty of cautioning you against any unnecessary expenditures.

If the chiefs, generally, of the Wyandots and Ottawas, should not be disposed to attend the treaty, with an intention of disposing of the last mentioned tract, that object should be given up, as it would be improper, after what took place in 1805, to attempt any purchase of them, without the general concurrence of the chiefs.

His Excellency Gov. HULL.

H. DEARBORN.

10th CONGRESS.]

No. 117.

[1st SESSION.]

## THE CHOCTAWS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 15, 1808.

*To the Senate of the United States:*

Although it is deemed very desirable that the United States should obtain from the native proprietors the whole left bank of the Mississippi, to a certain breadth; yet, to obliterate from the Indian mind, an impression deeply made in it, that we are constantly forming designs on their lands, I have thought it best, where urged by no peculiar necessity, to leave to themselves, and to the pressure of their own convenience only, to come forward with offers of sale to the United States.

The Choctaws being indebted to certain mercantile characters, beyond what could be discharged by the ordinary proceeds of their huntings, and pressed for payment by those creditors, proposed, at length, to the United States, to cede lands to the amount of their debts, and designated them in two different portions of their country. These designations not at all suiting us, their proposals were declined for that reason, and with an intimation that, if their own convenience should ever dispose them to cede their lands on the Mississippi, we should be willing to purchase. Still urged by their creditors, as well as by their own desire to be liberated from debt, they at length proposed to make a cession, which should be to our convenience. James Robertson, of Tennessee, and Silas Dinsmoor, were, thereupon, appointed commissioners to treat with them on that subject, with instructions to purchase only on the Mississippi. On meeting their chiefs, however, it was found that such was the attachment of the nation to their



lands on the Mississippi, that their chiefs could not undertake to cede them; but they offered all their lands south of a line to be run from their and our boundary, at the Omochito, eastwardly, to their boundary with the Creeks, on the ridge between the Tombigby and Alabama, which would unite our possessions there, from Natchez to Tombigby. A treaty to this effect was accordingly signed at Pooshapukanuk, on the 16th of November, 1805. But this being against express instructions, and not according with the object then in view, I was disinclined to its ratification, and therefore did not, at the last session of Congress, lay it before the Senate for their advice, but have suffered it to lie unacted on.

Progressive difficulties, however, in our foreign relations, have brought into view considerations, other than those which then prevailed. It is now, perhaps, become as interesting to obtain footing for a strong settlement of militia along our southern frontier, eastward of the Mississippi, as on the west of that river; and more so than higher up the river itself. The consolidation of the Mississippi territory, and the establishing a barrier of separation between the Indians and our southern neighbors, are also important objects. The cession is supposed to contain about five millions of acres, of which the greater part is said to be fit for cultivation, and no inconsiderable proportion of the first quality, on the various waters it includes; and the Choctaws and their creditors are still anxious for the sale.

I therefore, now transmit the treaty for the consideration of the Senate, and I ask their advice and consent as to its ratification. I communicate, at the same time, such papers as bear any material relation to the subject, together with a map on which is sketched the northern limit of the cession, rather to give a general idea, than with any pretension to exactness, which our present knowledge of the country would not warrant.

TH: JEFFERSON.

January 15, 1808.

*Treaty of Limits between the United States of America and the Choctaw nation of Indians.*

Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States of America, by James Robertson, of Tennessee, and Silas Dinsmoor, of New Hampshire, agent for the United States to the Choctaws, commissioners plenipotentiary of the United States, on the one part; and the mingoes, chiefs, and warriors, of the Choctaw nation of Indians, in council assembled, on the other part, have entered into the following agreement, viz:

ART. 1. The mingoes, chiefs, and warriors, of the Choctaw nation of Indians, in behalf of themselves and the said nation, do, by these presents, cede to the United States of America, all the lands to which they now have, or ever had claim, lying to the right of the following lines, to say: Beginning at a branch of the Hoomacheeto, where the same is intersected by the present Choctaw boundary, and also, by the path leading from Natchez, to the county of Washington, usually called McClarey's path; thence, easterly along McClarey's path, to the east or left bank of Pearl river; thence, on such a direct line as would touch the lower end of a bluff on the left bank of Chickasawhay river, the first above the Hiyoowanee towns, called Broken Bluff, to a point within four miles of the Broken Bluff; thence, in a direct line, nearly parallel with the river, to a point where an east line of four miles in length will intersect the river, below the lowest settlement, at present occupied and improved in the Hiyoomanee town; thence, still east four miles; thence, in a direct line nearly parallel with the river, to a point on a line to be run from the lower end of Broken Bluff, to Faluktabunnee, on the Tombigby river, four miles from the Broken Bluff; thence, along the said line, to Faluktabunnee; thence, east to the boundary between the Creeks and Choctaws, on the ridge, dividing the waters running into the Alabama; from thence, running into Tombigby; thence, southwardly along the said ridge and boundary, to the southern point of the Choctaw claim; reserving a tract of two miles square, run on meridians and parallels, so as to include the houses and improvements in the town of Fuketcheepoonta, and reserving, also, a tract of five thousand one hundred and twenty acres, beginning at a post on the left bank of Tombigby river, opposite the lower end of Hatchigbee Bluff; thence, ascending the river four miles front and two back, one half for the use of Alzira, the other half for the use of Sophia, daughters of Samuel Mitchell, by Molly, a Choctaw woman, the latter reserve to be subject to the same laws and regulations as may be established in the circumjacent country. And the said mingoes of the Choctaws request, that the Government of the United States may confirm the title of this reserve in the said Alzira and Sophia.

ART. 2. For, and in consideration of, the foregoing cession on the part of the Choctaw nation, and in full satisfaction for the same, the commissioners of the United States do hereby covenant and agree with the said nation, in behalf of the United States, that the said States shall pay to the said nation, fifty thousand five hundred dollars, for the following purposes, to wit: forty-eight thousand dollars, to enable the mingoes to discharge the debt due to their merchants and traders, and also, to pay for the depredations committed on stock, and other property, by evil disposed persons of the said Choctaw nation; two thousand five hundred dollars, to be paid to John Pitchlynn, to compensate him for certain losses sustained in the Choctaw country, and as a grateful testimonial of the nation's esteem. And the said States shall also pay, annually, to the said Choctaws, for the use of the nation, three thousand dollars, in such goods (at nett cost of Philadelphia) as the mingoes may choose, they giving at least one year's notice of such choice.

ART. 3. The commissioners of, the United States, on the part of said States, engage to give to each of the three great medal mingoes, Pukshunnubbee, Mingo Hoomastubbee, and Pooshamataha, five hundred dollars, in consideration of past services in their nation, and also to pay to each of them, an annuity of one hundred and fifty dollars, during their continuance in office. It is perfectly understood, that neither of those great medal mingoes is to share any part of the general annuity of the nation.

ART. 4. The mingoes, chiefs, and warriors, of the Choctaws, certify, that a tract of land, not exceeding fifteen hundred acres, situated between the Tombigby river and Jackson's creek, the front or river line extending down the river, from a blazed white oak, standing on the left bank of the Tombigby, near the head of the shoals, next above Hobeckenlopa, and claimed by John M'Grew, was, in fact, granted to the said M'Grew by Opi-a-mingo, Henetta, and others, many years ago, and they respectfully request the Government of the United States to establish the claim of the said M'Grew to the said fifteen hundred acres.

ART. 5. The two contracting parties covenant and agree, that the boundary, as described in the second article, shall be ascertained, and plainly marked, in such way and manner as the President of the United States may direct, in the presence of three persons, to be appointed by the said nation, one from each of the great medal districts, each of whom shall receive for this service two dollars per day during his actual attendance; and the Choctaws shall have due and seasonable notice of the place where, and time when, the operation shall commence.

ART. 6. The leave granted for establishments on the roads leading through the Choctaw country, is hereby confirmed in all its conditions; and except in the alteration of boundary, nothing in this instrument shall effect or change any of the pre-existing obligations of the contracting parties.

ART. 7. This treaty shall take effect, and become reciprocally obligatory, so soon as the same shall have been ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.

Done on Mount Dexter, in Pooshapukanuk, in the Choctaw country, this sixteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and of the independence of the United States of America the thirtieth.

JAS. ROBERTSON, [SEAL.]  
SILAS DINSMOOR, [SEAL.]  
And a number of Indian Chiefs.

*Extract of instructions from the Secretary of War to General James Robertson and Silas Dinsmoor, Esq. dated March 20th, 1805.*

**GENTLEMEN:** The object of the proposed treaties with the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations being highly interesting, not only to the United States, but to the State of Tennessee and the Mississippi territory, it is confidently expected that no exertions, on your part, will be wanting in conducting the business confided to your direction, in such a manner as will be best calculated for securing, by all the fair and honorable means in your power, the object in view.

You will find, herewith enclosed, a petition from the principal chiefs of the Choctaw nation, requesting the President of the United States to purchase so much of their lands, between the mouth of the Yazoo river and the Chickasaw nation, as will satisfy a demand which Panton, Leslie, and Co. have against them. The lands to be ceded are to extend from the Mississippi, at the mouth of the Yazoo, along the present boundary to the Big Black river, and there carrying the whole width of the said tract, between those two rivers, viz: the Mississippi and the Big Black, so far as to contain a sufficient quantity for the payment of the debt above mentioned, amounting, as stated in the enclosed account from the said house of Panton, Leslie, and Co. to the sum of \$46,09 02.

But, should a cession be obtained, amounting in value to this sum, and, on investigation, it be found that the Choctaws themselves do not, in fact, owe the whole, then, whatever balance may be left, after the payment of debts, actually and justly due from them to the said house, shall be paid to the Choctaw nation. You will endeavor to extend the cession, from the main source of the Big Black, say north or north northeast, and up the Mississippi to the Chickasaw boundary; and if the whole tract shall exceed what would be reasonable to demand, for the sum above mentioned, and the expense of the treaty, you will stipulate for the payment of such annuity to the Choctaws, in goods or money, as may be reasonable, but which shall not exceed the interest of such a capital, as, together with the debt aforesaid, and the expense of the treaty, will make the average price for the cession proposed, more than at the rate of two cents per acre.

It may not be improper, when estimating the value of the lands with the Indians, to have particular reference to the probable annual profit which they actually derive from them, in peltries and furs, as a data, by which you may enable the Indians to understand their present value, but which is constantly diminishing, from the decrease of the game.

The average price paid for Indian lands, within the last four years, does not amount to one cent per acre. It is not, however, the wish of the Government, to insist on such average price with the Choctaws or Chickasaws.

The whole amount of the tract, claimed by the Choctaws, and bounded as above, may, probably, amount from three and a half to four and a half millions of acres, allowing their boundary, on the Mississippi, to be, as stated by their chiefs, when at this place in the winter of 1804, viz: above the mouth of the river St. Francis, running from thence, southwardly, so as to strike a certain branch of the Tombigby, near their upper towns or settlements. It is presumed that a considerable proportion of the proposed cession is overflowed every year, and, of course, of but very little value, except for hunting, and until it shall be inhabited, which will, probably, never be the case. The Indians will be allowed to hunt on it, as heretofore, as long as they continue friendly to the United States.

Two thousand dollars, by way of annuity, which will be equal to more than thirty two thousand dollars prompt pay, is considered the highest sum which ought to be given as an annuity, in addition to the debt above mentioned, together with the expense of treating for the whole tract as above described.

PENSACOLA, 5th September, 1806.

SIR:

From what passed during our interview at Washington in 1804, I shall not, I hope, require any apology for again intruding the Indian claims of our house on your notice. On my arrival from Europe in April last, I was much gratified by the reports given me by my partners, of the prospect of their final extinguishment, which I flattered myself was, in part, owing to the favorable impressions entertained by your Government, that our influence with the Indians had not been altogether fruitlessly exerted, when called upon. A few months have elapsed, and circumstances have arisen in that short period of sufficient importance to awaken my fears, although they cannot destroy my confidence in your promises to Mr. Simpson and me.

On reference to your letter addressed to me under date the 2d May, 1804, and the Choctaw petition forwarded to the Executive in the month of August same year, you will find that the latter is strictly conformable to the arrangements pointed out in the former, as being most agreeable to the views of your Government. Why the original idea was given up, and the treaty of November last substituted in its place, it does not become me to inquire. It was no sooner suggested by the commissioners, that their object was the acquisition of the territory ceded by that treaty, than all our exertions were again employed in procuring the assent of the Indians; and, notwithstanding the interference of some despicable characters, who attempted, by the most contemptible untruths, to delude the Indians, we flatter ourselves that our influence was not without its due weight in the negotiation. Impressed as I am, therefore, that our house has not been unsuccessful in its endeavors to forward the views of the American Government, and assured as I have been, by the Indian agents, that our services were known and properly mentioned to the Executive, I must confess that I was disappointed in the result; and were it not for the high opinion I entertain of the honorable sentiments that guide your national councils, I should despair of seeing myself indemnified, notwithstanding the incalculable expense and trouble we have been at.

But it is not alone the Choctaw treaty which gives rise to my fears (for which I hope there is no foundation.) After a most expensive, troublesome, and disagreeable application to the Creek nation, a promise was obtained from them, in 1803, that they would pay their debts so soon as they sold the Oakmulgee lands; to this promise, the agent, Colonel Hawkins, was privy, and, I may say, a party, as it was at his suggestion that the demand was urged, and pressed upon them in that form, as being connected with the favorite wish of your Government. The land has, at length, been sold, but our debts have been left out of the calculation. When the Indians met to ratify this treaty, in May last, one of my partners attended to claim the fulfilment of their promise, but, after much shuffling, they rejected my claim, on the ground alluded to in the enclosed letter from Colonel Hawkins. The fact is shortly this: finding the Upper and Lower Creeks unwilling to admit, as a part of my claims on them, the robberies committed by Bowles and his Seminoles, I treated for, and obtained, from the Seminoles, as an indemnification, a tract of land lying within the Spanish limits, for the cession of which, according to the Indian laws, they were fully competent, by which means my general claims against the nation were reduced within \$40,000. This bargain, I do assert, was as fair a purchase as ever was made from red men, since the treaty of William Penn, and has been formally ratified in presence of the King of Spain's representative, by all the chief men of the Seminoles, on whose hunting ground the land is situated, and you will the more readily admit my position, when informed, that, for a tract of country containing probably less, but certainly not more, than one million and a half of acres of poor land, we gave up claims to the amount of \$47,000, principal of which, \$16,000, ought to bear interest from 1791, and \$11,000 from the year 1799, being the dates of Bowles' two robberies, independent of our expenses in treating, &c. Had we been so base as to allow cupidity to influence us in our operations, the rejection of our remaining claims by the nation would have been a just punishment on us, but, so far from this being the case, my agent and partner was instructed, and accordingly offered, to give up the lands to the nation, on their agreeing to admit and pay our claim as originally presented to them; this they refused to do, in a very unexpected, and, I may say, unprincipled manner. I certainly had reason to expect different treatment, and, although I have had many hints given me that improper influence was used to bring about the rejection, I am too well acquainted with the Indian character to doubt its having been a measure entirely their own.

This sketch of our situation is given you, with the view of introducing a request that you will favor me with an answer, in which you can give me assurances that the Choctaw treaty will be probably ratified, or, that in any new

treaty made with that nation, our claims, already acknowledged by that nation, will be attended to. You will confer an obligation on me of the greatest importance, and you will add considerably thereto, by favoring me with your advice respecting the Creek debts, on the principle that we will have no objection to give up the land purchased of the Seminoles for what it cost, provided the residue of our claim can be secured.

With respect to our claim on the Chickasaws, I have assurances from the chiefs that it will be paid as soon as provision is made for it by the United States; but, as I understand that a new agent has been appointed, will you be so good as to mention our names to him, in such a manner as to secure his active interference in our favor, in case of necessity.

I remain, with sentiments of great respect and consideration,  
Sir, your obedient humble servant,

JOHN FORBES.

The Hon. HENRY DEARBORN, Esq. *Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *November 12th, 1806.*

SIR:

Your letter of the 5th of September has been duly received and considered. In answer, I can only remark, that the Creeks absolutely refused to accede to my request, to have provision made in the convention for the payment of the balance due from them to your house; and observed, that a great part of your debt had been paid by lands sold to your house in Florida, and that they should take proper measures for paying the balance.

The Chickasaws will, I presume, pay their debt, as soon as the appropriation is made by Congress, which will probably take place in the ensuing session.

Whether the treaty with the Choctaws will ultimately be ratified or not, I cannot undertake to say. If it should be ratified, it is presumed there will be no obstacle to your recovering your due, out of the consideration to be paid for the land.

I hope no influence of your house has been brought to bear on the free navigation of the Mobile,  
And am, very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

H. DEARBORN.

JOHN FORBES, Esq.

PENSACOLA, *7th February, 1807.*

SIR:

I hasten to reply to your letter of the 12th November, which reached my hands on the 3d instant. I flattered myself, by recalling to your memory the motives on which I had acted, and the assurances given me by you, personally, as well as by letter, that you would have been so good as to use your influence, in order that justice might be done us by the Creeks, who, of all the Southern tribes, possess the means of indemnifying us with least prejudice to themselves. The ostensible motives of their refusal, I did myself the honor of detailing to you, in my letter of the 5th September last, with candor, and it is scarcely necessary to remark, that our having been paid a specific part is so far from being a reason for withholding the balance still due, that it ought to operate rather as a motive for completing the payment, as it can now be done at one half the original sacrifice demanded of them; but, unless the Executive of the United States will condescend to interpose, I fear the Indians themselves will be a long time in taking measures to effect it.

I certainly was, and am yet, under the impression that your letter to me, dated the 2d May, 1804, was a pledge, on your part, that Government would assist us in this recovery, whenever the Oakmulgee lands should be obtained; and I appeal to yourself, whether I am not justified in considering it in this light. On this principle, I would beg leave to request, as an act of justice, that Colonel Hawkins be instructed to insist on a final adjustment of our claims on the Creek nation, and that they take immediate steps to pay them, either by a further sale of their lands to the United States, or by instalments from their other funds. The whole balance is now under \$40,000, principal, as mentioned in my last, a sum of trivial importance to a nation, but too much for an individual to lose. You conclude with hoping that our influence may not have conduced in thwarting the free navigation of the Mobile. I can assure you, not; and what is more, that no officer of his Catholic Majesty, on this side of the Atlantic, is vested with powers to permit the free navigation of that river on the terms demanded by your Government. The Captain General of the province has lately ordered a junta to report to him on the subject, and it is my intention to lay before it a memorial respecting the duties exacted at fort Stoddart on the packhorsemen going by land to the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations; but neither measure, I believe, will affect the present order of things, until the king's pleasure is known.

If I am thus candid with you, I have been equally so with others, who, if they do me justice, may easily give you unequivocal proofs, that our conduct has ever been uniformly that of conciliation betwixt the two Governments. The high standing we enjoy under the protection of his Catholic Majesty never has, and never shall be, prostituted to views we deem inconsistent with our honor. Our establishment is of a political nature, it is true, but it is such as we have no reason to disavow, and, however it may be narrowed in its operation, by circumstances, will ever be important to this province. It has, however, been my wish, for some time past, to relinquish, and I regret that the non-payment of our Indian debts obliges me still to continue in the country, after it has ceased to be the object of my choice.

Requesting that you will favor me with an answer, and make use of this communication with the necessary reserve, I remain, with sentiments of great regard and personal esteem,

Sir, your obedient humble servant,

JOHN FORBES.

The Hon. HENRY DEARBORN, *Secretary of War.*

10th CONGRESS.]

No. 118.

[1st Session.]

THE CHOCTAWS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 30, 1808.

*To the House of Representatives of the United States:*

The Choctaws being indebted to their merchants beyond what could be discharged by the ordinary proceeds of their huntings, and pressed for payment, proposed to the United States to cede lands to the amount of their debts, and designated them in two different portions of their country. These designations not at all suiting us, were declined. Still, urged by their creditors, as well as by their own desire, they at length proposed to make a cession which should be to our convenience. By a treaty signed at Pooshapukanuk, on the sixteenth of November, one thousand eight hundred and five, they accordingly ceded all their lands south of a line to be run from their and

our boundary at the Omochito, eastwardly to their boundary with the Creeks, on the ridge between the Tombigby and Alabama, as is more particularly described in the treaty, containing about five millions of acres, as is supposed, and uniting our possessions there from Adams to Washington county.

The location contemplated in the instructions to the commissioners, was on the Mississippi. That in the treaty being entirely different, I was, at that time, disinclined to its ratification, and have suffered it to lie unacted on. But progressive difficulties in our foreign relations have brought into view considerations other than those which then prevailed. It is now, perhaps, as interesting to obtain footing for a strong settlement of militia along our southern frontier, eastward of the Mississippi, as on the west of that river, and more so than higher up the river itself. The consolidation of the Mississippi territory, and the establishment of a barrier of separation between the Indians and our southern neighbors, are also important objects; and, the Choctaws and their creditors being still anxious that the sale should be made, I submitted the treaty to the Senate, who have advised and consented to its ratification. I, therefore, now lay it before both Houses of Congress, for the exercise of their constitutional powers as to the means of fulfilling it.

TH: JEFFERSON.

January 30, 1808.

[NOTE. For treaty, see No. 117.]

10th CONGRESS.]

No. 119.

[1st SESSION.]

### OTTAWAS AND OTHERS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 30, 1808.

*To the House of Representatives of the United States:*

The posts of Detroit and Mackinac having been originally intended by the Governments which established and held them, as mere depots for commerce with the Indians, very small cessions of land around them were obtained, or asked, from the native proprietors, and those posts depended for protection on the strength of their garrisons. The principles of our Government leading us to the employment of such moderate garrisons, in time of peace, as may merely take care of the post, and to a reliance on the neighboring militia for its support, in the first moments of war, I have thought it would be important to obtain from the Indians such a cession in the neighborhood of these posts, as might maintain a militia proportioned to this object: and, I have particularly contemplated, with this view, the acquisition of the eastern moiety of the peninsula between the lakes Michigan, Huron, and Erie, extending it to the Connecticut reserve, so soon as it could be effected, with the perfect good will of the natives.

By a treaty concluded at Detroit, on the seventeenth of November last, with the Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots, and Pattawatamies, so much of this country has been obtained, as extends from about Sagunia bay southwardly to the Miami of the lakes, supposed to contain upwards of five millions of acres, with a prospect of obtaining, for the present, a breadth of two miles for a communication from the Miami to the Connecticut reserve.

The Senate having advised and consented to the ratification of this treaty, I now lay it before both Houses of Congress, for the exercise of their constitutional powers, as to the means of fulfilling it.

TH: JEFFERSON.

January 30, 1808.

[NOTE. For treaty, see No. 116.]

10th CONGRESS.]

No. 120.

[1st SESSION.]

### THE CHEROKEES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, MARCH 10, 1808.

*To the Senate of the United States:*

A purchase having been lately made from the Cherokee Indians, of a tract of land six miles square, at the mouth of the Chickamauga, on the Tennessee, I now lay the treaty and papers relating to it before the Senate, with an explanation of the views which have led to it.

It was represented that there was within that tract a great abundance of iron ore, of excellent quality, with a stream and fall of water suitable for iron works; that the Cherokees were anxious to have works established there, in the hope of having a better supply of those implements of household and agriculture, of which they have learned the use and necessity; but, on the condition that they should be under the authority and the control of the United States. As such an establishment would occasion a considerable and certain demand for corn and other provisions and necessaries, it seemed probable that it would immediately draw around it a close settlement of the Cherokees, would encourage them to enter on a regular life of agriculture, familiarize them with the practice and value of the arts, attach them to property, lead them, of necessity, and without delay, to the establishment of laws and government, and thus make a great and important advance towards assimilating their condition to ours. At the same time, it offers considerable accommodation to the Government, by enabling it to obtain, more conveniently than it now can, the necessary supplies of cast and wrought iron, for all the Indians south of the Tennessee, and for those, also, to whom St. Louis is a convenient deposite; and will benefit such of our own citizens, likewise, as shall be within its reach. Under these views the purchase has been made, with the consent and desire of the great body of the nation, although not without some dissenting members, as must be the case with all collections of men. But it is represented that the dissentients are few, and under the influence of one or two interested individuals. It is by no means proposed that these works shall be conducted on account of the United States; it is understood that there are private individuals ready to erect them, subject to such reasonable rent as may secure a reimbursement to the United States, and to such other conditions, as shall secure to the Indians their rights and tranquillity.

The instrument is now submitted to the Senate with a request of their advice and consent to its ratification.

TH: JEFFERSON.

March 10, 1808.

*Articles of a Treaty between the United States of America, by their commissioner Return J. Meigs, who was appointed to hold a conference with the Cherokees, for the purpose of purchasing a tract of land, a site for iron works, and at the mouth of Chickamauga creek, on the south side of Tennessee.*

Whereas it has been represented to the chiefs and warriors of said nation, that such a site would be desirable both for the United States and the Cherokee nation, and to their mutual advantage, the chiefs and warriors have agreed to, and sold to the United States, six miles square, at the mouth of Chickamauga creek, on the south side of Tennessee, and to be laid off in a square tract, so as to include the creek to the best advantage for said site.

2. And it is further agreed, that the United States shall pay the Cherokee nation, the sum of five thousand dollars, so soon as the said treaty shall be ratified, and one thousand bushels of corn: *Provided, nevertheless,* That, if the iron ore should fail within said limits ceded to the United States, then, and in that case, the United States shall have full liberty to get ore off their land in the most suitable place.

In testimony whereof, the undersigned commissioner, and the chiefs and warriors of the Cherokee nation, have set their hands and seals.

Done at Hiwasee, this second day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven.

RETURN J. MEIGS, [L. s.]

[Signed also by a number of chiefs and warriors.]

HIWASSEE, 3d December, 1807.

Sir:

Enclosed I transmit, by Colonel Earle, a cession made to the United States by the Cherokee nation, of a tract of land six miles square, at the mouth of Chickamauga creek, on the south side of Tennessee river, for the purpose of an establishment of iron works, as stated in your letter of the 28th February last.

The creek is large and navigable through the ceded tract, and many miles higher up. Colonel Earle has satisfactorily informed himself of this place, having all the requisites for the business, with respect to ore, timber, and ease of transportation, to and from the works.

The price of this tract, compared with large cessions, will appear high, but, considering its value for the object of Government, it is very low, and hope it will meet your approbation.

I have agreed to pay the Cherokees \$2,500 in merchandise, out of the United States' factory here, which they will receive this day, and in the spring, 1,000 bushels of corn, delivered at the mouth of Chickamauga creek, and the balance when directed by the Executive.

Colonel Earle will inform you of the difficulty in obtaining the cession, (although intended, through benevolence, for their advantage) principally through the opposition of Vann; yet he has the art to keep himself out of the way, and put the unfortunate task of opposition on others, and who, notwithstanding they threaten the lives of those who are in favor of the Government views, are always defeated.

This *threatening* the friends to good order is intolerable, and requires some measures of an exemplary kind, on the part of the United States, to deter such hardy *villains*, and their *abettors*, and for the relief of the well affected.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

RETURN J. MEIGS.

Gen. DEARBORN, *Secretary of War.*

10th CONGRESS.]

No. 121.

[1st SESSION.]

### CHEROKEES AND SIOUX.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, MARCH 29, 1808.

*To the Senate of the United States:*

When the convention of the 7th of January, 1806, was entered into with the Cherokees, for the purchase of certain lands, it was believed by both parties, that the eastern limit, when run in the direction therein prescribed, would have included all the waters of Elk river; on proceeding to run that line, however, it was found to omit a considerable extent of those waters, on which were already settled about two hundred families. The Cherokees readily consented, for a moderate compensation, that the line should be so run as to include all the waters of that river. Our commissioners accordingly entered into an explanatory convention for that purpose, which I now lay before the Senate for consideration, whether they will advise and consent to its ratification; a letter from one of the commissioners, now also enclosed, will more fully explain the circumstances which led to it.

Lieutenant Pike, on his journey up the Mississippi, in 1805-6, being at the village of the Sioux, between the rivers St. Croix and St. Peter's, conceived that the position was favorable for a military and commercial post for the United States, whenever it should be thought expedient to advance in that quarter; he, therefore, proposed to the chiefs a cession of lands for that purpose. Their desire of entering into connexion with the United States, and of getting a trading house established there, induced a ready consent to the proposition, and they made, by articles of agreement, now enclosed, a voluntary donation to the United States, of two portions of land, the one of nine miles square, at the mouth of the St. Croix, the other from below the mouth of St. Peter's, up the Mississippi, to St. Anthony's falls, extending nine miles in width on each side of the Mississippi. These portions of land are designated on the map now enclosed. Lieutenant Pike, on his part, made presents to the Indians to some amount. This convention, though dated the 23d of September, 1805, is but lately received; and, although we have no immediate view of establishing a trading post at that place, I submit it to the Senate for the sanction of their advice and consent to its ratification, in order to give to our title a full validity on the part of the United States, whenever it may be wanting for the special purpose which constituted, in the minds of the donors, the sole consideration and inducement to the cession.

March 29, 1808.

TH: JEFFERSON.

*Articles of a Treaty between the United States of America, by their commissioner Return J. Meigs, who was appointed to hold a conference with the Cherokees, for the purpose of purchasing a tract of land, a site for iron works, and at the mouth of Chickamauga creek, on the south side of Tennessee.*

Whereas it has been represented to the chiefs and warriors of said nation, that such a site would be desirable, both for the United States and the Cherokee nation, and to their mutual advantage, the chiefs and warriors have agreed to, and sold to the United States, six miles square, at the mouth of Chickamauga creek, on the south side of Tennessee, and to be laid off in a square tract, so as to include the creek to the best advantage for said site.

ART. 2. And it is further agreed that the United States shall pay the Cherokee nation the sum of five thousand dollars, so soon as the said treaty shall be ratified, and one thousand bushels of corn: *Provided nevertheless,* That,

if the iron ore should fail within said limits ceded the United States, then, and in that case, the United States shall have full liberty to get ore off their land in the most suitable place.

In testimony whereof, the undersigned commissioner, and the chiefs and warriors of the Cherokee nation, have set their hands and seals.

Done at Hiwasee, this second day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven.

RETURN J. MEIGS, [L. S.]  
GLASS, [L. S.]  
JOHN LOWRY, [L. S.]

*And other chiefs.*

*Conference between the United States of America and the Sioux nation of Indians.*

Whereas, at a conference held between the United States of America and the Sioux nation of Indians, Lieut. Z. M. Pike, of the army of the United States, and the chiefs and warriors of the said tribe, have agreed to the following articles, which, when ratified and approved of by the proper authority, shall be binding on both parties:

ARTICLE 1. That the Sioux nation grants unto the United States, for the purpose of the establishment of military posts, nine miles square at the mouth of the river St. Croix, also, from below the confluence of the Mississippi and St. Peter's, up the Mississippi, to include the falls of St. Anthony, extending nine miles on each side of the river. That the Sioux nation grants to the United States, the full sovereignty and power over said districts, forever, without any let or hindrance whatsoever.

ART. 2. That, in consideration of the above grants, the United States

ART. 3. The United States promise, on their part, to permit the Sioux to pass, repass, hunt, or make other uses of the said districts, as they have formerly done, without any other exception but those specified in article first.

In testimony hereof, we, the undersigned, have hereunto set our hands and seals, at the mouth of the river St. Peter's, on the twenty third day of September, one thousand eight hundred and five.

Z. M. PIKE, *first Lieutenant,* [SEAL.]  
*And Agent at the above conference.*  
LE PETIT CORBEAU, his × mark. [SEAL.]  
WAY AGA ENAGEE, his × mark. [SEAL.]

HIWASEE, September 28, 1807.

SIR:

Some time before Double-head's decease, I stated to him your request, as expressed in your letter of the 1st of April last, that the convention line should be so extended as to comprehend all the waters of Elk river. He readily said, he would go with me, and selected three others on whom he could depend, and assured me, that the line should be so extended; but, on his being killed, I expected to meet with difficulty in effecting that business. A few days before I set out on that business, I communicated your request to a large council of chiefs, who were here, receiving their money on account of that convention, and part of their annuity for the present year; from some, through ignorance, and others, from views of taking advantage to raise the compensation, I only received an evasive answer. I then invited the Black Fox, and some others, in whom I could confide, to go with me to the place of commencing the line; and on the 7th instant, met General Robertson and Mr. Freeman, at the Chickasaw Old Fields. When on the ground, we soon agreed that the line should be so run as to comprehend all the waters of Elk river, as will appear by the enclosed agreement; we then run such courses as the nature of the ground would admit of, until we intersected the first waters that fall into the Elk, then a direct line to the Cumberland mountain, and fixed a point on the side of the mountain, from which the rocky face of the mountain is the boundary to lands before ceded. With respect to compensation and presents, as you left it to our discretion, we did the best we could. There is upwards of two hundred families on the land, and all that part of it lying above the Tennessee line, surveyed into sections, and covered by land warrants. The Cherokees being in debt to the United States \$1,823, I offered to cancel that debt as a compensation to the nation, for the alteration of the line; they requested to have it made up to \$2,000, and \$1,000 and two rifles, as presents to the chiefs transacting the business. General Robertson was fully in opinion with me, that we ought not to hesitate as to these terms, and they were agreed to. I will state some of the reasons that induced us to these terms: 1st. Although they had not the right, they had the power to refuse to extend the line. 2dly. It would have required at least thirty days to have run the traverse, and the true line, at an expense of at least thirty dollars per day, so that near \$1,000 is saved on that account. 3dly. To have marched a detachment to remove the inhabitants, would have caused considerable expense; it would have brought distress on the citizens, many of whom went on the land without any design to infract the laws. These people now feel sentiments of gratitude towards the executive department, and the jurisdiction of the State will now be extended over them; it is really an acquisition to the State of Tennessee. With respect to the chiefs who have transacted the business with us, they will have their hands full to satisfy the ignorant, the obstinate, and the cunning of some of their own people, for which they well deserve this *silent* consideration. At the time the convention was made, every body supposed that the waters of Duck river had their source more east than the waters of Elk river, and that the convention line would cover all the land which was in dispute between the Chickasaws and Cherokees. It is a handsome country, and is now settled cheap enough in all conscience. I am authorized by General Robertson to make this report in his absence.

I am, very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

RETURN J. MEIGS.

10th CONGRESS.]

No. 122.

[1st Session.

## THE SIOUX.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, APRIL 13, 1808.

Mr. MITCHELL from the committee to whom was referred the message of the President of the United States, of March 29th, and the treaty with the Sioux tribes of Indians, made the following report:

The amount of land ceded by the Sioux, is a tract of nine miles square, at the mouth of the river St. Croix, amounting to acres,	51,840
And another tract, at the falls of St. Anthony, containing, by estimation, (18 miles by 9) a sum of acres equal to	103,680
Amounting, in the whole, to	Acres, <u>155,520</u>

This people had been induced to cede these tracts of land in consideration of about two hundred dollars' worth of goods and merchandise, and of the benefit they would derive from the establishment of a trading house, and of protection from a military station in their country.

There is a blank in the second article, which the committee learn, from Captain Pike, was intended to be filled up with some valuable consideration, to vest the title fully and fairly in the United States.

As the sum to be given by the United States is wholly optional and gratuitous, it is believed, by the agent, that two thousand dollars would be considered by the Sioux a very generous compensation. This amounts to not much more than one cent and twenty-eight mills the acre.

The committee, after considering the agreement of the agent with the Sioux chiefs, and such information as they have been able to procure from Captain Pike thereon, report to the Senate the following amendment:

After the word "States," in the second line of the second article, insert the following words: "shall, prior to taking possession thereof, pay to the Sioux two thousand dollars, or deliver the value thereof in such goods and merchandise as they shall choose."

April 13th, 1808.

10th CONGRESS.]

No. 123.

[2d Session.

## THE ALABAMAS AND CHOCTAWS.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, DEC. 30, 1808.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

I lay before the Legislature a letter from Governor Claiborne, on the subject of a small tribe of Alabama Indians, on the western side of the Mississippi, consisting of about a dozen families. Like other erratic tribes in that country, it is understood that they have hitherto moved from place to place, according to their convenience, without appropriating to themselves, exclusively, any particular territory; but having now become habituated to some of the occupations of civilized life, they wish for a fixed residence. I suppose it will be the interest of the United States to encourage the wandering tribes of that country to reduce themselves to fixed habitations, whenever they are so disposed. The establishment of towns, and growing attachments to them, will furnish, in some degree, pledges of their peaceable and friendly conduct. The case of this particular tribe is now submitted to the consideration of Congress.

December 30, 1808.

TH: JEFFERSON.

NEW ORLEANS, November 5th, 1808.

SIR:

You have, heretofore, been informed of the messages, which, (in consequence of the late conviction of four Alabama Indians of the crime of murder,) I had sent to the Choctaws of the Bayou Chico village, and to the tribe of Alabamas, and you will recollect, that, in my message to the Choctaws, I had proposed to present to the wife and children of the Indian murdered by a white man, of the name of Thomas, merchandise to the value of sixty dollars. By a letter from Judge King, the bearer of my messages, I learn that the Choctaws "will not permit the widow to receive the presents," alleging that, notwithstanding my assurance to the contrary, "it would have very much the appearance of a compromise for Thomas, and would be so considered by other Indians."

As relates to the Alabamas, Judge King reports as follows: "They, the Alabamas, appear perfectly satisfied and grateful for your clemency; they, however, complain of great distress, inasmuch as they share no claim to any land in the country; but have resided, many years, on ground claimed by white individuals, who have lately suggested to them the necessity of removing; they say that they have lived here, among the white people, forty years; that their men are in the habit of hunting, driving cattle, and acting as boatmen, and their women and children of gathering cotton, by which means they support their families; that they are unwilling to leave the neighborhood, and are desirous of knowing whether they will be permitted to establish a small village, sufficient for about a dozen families, on the lands of the United States, which they may expect will be permanent."

The Alabamas formerly resided on the waters of the Mobile, and emigrated to Louisiana about forty-two years ago; a few families set themselves down in Opelousas; but the greater number settled on the Sabine. Feeling sensibly for these poor wanderers, or rather exiles from the country of their ancestors, and desirous to contribute to their happiness, I have, in a letter to Judge King, dated on the first instant, thus expressed myself: "I feel no hesitation in taking upon myself to give permission to the Alabamas to settle upon lands of the United States, and to accompany it with an assurance that I will intercede in their favor with the Government, and endeavor to obtain for them a grant for two or three thousand acres of land, which, I presume, will be as much as they would desire; will you have the goodness, therefore, to advise with the Alabamas as to the spot where they would wish to reside, and if you should find it belonging to the United States, and so situated that no inconvenience is likely to result to the citizens of Opelousas, from its being settled by Indians, you will, (in my name) authorize the Alabamas to remove thereto."



I am persuaded that, on this occasion, my feelings are in unison with the Government, and that, so long as the few Alabama families, now in Opelousas, shall conduct themselves with propriety, they will find a friendly asylum. The late outrage was the first offence with which the Alabamas had been charged; and even on that occasion, the conduct of this little tribe was exemplary; they, with promptitude, delivered up the murderers, and among the most active in effecting their arrest, was the father of one of the offenders.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your humble servant,

WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE.

10th CONGRESS.]

No. 124.

[2d SESSION.

### TRADING HOUSES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 17, 1809.

OFFICE OF INDIAN TRADE, *January 16th, 1809.*

SIR:

By instructions from the Secretary of War, to communicate to you such information, as may have been acquired in this office, as to the operation of the act for establishing trading houses with the Indian tribes, I take the liberty to address you.

By that act, it is not permitted to export furs or peltries; experience has proven, that the home demand for peltries, particularly deer skins, (of which great numbers are of necessity taken from the Indians) is by no means equal to the quantity furnished; of course, if restricted to be sold here, great sacrifices will often be made.

For furs, commonly used by hatters in the manufactory of hats, it is believed the demand in this country is sufficient to afford reasonable competition and sales, but the existing restrictions operate much against the fund, by narrowing the choice, even among our own markets.

It appears to have been contemplated by the present law, to pay from the treasury the salaries requisite to conduct the establishment; and, by not taxing the fund therewith, to give the Indians their supplies on better terms. The increase of the business, by adding to the number of trading houses, and spreading more extensively the benefits of the system among the various tribes, has, however, in part, compelled a departure from this plan, and occasioned heavy draughts on the trading fund.

The law authorized the President to draw from the Treasury, annually, a sum not exceeding ten thousand dollars, for the payment of the salaries of agents and their clerks, on the frontiers, and allows them to draw rations from the public supplies. These (the rations) have been commuted into subsistence money, which is paid from the funds of this establishment.

There are, at this time, located, and supplied on the frontiers, twelve trading houses, eleven of which are in full operation, and one will commence as soon as the spring opens. Of these, three have been established during the last year.

The salaries now paid for conducting them, are,

		TO AGENTS.			
8 at	1,000 dollars per annum,	}	-	-	\$10,920 00
and	365 do subsistence money,				
3 at	800 do per annum,	}	-	-	3,495 00
and	365 do subsistence money,				
1 at	750 do per annum,	}	-	-	1,020 00
and	270 do subsistence money,				
		TO ASSISTANT AGENTS, OR CLERKS.			
1 at	600 dollars per annum,	}	-	-	780 00
and	180 do subsistence money,				
1 at	500 do per annum,	}	-	-	680 00
and	180 do subsistence money,				
5 at	500 do per annum,	}	-	-	3,250 00
and	150 do subsistence money,				
					\$20,145 00
Interpreters are requisite at most of the posts; the average rate of salary is \$400 per annum, say at eight posts,					3,200 00
It will be seen, by the statement above, that, of the twelve factories, seven only have assistant agents, or clerks; three additional will probably be wanting, at \$650 per annum,					1,950 00
					<u>\$25,295 00</u>

The allowance for clerks for this office, payable from the treasury, is one thousand dollars per annum; fourteen hundred dollars are paid, of which, four hundred dollars from the fund of this establishment, as in the case of the agents at the trading houses. An additional accounting clerk is indispensably necessary, as the business of the office cannot be kept up with the present assistance. Should it, therefore, be thought right to appropriate, from the treasury, enough to cover the annual expense of employing agents, clerks, and assistants, twenty-five thousand three hundred dollars for the trading houses on the frontiers, and two thousand four hundred for this office, will be requisite.

Whether it will be necessary to add to the general fund, for the purposes of trade with the Indian tribes, depending, in a great measure, on the policy of extending the system, it is not for me to give an opinion. It is, however, proper to remark, that the last has been an unfortunate year for the establishment, as well that the peltries depending for sale on foreign demand are a dead and perishing stock on hand, as that most of the articles usually laid in for the supplies of the factories, have risen considerably in price.

From the nature of the business of this office, you will readily see, sir, that the correspondence must be constant and extensive; and I beg to submit to you the propriety of extending the privilege of franking to it, as to other public offices.

With very great respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your very obedient servant,

The Hon. THOMAS NEWTON,

Chairman of the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures.

J. MASON,  
Superintendent of Indian Trade.

10th CONGRESS.]

No. 125.

[2d SESSION.]

## TREATY OF BROWNSTOWN.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, FEBRUARY 18, 1809.

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I submit a treaty, concluded at Brownstown, in the territory of Michigan, between the United States and the Chippewas, Ottawas, Pattawatamies, Wyandots, and Shawanese, on the 25th day of November last, whereby those tribes grant to the United States, two roads therein described, for the decision of the Senate, whether they will advise and consent to the ratification of it.

February 18, 1809.

TH: JEFFERSON.

*Articles of a Treaty made and concluded at Brownstown, in the territory of Michigan, between William Hull, Governor of said territory, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States of America for concluding any treaty or treaties, which may be found necessary, with any of the Indian tribes northwest of the river Ohio, of the one part; and the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the Chippewa, Ottawa, Pattawatamy, Wyandot, and Shawanee nations of Indians, of the other part:*

ARTICLE 1. Whereas, by a treaty concluded at Detroit, on the the 17th day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven, a tract of land lying to the west and north of the river Miami, of lake Erie, and principally within the territory of Michigan, was ceded by the Indian nations to the United States: And whereas the lands lying on the southeastern side of the said river Miami, and between said river and the boundary lines established by the treaties of Greenville and fort Industry, with the exception of a few small reservations to the United States, still belong to the Indian nations, so that the United States cannot, of right, open and maintain a convenient road from the settlements in the State of Ohio to the settlements in the territory of Michigan, nor extend those settlements so as to connect them: In order, therefore, to promote this object, so desirable and evidently beneficial to the Indian nations, as well as to the United States, the parties have agreed to the following articles, which, when ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, shall be reciprocally binding:

ART. 2. The several nations of Indians aforesaid, in order to promote the object mentioned in the preceding article, and in consideration of the friendship they bear towards the United States, for the liberal and benevolent policy which has been practised towards them by the Government thereof, do hereby give, grant, and cede, unto the said United States, a tract of land for a road of one hundred and twenty feet in width, from the foot of the Rapids of the river Miami, of lake Erie, to the western line of the Connecticut reserve, and all the land within one mile of the said road, on each side thereof, for the purpose of establishing settlements along the same; also, a tract of land, for a road only, of one hundred and twenty feet in width, to run southwardly from what is called Lower Sandusky, to the boundary line established by the treaty of Greenville, with the privilege of taking, at all times, such timber and other materials from the adjacent lands, as may be necessary for making and keeping in repair the said road, with the bridges that may be required along the same.

ART. 3. It is agreed, that the lines embracing the lands given and ceded by the preceding article, shall be run in such directions as may be thought most advisable by the President of the United States, for the purposes aforesaid.

ART. 4. It is agreed the said Indian nations shall retain the privilege of hunting and fishing on the lands given and ceded as above, so long as the same shall remain the property of the United States.

ART. 5. The several nations of Indians aforesaid, do again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and of no other sovereign; and the United States, on their part, do renew their covenant to extend protection to them, according to the intent and meaning of stipulations in former treaties.

Done at Brownstown, in the territory of Michigan, this twenty-fifth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eight, and of the independence of the United States of America the thirty-third.

WILLIAM HULL, *Commissioner.*

[Signed, also, by a number of chiefs and warriors of the tribes enumerated in the title.]

DETROIT, 18th November, 1808.

SIR:

I have the honor to transmit a treaty, which I have concluded with the Wyandot, Ottawa, Chippewa, Pattawatamy, and Shawanee nations. I took no measures, whatever, to influence them to make a voluntary present of the lands described in the treaty, to the United States. It was the result of their own wishes. I presume, it will be considered by the Government, as an evidence of their friendship and attachment to the United States, and their disposition to give every facility in their power to a free communication and intercourse. In holding the treaty, I had other objects, in which all the nations did not appear to be united. In this, there was a perfect union, and, believing myself, the purposes of opening a communication and connecting our settlements would be effected, I did not hesitate in giving it my concurrence.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM HULL.

Honorable H. DEARBORN, *Secretary of War.*

DETROIT, July 25th, 1803.

SIR:

I have endeavored, in the following report, to ascertain, and state concisely, all those facts concerning which, I imagined, the Government would wish to be informed. It is little more than an outline, exhibiting the prominent features. The geographical marks are all made from actual observation; and I have, as seldom as the nature of the business would admit, depended on the information of others. My inquiries commence at Otter creek, the south-westerly extremity of the settlements, from whence I proceeded regularly through them to the river Sinclair.

I have avoided neither trouble nor fatigue, and have thus long delayed to advise you with respect to my progress, only that I might, by minute investigation, be enabled to give you a more satisfactory account.

Should the report, however, be still defective, if I have omitted the notice of subjects which require investigation, you have only to instruct me, that I may renew my inquiries.

I am, your most obedient humble servant,

C. JOUETT.

The Honorable HENRY DEARBORN, Esq.

*Secretary of the United States for the Department of War.*

## MR. JOUETT'S REPORT.

*Otter creek* empties itself into lake Erie forty-two miles southwest of the town of Detroit, and six miles south of the river Raisin. The settlement commences at its mouth, on the lake, and extends up the creek three miles. The native right was extinguished, by purchase, from the Pattawatamy, Ottawa, and Chippewa Indians, in the year 1779; and, in the year 1794, the present occupants, to the number of twenty-three, deriving their claims from the first purchasers, began their improvements. The farms contain from seventy-five to two hundred French acres, and their boundaries extend back from the creek in parallel lines. Those lands are fertile. Those immediately bordering on the lake have a rich, black soil, well adapted to the cultivation of wheat and hemp. They are without timber of any kind; and, in the language of the country, are called prairies. The wood lands, further removed from the lake, abound in hickory, walnut, and elm, and have a soil of equal fertility, and, in a great degree, similar to those already described. Notwithstanding the many advantages this spot possesses in point of soil and convenience to market, the settlers are extremely poor. They are, however, considered freeholders, and, in their own minds, entertain few doubts respecting their titles.

*River Raisin* is a delightful stream, navigable, for small craft, about sixteen miles, to the highest farm. It falls into the lake six miles north of Otter creek, and thirty-six south of Detroit. There are, in this settlement, one hundred and twenty-one families, who hold their farms by one tenure, namely: deeds of bargain and sale, from the Pattawatamy, Ottawa, and Chippewa chiefs, executed in the years 1784, 1785, and 1786. The purchasers have been in actual possession since that time. Their farms contain, variously, from one hundred to four hundred French acres, each, fronting on the river, from two to six acres, and extending back from forty to one hundred and eighty, until they meet the swamps, on either side of the river, which serve as a rear boundary for all the farms.

The lands about the mouth of this river are of little value, being too wet for any kind of culture. Those further up are of an excellent soil, producing from twenty-five to thirty bushels to the acre, of wheat, or other grain, in the like proportion. The farms are tolerably well improved, having comfortable dwelling houses, built of hewn logs, and, most generally, the necessary out houses, such as barns, stables, etc. Their orchards are yet young, but promise, in a few years, to be very productive. The inhabitants are Canadian French, with only three exceptions. Among these people disputes have frequently arisen relative to their titles; and those disputes have always terminated by an adjudication in favor of the oldest Indian deed. They are considered as freeholders, and enjoy every privilege which appertains to a fee simple estate—a number of them holding offices under the territorial government.

*Sandy creek* empties itself into the river Raisin but a few paces from its mouth, turning abruptly to the south, having before meandered in a direction nearly parallel with that river, about three miles northward. The settlement extends three miles, amounting in number of inhabitants to sixteen, who took possession of their farms in the year 1792, under purchases from Joseph Benack, who claimed the native right, since the year 1780. None of these farms exceed two hundred acres, specifying two, three, and four, in front of the creek, and from twenty-five to fifty back. The soil is much the same as that of the river Raisin—black, rich, and favorable to the production of grass, hemp, Indian corn, and wheat. The improvements in this settlement are mean. The houses, or huts, are of such construction and workmanship as scarcely to shut out the inclemencies of the seasons. The people are all Canadians.

*Rocky river* discharges itself into lake Erie, three miles north of river Raisin, and eight south of river Huron. It is a small winding stream, too shallow to admit the passage of the smallest boats. The soil here differs little from that already described in the adjacent country—black and fertile, though rather too wet for the cultivation of wheat. It is timbered with elm, oak, hickory, and maple. At the mouth of this stream there is a safe harbor, formed by the projection into the lake of Point Raisin, on the one side, and Rocky Point on the other. The tenure by which these lands are held is derived from an Indian deed, executed by the chiefs, in the year 1786, to Francis Pepin. The conveyance extends thirty degrees on the margin of the lake, and runs back into the country one hundred, pursuing the meanders of the river. Pepin sold his claim to George MacDougall, who, some years since, conveyed two-thirds of the tract to Meldrum & Parks, a mercantile house in Detroit, and, conjointly with them, has erected very valuable improvements. About half a mile above the mouth of the river they have a dwelling house, a distillery, and a merchant mill, with every necessary appendage for the convenient manufactory of wheat. These buildings are worth, on a moderate calculation, ten thousand dollars.

The north side of this stream is claimed by Gabriel Godfroy, under an Indian deed in his possession, dated in the year 1788. The conveyance specifies the same quantity as was granted on the south side to Pepin. Godfroy has made little or no improvements.

There are only two families who now are on the river, those being immediately engaged in the management of the mill and distillery.

*River Huron* is eight miles north of Rocky river, and twelve north of the river Ecorce, and empties itself into lake Erie about four miles north of Detroit, or the strait. With respect to soil, there is a great degree of similarity throughout this part of the country; dark, or rather black, light, and, wherever, with few exceptions, it has been cultivated, productive. In these respects, none are superior to the lands on this river. They consist of extensive prairies, covered so closely with hazle and other shrubberies as to afford a pleasant shade to the delighted traveller, who cannot but take an agreeable interest in the beautiful scenery by which he is surrounded.

The river, though narrow, is navigable twenty miles for boats, and has a deep and gentle current. There is but one claim, which arises under an Indian deed, dated in the year 1794, purporting to be a conveyance to Gabriel Godfroy of four thousand five hundred acres of land, upon which tract he has placed a tenant, who lives near the river as a ferryman. The deed is signed by one chief only, and that without a witness. To a title the claimant can have no pretensions.

*Ecorce, or Bark river*, enters the strait eleven miles north of Huron, and eleven miles south of Detroit; as a channel of communication, presents but few advantages. The country is level, the soil rich, and sufficiently dry for any kind of cultivation. The grass and wheat are astonishingly luxuriant, and nature requires to be but little aided to produce in abundance all the necessaries of life; yet the people are poor beyond conception, and no description could give an adequate idea of their servile and degraded situation. They are sixteen in number, principally Canadian French, and hold from one to three hundred French acres of land each. Six of these farms were settled in the years 1792, 1794, and 1797, without any kind of authority. The others were purchased from the Indians in the year 1776, by Peter F. Comb, and settled soon afterwards. This appears to be the tenure by which they now hold them. The different claims were, at one time, confused and complicated, but one or two adjudications have settled the principle confirmatory of those titles held under P. Comb. In the territory these people are considered as freeholders, and enjoy the appurtenant privileges.

*River Rouge*, so called from its reddish appearance, is four miles north of Ecorce, and six south of the town of Detroit. It is navigable six and eight miles for boats, and three for vessels of 150 tons burthen. Narrow, winding, and almost stagnant, the current of this river is so gentle as to be scarcely observable. It has, at all times, the complexion and appearance of a pool, and its exhalations in the summer months are extremely unhealthy. The ague and fever are in these seasons very prevalent, and fevers, sometimes of a more malignant nature, confine whole families to their beds for weeks together. It is only on the south side of this river that the lands are fertile. The soil is such as has been so frequently described in the rich parts of the neighboring country. On the north side it is poor, grey, sandy, and unproductive. The settlements extend eight miles on both sides of the river, and the same order is observed in laying off their farms as has been noticed on river Raisin and Otter creek. Few or none of these exceed four hundred acres, and generally fall short of that quantity. No disputes, and few misunderstandings, have taken place with respect to boundaries, as those lines extend collaterally from the river, forming each tract into a regular parallelogram. The total amount of these are forty-three, five of which were entered on and improved, without authority, in the year 1798. The claims to all the others arise from a transference of the native right in the

year 1780, at which time they were generally settled. The majority of the people are Canadian French, and better informed than those on the river Ecorce. They can have no legal title.

*Settlements from river Rouge to the town of Detroit.*—The strait by which the waters of the upper lakes discharge themselves into lake Erie, is thirty computed miles from the latter to lake Sinclair. Few rivers in the United States can vie in beauty and convenience of navigation with this pleasant and valuable stream. It is about three-fourths of a mile broad, and generally, in the channel, four or five fathoms in depth. The detached settlements on its banks, and in its neighborhood, have been already noticed as high up as Rouge, or Red river, two miles above the mouth of which, the country begins to assume the appearance of connexion, regularly and continued improvement. There are twenty-three farms, all of which are at this time occupied. The scarcity of springs throughout this country, has compelled the people to bound their farms, in part, by some water course, and their dwelling houses are, of necessity, erected on the banks of the streams. The farmers here are not an exception from this general practice. The lateral boundary lines extend forty, sixty, and sometimes one hundred miles back, and no tract contains more than four hundred acres.

The soil was originally good, though it has been much impoverished, and its strength, in some instances, entirely exhausted, from many years inattentive cultivation. Most of the farmers have been assiduously careful in the rearing of fruit trees. Their apple orchards are generally well enclosed with pickets, and produce fruit and cider in sufficient abundance for the consumption of the country, and even for the supply of many of the Canadian settlements, to which they are exported.

The houses and out houses are tolerably good; and, although the country is level, the height of the banks affords a commanding prospect, for several miles, of the river and its borders.

The titles to land in this settlement are variously founded. *Three* are derived from grants of the Marquis de Quesne, French Governor commandant of Louisiana and the Canadas in the year 1740; *ten* from the Marquis de la Jouveire, vested with the like powers in the year 1750; *seven* from Indian deeds of gift in the year 1771, and confirmed in the year 1772 by the Hon. Henry Bassett, a British officer, at that time commanding the fort; and the native right to *three* was conveyed by the Indians in the year 1780. It is *unprecedented*, and I should conceive that none of those commandants could have had any legal right to convey lands to individuals, consequently, their titles were *originally bad*. However, the length of their possession, and that being peaceable, too, will no doubt vest them with a fee simple. Those who hold simply from the Indians, stand upon grounds somewhat questionable.

*The town of Detroit.*—The charter, which is for fifteen\* acres square, was granted in the time of Louis XIV. of France, and is now, from the best information I have been able to collect, at *Quebec*; of those two hundred and twenty-five acres, only four are occupied by the town and fort Lenault; the remainder is a common, except twenty-four, which were added twenty years ago to a farm belonging to William Macomb. As to the titles to the lots in town, I should conceive that the citizens might legally claim, from a length of undisturbed and peaceable possession, even in the absence of a more valid and substantial tenure. Several of those lots are held by the commanding officer, as appendages of the garrison.

A stockade encloses the town, fort, and citadel; the pickets, as well as the public houses, are in a state of gradual decay, and in a few years, without repairs, they must fall to the ground. The streets are narrow, straight, regular, and intersect each other at right angles. The houses are, for the most part, low and inelegant, and although many of them are convenient, and suited to the occupations of the people, there are perhaps a majority of them which require very considerable reparation.

*Gros Isle* is generally a mile wide, and nine miles in length, running parallel with the western or United States bank, to which it approaches more nearly than to the other. Its lower end extends to the mouth of the strait, where it discharges itself into Lake Erie, and is immediately opposite Malden, the British garrison at Amherstburg. This island is now cultivated by ten farmers, who pay an annual rent to the estate of William Macomb, by whom it was purchased of the Indians in the year 1776, and settled at that time, or soon afterwards. The height of the situation, the richness of the soil, the quantity of valuable timber, consisting of oak and hickory, with which it abounds, together with its nearness to market, obliges me to believe that it is a spot holding forth as many advantages as any other in this country.

Adjacent to this, lies Stony Island, held by the same tenure. It is nearly one mile in length, and a third of a mile broad, and rendered of value only by a quarry of lime-stone, which affords the estate of Macomb a very considerable yearly income, independently of the lime. This island is of no consideration; it has but little timber, and is remarkable for a poverty of soil, which unfits it for cultivation.

*Hog Island* is situated in the strait, three miles above the town, on the United States' side of the channel, and contains, by estimation, three thousand five hundred acres of land. The poverty of the soil renders it of but little value to private persons; but, as public property, I should conceive it a spot of great national importance, and highly eligible for a garrison, as the elevation of its western end has a complete command of the river. It was formerly held as an appendage of the garrison, and by the different commandants at Detroit for cutting fire-wood and for pasturage. The oldest and best informed inhabitants of this place have assured me, that it was chartered with the town of Detroit, and held by the garrison until the year 1765, at which time it was purchased of the Indians by George McDougall, whose heirs, in the year 1786, sold it to William Macomb, in whose possession, or in the possession of his representatives, it has since that time remained.

Having considered and reported the situation of lands settled in this country, south and southwest of the town of Detroit, and made some hasty remarks on the town itself, I shall proceed to the settlements above. They extend themselves from the town to Gros Point, at the outlet of Lake Sinclair, into the strait, from thence, on the borders of said lake to Milk river; they then become detached and irregular, as high up as the river Sinclair, through which Lake Huron discharges itself. I shall observe those divisions in order to give you a more clear and distinct knowledge of the country upon which those settlements have been made.

*Settlements on the Strait from the town to Gros Point.*—The distance is nine miles, and contains sixty farms, all of which are at this time occupied. They are, for the most part, two acres in front, by forty deep, and laid out in the same parallel order as has been already remarked in all the other settlements. The situation of these lands is low, and very unhealthy, owing to a wide marsh, which extends several miles on the strait. The soil is impoverished, and produces but little; the buildings, which were once comparatively of the better kind, are now in a state of rapid decline. On traversing this settlement, no emotions of pleasure are experienced, except that gloomy kind which are exerted by the contemplation of a ruin. The claims to lands here are similar to those below the town, viz. transfers of the native right to individuals, and confirmations of those transfers by the French commandants, in the years 1740, 1750, and 1757. I have already expressed my opinion in relation to the original invalidity of these claims, and the subsequent *title* acquired by length of undisturbed possession, together with the respectable light in which they were received by the British Government. The people are Canadians, with few exceptions.

*Settlement on Lake Sinclair from Gros Point to Milk River.*—This settlement is six miles in length, and contains twenty four farms; with a front on the lake of from three to five acres, and an extent back of forty acres. The face of the country is level, though the situation is high and commanding, and possesses, from its elevation, a pleasant and extensive view of Lake Sinclair, and its banks. The soil is dark, rich, and strong, and extremely favorable to the cultivation of wheat. Art here has done but little, and even less than the little which nature had left her to do: for the Canadian settlers are very indolent, of course very poor, and consequently very wretched. Perhaps, on a barren soil, necessity would have been an incitement to industry, the natural or rather the legitimate parent, of affluence.

The tenures by which these people hold their farms, are of two kinds. Four of them may be denominated *French titles*. The remaining twenty are derived from the Indians, perhaps by purchase in the year 1783, at which time they were settled.

\* Palpable error in the original, which the printers have not the means of correcting.

*Settlement from Milk river to river Huron.*—Milk river is so inconsiderable a rivulet, and rendered, from its particular situation, so very unimportant, that I shall not waste *my* time, nor fire *your* patience, with its description. From its mouth to river Huron is twelve miles; less calculated for a settlement than any other I have seen in this country. It is low, flat, and marshy. These disadvantages, combined with its unhealthful effluvia, form obstacles which neither the industry nor perseverance of the agriculturist will be able to surmount. There are, nevertheless, thirty settlers on this tract, notwithstanding its apparent destitution of the advantages of soil, situation, and market. These people came into possession in the year 1797, without authority even from the Indians. Their divisional lines are marked by themselves, and they are ignorant of the number of acres contained in the respective farms. This settlement, however, possesses that regularity which is so remarkable in this country. The farmers are as poor, as they are unfortunate in the choice of their situation. All of them are Canadians.

The river Huron is discharged into Lake Sinclair, twenty seven miles above Detroit, and eighteen above the strait. The sameness observable in many parts of this country, compels me to fall into a monotony of expression which will be to you fatiguing. Yet simple truth must be preferred to every other consideration. The river is a narrow, gentle stream, navigable for boats thirty miles above its mouth. The settlements extend up the river nine miles, and contain thirty four families in present occupancy, laid off as those on the river Raisin, with this difference, that they have by survey no fixed or determinate rear boundaries; each tract extending back from the river or front boundary to a bog, at the distance of forty or fifty acres. This land is level, and the soil is dark and rich, laboring under no inconvenience from too great a quantity of water. It is tolerably well timbered. Hickory, oak, and elm, are most observable. Some of the people are agreeably situated; but, in general, they are poor in the extreme, owing to that indolence, and want of skill in agriculture, which so conspicuously marks the Canadian character in this country. All the settlers are of this description, except four, who are Englishmen of industry and enterprise. Twenty of these farms were purchased of the Indians, and settled in the year 1788. Ten in the years 1793, 1795, and 1796, and four in the year 1800, without authority of any kind.

*From the river Huron to Sinclair river,* the distance, following the circuitous margin of the lake, is fifteen miles; with respect to the intermediate space, it may be necessary to make some observations. The first and most important subject, relative to the interest of the United States, is a salt spring, on a small stream, four miles east of river Huron, and three miles up the said stream from the lake. From experiments which have been made, I am justified in saying, that this spring deserves the public attention. It was wrought some, time by a couple of men, who, owing to their want of capital, were incapable of conducting the business on an advantageous plan. By these men I have been assured that a quart of water did, with them, turn out one gill of salt, and in all their trials with greater quantities, it never failed to produce in the like proportion. There is a sufficient quantity of water for the supply of works to any extent. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that this spring is claimed by a mercantile house, under the firm of Meldrum and Parks; the particulars of which claim I considered as unworthy of investigation, well knowing that it must have been recently obtained from the Indians. The lands about the spring are rich, and favorable for tillage; particularly for the cultivation of wheat. Those extending to the mouth of the river Sinclair are rather too low and marshy. Two Canadian families have, notwithstanding, settled on them, who took possession of the spots they respectively occupy in the year 1801.

*Point O' Tramble.*—From the mouth of the river St. Clair, six miles up, are twelve farms, that front the river in the usual manner, from three to four and five acres, and forty back, none exceeding, in quantity, two hundred and forty. This land differs from the face of this country generally; its soil possesses every mark of poverty, sandy, and low in the extreme. Nothing exists to recommend this settlement, except its bordering on one of the most delightful rivers in the Western world. The only pretensions these people have to their farms, are derived from a simple possession, taken obtrusively, in the years 1780, 1785, and 1790. They are all Canadians. From this settlement, for twelve miles up the river, not a vestige of a house can be seen, owing, I suppose, to its being, for that distance, a perfect barren, when you are suddenly and agreeably surprised with the presentation of a number of fertile and well improved farms, edging the river for the extent of ten miles, to the amount of twenty-five farms, now under cultivation, and laid off on the river as other settlements in this country, with this difference, that the claimants extend their farms ten and twenty acres in front of the river, and, in two instances, from forty-five to fifty, all running back to one rear line, which is, by survey, forty acres.

Three thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine acres of this land was purchased of the Indians, by Patrick Sinclair, British commandant at fort Sinclair, in the year 1765, who held it until the year 1782; during that time, deriving from it considerable profit as a pinery. In the year 1782, he left this country, and gave it, by deed of gift, to a Canadian, by the name of Votieur, who sold it in the year 1784, by the auctioneer, at public sale, at which time Meldrum and Park, a mercantile house of this country, became the purchasers, who have, since that period, claimed it as their property, and erected upon it valuable improvements; there are, notwithstanding, five farmers upon it, besides the tenant of Meldrum and Parks, who forcibly settled the farms they severally occupy, in the year 1800; the other nineteen farmers claim under Indian deeds, in the years 1780 and 1782.

The river Sinclair is, in length, forty-five miles, and, in beauty, and convenience of navigation, preferable to Detroit, though it is not quite as wide. Such is its transparency, that the eye can distinguish at its bottom, in fifteen feet water, the most minute object; in it there are no shoals, and, in depth, generally, five and six fathoms.

I am, your most obedient servant.

C. JOUETT, *Indian Agent, Detroit.*

[11th CONGRESS.]

No. 126.

[2d SESSION.]

### DELAWARES AND OTHERS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 22, 1809.

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I lay before the Senate, for their consideration whether they will advise and consent to the ratification thereof, a treaty concluded on the 30th September last, with the Delaware, Pattawatamy, Miami, and Eel River Miami, Indian tribes, northwest of the Ohio; a separate article, of the same date, with the said tribes; and a convention with the Wea tribe, concluded on the 26th October last. The whole being accompanied with the explanatory documents.

JAMES MADISON.

December 22, 1809.

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 15th, 1809.

Sir:

The President of the United States authorizes and instructs you to take advantage of the most favorable moment for extinguishing the Indian title to the lands lying to the east of the Wabash, and adjoining, south, on the lines of the treaties of Fort Wayne and Grouseland. The compensation to be paid for this extinguishment should not exceed the rate heretofore given for the Indian title to lands in that quarter. To prevent any future dissatisfaction, chiefs of all the nations who have, or pretend right to these lands, should be present at the treaty; and, if practicable, the cession should be obtained without leaving any reservations. It is discretionary with you to stipulate in what manner the consideration shall be paid, whether in a gross sum, payable after the ratification of the treaty, by instalments, or in an annuity for years, or perpetuity, or, partly, in both these modes, as you may deem most expedient. The payment by instalments is preferred.

For the expenses attending the treaty, or treaties, you will draw on this Department, except for the provisions, which you will require of the contractor, unless some other person will agree to furnish them below contract price. Besides reasonable expenses, you will be allowed six dollars per day; and the secretary to the commission, should one be necessary, three dollars per day, while actually employed.

A diary of the proceedings should be kept by the commissioner, or the secretary, and a certified copy thereof forwarded, with the treaty, to this Department.

I am, sir, respectfully, &amp;c.

His Excellency WILLIAM H. HARRISON.

*A Treaty between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called the Delawares, Pattawatamies, Miamies, and Eel River Miamies.*

James Madison, President of the United States, by William Henry Harrison, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Indiana territory, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States, for treating with the said Indian tribes, and the sachems, head-men, and warriors, of the Delaware, Pattawatamy, Miami, and Eel river tribes of Indians, have agreed and concluded upon the following treaty, which, when ratified by the said President, with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, shall be binding on said parties:

ARTICLE 1. The Miami and Eel river tribes, and the Delawares and Pattawatamies, as their allies, agree to cede to the United States, all that tract of country which shall be included between the boundary line, established by the treaty of fort Wayne, the Wabash, and a line to be drawn from the mouth of a creek called Racoon creek, emptying into the Wabash, on the southeast side, about twelve miles below the mouth of the Vermillion river, so as to strike the boundary line established by the treaty of Grouseland, at such a distance from its commencement, at the northeast corner of the Vincennes tract, as will leave the tract now ceded, thirty miles wide at the narrowest place; and also, all that tract which shall be included between the following boundaries, viz: Beginning at fort Recovery; thence, southwardly along the general boundary line, established by the treaty of Greenville, to its intersection with the boundary line established by the treaty of Grouseland; thence, along said line, to a point from which a line drawn parallel to the first mentioned line will be twelve miles distant from the same, and along the said parallel line to its intersection with a line to be drawn from fort Recovery, parallel to the line established by the said treaty of Grouseland.

ART. 2. The Miamies explicitly acknowledge the equal right of the Delawares, with themselves, to the country watered by the White river; but it is also to be clearly understood that neither party shall have the right of disposing of the same, without the consent of the other; and any improvements which shall be made on the said land by the Delawares, or their friends the Mohicans, shall be theirs forever.

ART. 3. The compensation to be given for the cession made in the first article, shall be as follows, viz. To the Delawares, a permanent annuity of five hundred dollars; to the Miamies, a like annuity of five hundred dollars; to the Eel river tribe, a like annuity of two hundred and fifty dollars; and to the Pattawatamies, a like annuity of five hundred dollars.

ART. 4. All the stipulations made in the treaty of Greenville, relatively to the manner of paying the annuities, and the right of the Indians to hunt upon the land, shall apply to the annuities granted and the land ceded by the present treaty.

ART. 5. The consent of the Wea tribe shall be necessary to complete the title to the first tract of land here ceded. A separate convention shall be entered into between them and the United States, and a reasonable allowance of goods given them in hand, and a permanent annuity, which shall not be less than three hundred dollars, settled upon them.

ART. 6. The annuities promised by the third article, and the goods now delivered, to the amount of five thousand two hundred dollars, shall be considered as a full compensation for the cession made in the first article.

ART. 7. The tribes who are parties to this treaty, being desirous of putting an end to the depredations which are committed by abandoned individuals of their own color, upon the cattle, horses, &c. of the more industrious and careful, agree to adopt the following regulations, viz. When any theft or other depredation shall be committed by any individual or individuals of one of the tribes, above mentioned, upon the property of any individual or individuals of another tribe, the chiefs of the party injured shall make application to the agent of the United States, who is charged with the delivery of the annuities of the tribe to which the offending party belongs, whose duty it shall be to hear the proofs and allegations on either side, and determine between them; and the amount of his award shall be immediately deducted from the annuity of the tribe to which the offending party belongs, and given to the person injured, or the chief of his village, for his use.

ART. 8. The United States agree to relinquish their right to the reserve at the old Ouitanon towns, made by the treaty of Greenville, so far, at least, as to make no further use of it than for the establishment of a military post.

ART. 9. The tribes who are parties to this treaty, being desirous of shewing their attachment to their brothers, the Kickapoos, agree to cede to the United States, the lands on the northwest side of the Wabash, from the Vincennes tract, to a northwardly extension of the line running from the mouth of the aforesaid Racoon creek, and fifteen miles in width from the Wabash, on condition that the United States, shall allow them an annuity of four hundred dollars; but this article is to have no effect, unless the Kickapoos will agree to it.

In testimony whereof, the said William Henry Harrison, and the sachems and war chiefs of the before mentioned tribes, have hereunto set their hands, and affixed their seals, at fort Wayne, this thirtieth of September, one thousand eight hundred and nine.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON. [L. S.]

[Signed also by certain chiefs and warriors of the nations enumerated in the title.]

*A separate Article, entered into at Fort Wayne, on the 30th day of September, in the year of our Lord onethousand eight hundred and nine,*

Between William Henry Harrison, Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States for treating with the Indian tribes, and the sachems and chief warriors of the Miami and Eel river tribes of Indians, which is to be considered as forming part of the treaty this day concluded, between the United States and the said tribes, and their allies, the Delawares and Pattawatamies.

As the greater part of the lands ceded to the United States, by the treaty, this day concluded, was the exclusive property of the Miami nation, and guaranteed to them by the treaty of Grouseland, it is considered by the said

commissioner, just and reasonable that their request to be allowed some further and additional compensation should be complied with: It is, therefore, agreed, that the United States shall deliver, for their use, in the course of the next spring, at fort Wayne, domestic animals to the amount of five hundred dollars, and the like number for the two following years; and that an armorer shall be also maintained at fort Wayne, for the use of the Indians, as heretofore: it is also agreed that, if the Kickapoos confirm the ninth article of the treaty to which this is a supplement, the United States will allow to the Miamies a further permanent annuity of two hundred dollars, and to the Wea and Eel river tribes, a further annuity of one hundred dollars each.

In testimony whereof, the said William Henry Harrison, and the sachems and war chiefs of the said tribes, have hereunto set their hands, and affixed their seals, the day and place above mentioned.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON. [L. s.]

[Signed also by certain chiefs and warriors of said tribes of Indians.]

*A Convention entered into at Vincennes, in the Indiana territory, between William Henry Harrison, Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States for treating with the Indian tribes, northwest of the Ohio, and the Wea tribe.*

The said tribe, by their sachems and head warriors, hereby declare their full and free consent to the treaty concluded at fort Wayne, on the thirtieth ultimo, by the above mentioned commissioner, with the Delaware, Miami, Pattawatamy, and Eel river tribes, and also, to the separate article entered into on the same day with the Miami and Eel river tribes; and the said commissioner, on the part of the United States, agrees to allow the said tribe an additional annuity of three hundred dollars, and a present sum of fifteen hundred dollars, in consideration of the relinquishment made in the first article of said treaty; and a further permanent annuity of one hundred dollars, as soon as the Kickapoos can be brought to give their consent to the ninth article of said treaty.

In testimony whereof, the said William Henry Harrison, and the sachems and head-warriors of the said tribe, have hereunto, set their hands, and affixed their seals, the twenty-sixth day of October, eighteen hundred and nine.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON. [L. s.]

[Signed, also, by certain Indian chiefs.]

[11th CONGRESS.]

No. 127.

[2d SESSION.]

### THE KICKAPOOS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 10, 1810.

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I lay before the Senate, for their consideration whether they will advise and consent to the ratification thereof, a treaty concluded on the 9th day of December last, with the Kickapoo tribe of Indians, accompanied by explanations, in an extract of a letter from the Governor of the Indiana Territory.

JAMES MADISON.

January 9, 1810.

*Extract of a letter from Governor Harrison to the Secretary of War, dated*

VINCENNES, 10th December, 1809.

The Kickapoo chiefs having arrived at this place a few days ago, and the late treaty at fort Wayne having been carefully explained to them, their consent has been obtained to the cession northwest of the Wabash; and, also, a further extinguishment of title, as high up as the Vermillion river. I was extremely anxious that the cession should have been extended to this river, by the treaty of fort Wayne, but it was objected to, because it would include a Kickapoo village. This small tract (of about twenty miles square) is one of the most beautiful that can be conceived, and is, moreover, believed to contain a very rich copper mine. I have, myself, frequently seen specimens of the copper: one of which, I sent to Mr. Jefferson, in 1802. The Indians were so extremely jealous of any search being made for this mine, that the traders were always cautioned not to approach the hills, which are supposed to contain the mine. I observe that copper mines are not reserved, by the law of Congress regulating the sales of the lands of the United States: but it ought to be done at this session, if it is supposed to be an object worth attending to, as I know that there are individuals who have turned their attention towards this mine, and will, probably, prevail upon the Indians to show them the mine, and, for a large reward, conceal it from the knowledge of the Government, or those whom they might employ to search for it. The treaty is herewith enclosed, and I hope it will prove satisfactory. I shall immediately despatch a speech to the Miamies, to communicate the new cession to them.

*A Treaty between the United States of America and the Kickapoo tribe of Indians.*

William Henry Harrison, Governor [of the Indiana territory, and commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States for treating with the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio, and the sachems and war chiefs of the Kickapoo tribe, on the part of the said tribe, have agreed to the following articles, which, when ratified by the President, by and with the advice of the Senate, shall be binding on said parties.

ARTICLE 1. The ninth article of the treaty concluded at fort Wayne, on the thirtieth of September last, and the cession it contains, is, hereby, agreed to by the Kickapoos, and a permanent additional annuity of four hundred dollars, and goods to the amount of eight hundred dollars, now delivered, is to be considered as a full compensation for the said cession.

ART. 2. The said tribe further agrees to cede to the United States, all that tract of land which lies between the tract above ceded, the Wabash, the Vermillion river, and a line to be drawn from the north corner of the said ceded tract, so as to strike the Vermillion river at the distance of twenty miles, in a direct line from its mouth. For this cession, a further annuity of one hundred dollars, and the sum of seven hundred dollars, in goods, now delivered,



is considered as a full compensation. But, if the Miamies should not be willing to sanction the latter cession, and the United States should not think proper to take possession of the land without their consent, they shall be released from the obligation to pay the additional annuity of one hundred dollars.

ART. 3. The stipulations contained in the treaty of Greenville, relatively to the manner of paying the annuity, and of the right of the Indians to hunt upon the land, shall apply to the annuity granted and the land ceded by the present treaty.

In testimony whereof, the said William Henry Harrison and the sachems and head-war chiefs of the said tribe, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals, this ninth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and nine.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON. [L. s.]

[Signed also by a number of Indians.]

11th CONGRESS.]

No. 128.

[2d SESSION.]

THE OSAGES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 16, 1810.

To the Senate of the United States:

I lay before the Senate, for their consideration whether they will advise and consent to the ratification thereof, a treaty concluded with the Great and Little Osage Indians, on the tenth day of November, 1808, and the thirty-first day of August, 1809.

January 15, 1810.

JAMES MADISON.

*Articles of a treaty made and concluded at fort Clark, on the right bank of the Missouri, about five miles above the Fire prairie, in the territory of Louisiana, the tenth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eight,*

Between Peter Chouteau, Esq. agent for the Osages, and specially commissioned and instructed to enter into the same, by his Excellency Meriwether Lewis, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for the territory aforesaid, in behalf of the United States of America, of the one part; and the chiefs and warriors of the Great and Little Osages, for themselves and their nations, respectively, on the other part.

ARTICLE 1. The United States being anxious to promote peace, friendship, and intercourse, with the Osage tribes, to afford them every assistance in their power, and to protect them from the insults and injuries of other tribes of Indians, situated near the settlements of the white people, have thought proper to build a fort on the right bank of the Missouri, a few miles above the Fire prairie, and do agree to garrison the same with as many regular troops as the President of the United States may, from time to time, deem necessary, for the protection of all orderly, friendly, and well disposed Indians, of the Great and Little Osage nations, who reside at this place, and who do strictly conform to, and pursue the councils or admonitions of, the President of the United States, through his subordinate officers.

ART. 2. The United States being also anxious that the Great and Little Osages, resident as aforesaid, should be regularly supplied with every species of merchandise, which their comfort may hereafter require, do engage to establish at this place, and permanently to continue, at all seasons of the year, a well assorted store of goods, for the purpose of bartering with them on moderate terms, for their peltries and furs.

ART. 3. The United States agree to furnish at this place, for the use of the Osage nations, a blacksmith and tools, to mend their arms, and utensils of husbandry, and engage to build them a horse mill, or water mill, also to furnish them with ploughs, and to build for the great chief of the Great Osages, and for the great chief of the Little Osages, a strong block house in each of their towns, which are to be established near this fort.

ART. 4. With a view to quiet the animosities, which, at present, exist between the inhabitants of the territory of Louisiana, and the Osage nations, in consequence of the lawless depredations of the latter, the United States do further agree to pay to their own citizens, the full value of such property as they can legally prove to have been stolen or destroyed, by the said Osages since the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States; provided the same does not exceed the sum of five thousand dollars.

ART. 5. In consideration of the lands relinquished by the Great and Little Osages to the United States, as stipulated in the sixth article of this treaty, the United States promise to deliver at Fire prairie, or at St. Louis, yearly, to the Great Osage nation, merchandise to the amount or value of one thousand dollars, and to the Little Osage nation, merchandise to the amount or value of five hundred dollars, reckoning the value of said merchandise at the first cost thereof, in the city or place in the United States where the same shall have been procured. And in addition to the merchandise aforesaid, the United States have, at and before the signature of these articles, paid to the Great Osage nation the sum of eight hundred dollars, and to the Little Osage nation the sum of four hundred dollars.

ART. 6. And in consideration of the advantages which we derive from the stipulations contained in the foregoing articles, we, the chiefs and warriors of the Great and Little Osages, for ourselves and our nations, respectively, covenant and agree with the United States, that the boundary line between our nations and the United States, shall be as follows, to wit: Beginning at fort Clark, on the Missouri, five miles above Fire prairie, and running thence a due south course to the river Arkansas, and down the same to the Mississippi: hereby ceding and relinquishing, forever, to the United States, all the lands which lie east of the said line, and north of the southwardly bank of the said river Arkansas, and all lands situated northwardly of the river Missouri. And we do further cede and relinquish to the United States, forever, a tract of two leagues square, to embrace fort Clark, and to be laid off in such manner as the President of the United States shall think proper.

ART. 7. And it is mutually agreed by the contracting parties, that the boundary lines hereby established, shall be run and marked at the expense of the United States, as soon as circumstances or their convenience will permit. And the Great and Little Osages, promise to depute two chiefs from each of their respective nations, to accompany the commissioner or commissioners who may be appointed on the part of the United States to settle and adjust the said boundary line.

ART. 8. And the United States agree that such of the Great and Little Osage Indians, as may think proper to put themselves under the protection of fort Clark, and who observe the stipulations of this treaty with good faith, shall be permitted to live and to hunt, without molestation, on all that tract of country west of the north and south boundary line on which they, the said Great and Little Osage have usually hunted or resided; provided the same be not the hunting grounds of any nation or tribe of Indians in amity with the United States, and on any other

lands within the territory of Louisiana, without the limits of the white settlements, until the United States may think proper to assign the same, as hunting grounds, to other friendly Indians.

ART. 9. Lest the friendship which is now established, between the United States and the said Indian nations, should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, it is hereby agreed, that, for injuries done by individuals, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place; but, instead thereof, complaints shall be made by the party injured, to the other; by the said nations, or either of them, to the superintendent, or other person appointed by the President to the chiefs of the said nations; and it shall be the duty of the said chiefs, upon complaints being made, as aforesaid, to deliver up the person or persons against whom the complaint is made, to the end that he or they may be punished, agreeably to the laws of the state or territory where the offence may have been committed; and, in like manner, if any robbery, violence, or murder, shall be committed on any Indian or Indians, belonging to either of said nations, the person or persons, so offending, shall be tried, and, if found guilty, shall be punished, in like manner as if the injury had been done to a white man. And it is agreed that the chiefs of the Great and Little Osages shall, to the utmost of their power, exert themselves to recover horses, or other property, which may be stolen from any citizen or citizens of the United States, by any individual or individuals of either of their nations; and the property so recovered, shall be forthwith delivered to the superintendent, or other person authorized to receive it, that it may be restored to the proper owner; and, in cases where the exertions of the chiefs shall be ineffectual in recovering the property stolen, as aforesaid, if sufficient proof can be adduced that such property was actually stolen by any Indian or Indians, belonging to the said nations, or either of them, the superintendent, or other proper officer, may deduct from the annuity of the said nations, respectively, a sum equal to the value of the property which has been stolen. And the United States hereby guaranty to any Indian or Indians of the said nation, respectively, a full indemnification for any horses, or other property which may be stolen from them by any of their citizens; provided, that the property so stolen cannot be recovered, and that sufficient proof is produced that it was actually stolen by a citizen of the States. And the said nations of the Great and Little Osage, engage, on the requisition, or demand of the President of the United States, or of the superintendent, to deliver up any white man resident among them.

ART. 10. The United States receive the Great and Little Osage nations into their friendship, and under their protection. And the said nations, on their part, declare that they will consider themselves under the protection of no other Power whatsoever; disclaiming all right to cede, sell, or in any manner transfer, their lands, to any foreign Power, or to citizens of the United States, or inhabitants of Louisiana, unless duly authorized by the President of the United States to make the said purchase or accept the said cession on behalf of the government.

ART. 11. And if any person or persons, for hunting, or other purposes, shall pass over the boundary lines, as established by this treaty, into the country reserved for the Great and Little Osage nations, without the licence of the superintendent, or other proper officer, they, the said Great and Little Osage, or either of them, shall be at liberty to apprehend such unlicensed hunters, or other persons, and surrender them, together with their property (but without other injury, insult or molestation) to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, or to the agent nearest the place of arrest, to be dealt with according to law.

ART. 12. And the chiefs and warriors, as aforesaid, promise and engage, that neither the Great nor Little Osage nation will ever, by sale, exchange, or as presents, supply any nation, or tribe of Indians, not in amity with the United States, with guns, ammunition, or other implements of war.

ART. 13. This treaty shall take effect, and be obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall have been ratified by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, the said Peter Chouteau, commissioned and instructed as aforesaid, and the chiefs and warriors of the Great and Little Osage nation of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals. Done at fort Clark, the day above mentioned.

P. CHOUTEAU. [L. s.]  
And a number of Indian chiefs.

We, the undersigned chiefs and warriors of the band of Osages residing on the river Arkansas, being a part of the Great Osage nation, having this day had the foregoing treaty read and explained to us by his Excellency Meriwether Lewis, Esq. do hereby acknowledge, consent to, and confirm, all the stipulations therein contained, as fully and as completely as though we had been personally present at the signing, sealing, and delivering the same, on the tenth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eight; the same being the day on which the said treaty was signed, sealed, and delivered, as will appear by a reference thereto. In witness whereof, we have, for ourselves, and our band of the Great Osage nation, residing on the river Arkansas, hereunto set our hands and affixed our seals.

Done at St. Louis, in the territory of Louisiana, the thirty-first day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nine, and of the independence of the United States the thirty-fourth.

A number of Indian chiefs.

[NOTE.—For instructions, see No. 129.]

11th CONGRESS.]

No. 129.

[2d SESSION.]

### THE OSAGES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, MARCH 14, 1810.

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit a report of the Secretary of War, complying with their resolution of the 22d January last.

March 14th, 1810.

JAMES MADISON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, March 13, 1810:

In compliance with a resolution of the honorable Senate, of the 22d January last, the Secretary of War has the honor to state to the President of the United States, that, as the correspondence of this Department did not exhibit the authority under which Peter Chouteau, Esq. made and concluded the treaty with the Great and Little Osage tribes of Indians, General Clark was called upon to furnish such information as he either possessed or could obtain on the subject. A copy of his letter of the 20th ultimo, together with copies of Governor Lewis's instructions to Mr. Chouteau, and of his letter to the Executive of the United States, alluded to by General Clark, are now transmitted.

It does not appear, from the accounts rendered, or bills drawn on this Department, what moneys have been paid or expended, on account of the negotiation or conclusion of said treaty.

W. EUSTIS.

FINCASTLE, February 20, 1810.

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose you copies of the late Governor Lewis's instructions to Peter Chouteau, Esq. to carry into effect a treaty of amity and friendship, with the Great and Little Osage bands of Indians; also a copy of the Governor's letter to the Executive Department of the United States, dated at St. Louis, the 15th December, 1808. Those are all the documents which I can find among his papers, relative to the treaty that is now before the Senate of the United States, which tend to throw light on the same.

To give you a view of occurrences which led to this treaty, I must commence with the situation of the frontiers of Louisiana, in relation to the Osage tribes of Indians, at my arrival in that territory in June, 1808; at that time, Governor Lewis (whom I met with in St. Louis) informed me, that a large proportion of the Osage nation of Indians were disposed for hostility, and had taken a number of horses, robbed and plundered the inhabitants in different parts of the territory, &c. he had made a regular and unsuccessful demand of the property which they had taken. *White Hare*, the principal chief of the band of the Great Osages, (who was then at St. Louis) came to inform him that he could not restrain his band from those acts of violence and pillage which they had been in the habit of practising on the frontiers.

The Governor further informed me, that he had given permission to the Shawanese, Delawares, and other tribes of Indians, to attack that part of the Osage nation, which were thus hostilely disposed, and that a large party were collecting for that purpose.

On the 23d of June, I received a letter from the Secretary of War, in which he requested me to fix on a *suitable site* for a factory store and post, &c. Being well acquainted with the country, I pointed out a spot on the south side of the Missouri, about 300 miles up that river, as the most convenient place to several tribes of Indians. Captain Clemson, with his company of regular troops, accompanied by Mr. Sibley, the United States' factor, with goods destined for that establishment, ascended the river. On the 4th of September, I arrived with a detachment of militia at the place of destination, and despatched Captain Boon, with an interpreter, to the Osage towns, with instructions to inform the Indians where I was, and that trade and protection would be extended to that portion of the nation that had conducted themselves peaceably; and all others who wished our friendship, would deliver up the plundered property, come under the influence of the guns of the fort, and conform to our regulations.

On the 12th Captain Boon returned, with the principal chiefs and considerable men of the Great and Little Osage bands, and informed me that all their nation, except the band on the Arkansas, and a party that had been sent to St. Louis, with part of the stolen horses (under the direction of *Big Soldier*, a chief of the Little Osages, and *White Hare's* son) were on their march to that place. After explaining to the chiefs and warriors the cause of making that establishment, and the objects I had in view, they were much pleased, and expressed their satisfaction at the choice of the spot for an establishment they had long expected.

The Osages, in their several councils with me, expressed much anxiety to become more closely under the protection of the United States than they had been; they solicited the protection of the Government, in the hope that their whole nation might not suffer for the bad conduct of a part, who were willing to reform.

Finding that those Indians were anxious to be in amity with the Government, propositions were made to them to enter into a treaty, and fix on a line, &c. which they readily agreed to. On the 14th of September, we entered into and signed a conditional treaty, by which they relinquished their title, and conveyed to the United States a large tract of rich and convenient country, east of that fort, embracing all the settlements in Louisiana, between the Missouri and Arkansas rivers, to which the Indian title had never been extinguished. I wrote to the Secretary of War on the 6th and 23d of September, 1808, informing him of the measures I had taken, which he approved of.

On the 23d September, on my return to St. Louis, I delivered Governor Lewis the treaty entered into with the Osages, and related to him such other arrangements as had been made; he expressed much satisfaction at them, and then observed, "that all the difficulties with the Osages would be done away; and that *doubts* and *embarrassments* could not much longer exist in our courts of justice, for the want of a boundary line between our frontiers and the Indians."

A few days after my return, the Governor mentioned to me that Mr. P. Chouteau informed him, that the Osages who came with the horses, and were then in St. Louis, objected to the above treaty, and expressed his regret for fear a measure so necessary to the peace and quiet of the territory, and advantageous to the United States, should not be confirmed by the Osages, who had brought the stolen horses. His apprehensions were reconciled, after being reminded by me, that those articles of treaty entered into with the Great and Little Osages were conditional, and well calculated as a preparatory step to a more favorable one, &c.

Governor Lewis adopted the expedient of a new treaty, (and wrote the one which is now before the Senate of the United States) which he sent by Peter Chouteau, Esq. to the establishment on the Missouri, near which, the Great and Little Osage bands were encamped; with instructions, a copy of which is herewith enclosed.

On the 10th day of November, 1808, the Great and Little Osages adopted and signed that treaty, with Mr. Chouteau, the agent. The summer following, a deputation of the principal chiefs and warriors of the band of Osages residing on the Arkansas, accompanied by the principal chiefs of the Great and Little Osage bands, came to St. Louis, and did, on the 31st of August, 1809, approve of and sign the said treaty, which has received the approbation of all the Osage nation.

This treaty, when confirmed, will extinguish the Indian title to more than 200 miles square of the finest country in Louisiana, for which they have received merchandise to the amount of about \$2,500, taken from the Indian fund. No part of the annuity of \$1,500 and other stipulations, as mentioned in the treaty, has been delivered to them.

I beg leave to observe, that, if this treaty, which is now before the Senate of the United States, is not confirmed, it is my opinion it will require five times the amount to effect a purchase of the same tract of country, which may be indispensably necessary, in the extension of legal authority over that part of the territory. Doubts have arisen, and we have experienced difficulties on that head already, in our courts of justice; as, in the case of two Ioway Indians, delivered up by their nation, as the murderers of two of our citizens, the court determined they had not jurisdiction of the case, and those murderers were not punished.

I have the honor to be, your most obedient humble servant,

WM. CLARK.

The Honorable WILLIAM EUSTIS, *Secretary of War.*

*Copy of instructions by his Excellency Governor Lewis to Peter Chouteau, Esq.*

SIR:

The faithful services which you have rendered to the United States, in the Indian department, together with your undeviating attachment to the Government, have induced me to enclose you, herewith, a commission for the special purposes therein mentioned.

It will be your object, in the first place, to restore peace and friendship between our people and the Great and Little Osages, from whom we have of late suffered so many violations of our laws, and depredations on our frontiers. For this object you are charged with the draught of a treaty, the sanction and confirmation of which, it is expected, you will procure, by an exertion of that extensive influence which you have long possessed over those nations. This draught of a treaty, you will observe, contemplates something more than the restoration of peace: it gives to the Great and Little Osages the most efficient security, in our power to bestow; it assures to them, for their exclusive use, the lands west of the boundary line; it separates those who sanction it, from the vicious and the profligate, whom no treaties can bind, whom no menaces can intimidate, and by whose ungovernable conduct the peace of both nations is perpetually endangered. It enables us also to reduce to submission, without bloodshed, those who persevere in hostility, by withholding from them the merchandise necessary for their support. By these arrangements we shall also obtain a tract of country, west of our present settlements, and east of the hunting boundary line of the

Osages, sufficient for the purpose of our white hunters, and for such Indian nations as have long been on terms of intimate friendship with us. Thus will our frontier be strengthened and secured with the least possible expense to the Government. The establishment of a boundary has long been desirable, and the want of one, settled by treaty, has never ceased to create *doubts*, and sometimes *embarrassments*, of the most serious nature, in our courts of justice.

Those of the Great and Little Osages who refuse to sanction this treaty, can have no future hopes that their pretensions to those lands, now claimed by them, will ever be respected by the United States: for, it is our unalterable determination, that, if they are to be considered our friends and allies, they must sign that instrument, conform to its stipulations, and establish their permanent villages, near the fort erected a little above the Fire prairie. Those who neglect to do so, either themselves, or by the head of their family, must not, under any pretext whatever, be supplied with merchandise, either from the factory, or by individual traders. And, that this regulation may be rigidly adhered to, you will give to each chief warrior, or man of consideration, who signs the treaty, a certificate, stating that he has done so, and recommending him to the friendly offices of the citizens of the United States. On these certificates alone will the Indians bearing them, and their families, be suffered to trade at the fort. Should a considerable part of the nation sign the treaty, all will be well; transmit it to me by a special messenger: if they refuse their assent, in such numbers as to induce a belief that the dissenting part will not, thereafter, come into measures, orders must be given to the factor and traders at the establishment, not to bestow as presents, nor trade with those who refuse, any merchandise whatever: nor, are even those who ratify the treaty, under these circumstances, to be permitted to receive at present, more than one pound of powder for each effective hunter, or warrior; but in all other articles, they are permitted to trade without limitation. If the negotiation should take this turn, you are to inform me of it, by a courier express, in order that I may place the frontiers in the best state of defence, and make the necessary preparations against them.

Even though nothing contrary to my hopes should transpire, I shall expect that you will avail yourself of every opportunity, and particularly of the messenger whom you despatch, to give me information of all passing occurrences in the Indian Department in that quarter.

I send by you no speech to the Indians: you are fully possessed of our views in relation to them. Those views have for their end, as well the happiness of the Indians as of the whites, and it is expected that the exertions on your part, to carry them into effect, will be successful.

After the accomplishment of this primary object, you will have a blacksmith's shop established within the limits of the ravelin of the fort, for the purpose of repairing the arms, and manufacturing and repairing the implements of husbandry of the Indians.

As the horse-mill, with which you are charged, is intended for the joint and common use of the Great and Little Osages, it must be established in neither of their villages, but on some convenient and intermediate spot, between those villages and the fort. It may be inconvenient for you to remain until all the works appertaining to this mill are finished: should this be the case, you will leave them to be executed by the sub-agent of the post.

Paul, the interpreter, is to be permitted to come down, as soon as possible, for his family, and will immediately return to the fort, where he is to remain, as the resident interpreter of the Osage nation.

You are at liberty to ascend the Missouri as high as a quarry of gypsum, said to be situated near the mouth of Blue water river, and to take from thence such quantity of that article as you may think proper to bring with you.

*Copy of a letter from Governor M. Lewis to the President of the United States, relative to the treaty concluded with the Osage Indians.*

St. Louis, December 15th, 1808.

SIR:

In consequence of the measures which were taken last spring in relation to the Osage nations, they were reduced, in the course of a few months, to a state of perfect submission, without bloodshed; this has, in my opinion, fairly proven the superiority which the policy of withholding merchandise from the Indians has over the chastisement of the sword, when their local situation is such as will enable us to practise it.

In this state of humiliation, General Clarke found them in September last, when he established the post at Fire prairie: he very properly seized this favorable moment to enter into a treaty with them, which he effected on the 14th September; the treaty you will find herewith enclosed, marked No. 1. The principal chief of the Great Osages, and the principal chief of the Little Osages, signed this treaty, though the body of the nation were not present.

General Clarke returned to St. Louis on the 22d of September, and brought with him two of the inferior chiefs, who had signed the treaty; a few days previous to the arrival of General Clarke, a party of seventy-four Osages (among whom were some of their chiefs) had reached this place, with a small number of horses they had stolen from the inhabitants of the territory, which were now delivered, in conformity to a demand made of them for that purpose. On the 25th I was informed by Mr. Chouteau, that the Indians complained they had been deceived with respect to the stipulations of the treaty, and that they intended to convey to us, by that instrument, no more than the privilege of hunting in that tract of country relinquished by the treaty. On receiving this information, I had a conversation with General Clarke on the subject; the General assured me that special care had been taken to explain every part of the treaty to them, in the most ample manner; that it had been read to them two several days previous to their signing it, and that they had given their assent with cheerfulness.

On the evening of the same day, I convened the Indians, and had the treaty read and explained to them; a chief who had signed it, protested against it, on the grounds that it had not been fairly interpreted to them, and that they had no intention, when they signed it, of conveying lands to the United States. The chiefs who were not present when this treaty had been entered into, declared that the White Hare, and the chiefs who had signed it, had no right to dispose of their lands without the general consent of the nation being first obtained in council, among themselves, and positively refused to sign it, or give their further sanction.

I am fully persuaded that the Indians were urged to make those objections by some white person, or persons, in this place, but, as I have not been able to collect any evidence of the fact, I shall avoid the mention of names.

I well know that General Clarke would not have deceived the Indians; and so fully am I impressed with the belief that Paul Louis, who was the interpreter on that occasion, had interpreted the treaty faithfully, that I have not thought proper to dismiss him, which I should have done, could I for a moment believe that he had acted otherwise.

I saw that the treaty, thus disavowed, from whatever cause such disavowal had proceeded, was not likely to ensure the advantages contemplated by it, and, therefore, determined to pursue the measures which I conceived best calculated to obtain the general sanction of the Osage nations, to the relinquishment of a country, the possession of which was so highly desirable to the United States, in many points of view. I, therefore, drew the treaty enclosed, No. 2, and despatched Mr. Peter Chouteau with it to the post at Fire prairie, with instructions to convene the Great and Little Osage nations, and obtain from them as general an assent to it as possible.

Nos. 3 and 4 are copies of the commission and instructions given to Mr. Chouteau on that occasion; you will observe that they are special, and that his powers were limited to the mere act of obtaining the confirmation of the written treaty, of which he was the bearer.

I took this course in order to prevent any interpolation of the treaty, which I had some reason to apprehend might take place, if his powers were not limited, and which, if introduced, might defeat its confirmation by the Senate of the United States.

The treaty, as prepared by me, has been duly executed and confirmed by all the chiefs and principal warriors of the Great and Little Osage nations, except the band of the Arkansas, with whom we are not yet in a state of amity.

The Indians appear perfectly satisfied with this treaty, and I hope it is such as will meet your approbation. It extinguishes their title to an extent of country nearly equal to the State of Virginia, and much more fertile; the limits are the same as those contemplated by the former treaty.

In the course of this transaction certain occurrences have taken place, which I think it my duty to mention, together with the causes which have most probably produced them. Mr. Peter Chouteau claims thirty thousand arpents of land on the south side of Missouri, embracing the entrance of the Mine river; it is extremely fertile, and includes several of the most valuable salt springs in the country; the evidences of his claim he has never shewn me: he informed me, at the time I was engaged in draughting the treaty, that the Osage nations had given it to him many years since, that it had likewise been sanctioned by the Spanish Government, and requested me to introduce an article in the treaty, further to secure his title to the land. This I positively refused, informing him that I did not conceive it a proper subject to be introduced in the treaty; that his claim ought, in common with all others in the country, to rest on its own merits; declaring my belief, at the same time, that, if it had merit, or was founded in justice, it would be confirmed. I further observed to Mr. Chouteau, that, as this land lay within the bounds contemplated by the treaty, if it was sanctioned by the Indians, it would then be in the power of the Government to place him in possession of the lands, an occurrence which could not take place, however favorably they might think of his pretensions to it, until the Indian title was extinguished by treaty. Nowel Mograin, a half breed Osage, and an interpreter now employed for that nation, has, also, a claim on the Saline creek, a branch of the Osage river, in a similar situation with that of Mr. Chouteau. How far a view to the further confirmation of these claims, on the part of the claimants, might have operated in causing the Indians to reject the first treaty, I am unwilling to determine, as I can obtain no conclusive evidence that either of them endeavored to influence the Indians on that subject. It is possible that the Indians may have been induced to the measure from the reasons they alleged, or with a further view to obtain an additional compensation for the lands they were about to relinquish: be this as it may, the doubts and suspicions which overshadowed these transactions, conspired to create such sentiments in the minds of General Clark and Mr. Chouteau towards each other, as rendered my course, in order to accomplish a treaty with the Osages, extremely difficult and embarrassing; however, it has been happily accomplished so far as it respects the treaty, but there still exists between those gentlemen a want of cordiality and confidence, which I fear may hereafter produce some irregularities in the Indian department, if not timely guarded against.

I shall be obliged to leave the territory shortly, for Washington, and Philadelphia. Mr. Bates has very earnestly requested of me not to impose on him duties in the Indian department during my absence, alleging that it is a subject with which he is wholly unacquainted. The appointments of General Clark and Mr. Chouteau, as they at present stand, are entirely distinct from each other, neither having the power of controlling the other; in this situation, should they not perfectly harmonize while I am absent, I fear that the result will not prove favorable to the views of the Government, in relation to the Indians in this quarter, particularly as Mr. Bates is extremely unwilling to exercise the authority of superintendent. I must, therefore, beg leave to recommend that General Clarke should be invested with some general power of control over all the agents and sub-agents in the territory. Yet, I am far from thinking it would comport with the public interest to dismiss Mr. Chouteau from his present employment, as he is still useful, in my opinion, as the agent of the Osage nation, and ought to be continued as such.

No. 5 contains copies of the speeches delivered by some of the chiefs of the Great and Little Osages, at the time they signed the treaty. You will observe, in one of the speeches of the White Hare, that he mentions the tracts of land which the nation had given to Peter Chouteau and Mograin, and makes a reserve of these lands in the country ceded by the treaty of the United States.

I do not consider these reservations as binding on our Government, there being no such provision in the treaty; in short, it is in direct opposition to the 10th article of that instrument; but, even should it be considered as obligatory, it can amount to no more than that the Osages have not relinquished their title to those lands, and consequently, that the right to them still remains vested in that nation. I am confident that, if the United States should never confirm the lands to the present claimants, it will not prove a source of any disquiet on the part of the Osages; and, should they be even countenanced or receive confirmation, on the ground of their being Indian donations, it would introduce a policy of the most ruinous tendency to the interests of the United States; in effect it would be, the Government corrupting its own agents; for, I will venture to assert, that, if the Indians are permitted to bestow lands on such individuals as they may think proper, the meanest interpreter in our employment will soon acquire a princely fortune at the expense of the United States.

11th CONGRESS.]

No. 130.

2d SESSION.

## TRADING HOUSES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, APRIL 14, 1810.

MR. ANDERSON, from the committee appointed to inquire whether any, and, if any, what, alterations are necessary to be made in the act for establishing trading houses with the Indian tribes, and the several acts supplementary thereto, reported the following letters for publication:

COMMITTEE CHAMBER, 3d April, 1810.

SIR:

I am directed by the committee to whom has been referred a resolution of Senate to inquire whether any, if any, what, alterations are necessary to be made, in the act establishing trading houses with the Indian tribes, and the several acts supplementary thereto, to ask information of you upon the following points:

What number of trading houses have been established, under the act for establishing trading houses with the Indian tribes?

At what places have the trading houses been established?

What number of *agents* have been employed, and what compensation has been annually allowed them respectively?

If the annual compensation allowed them, exceeds ten thousand dollars, at what time did that excess commence, and by what authority was that excess directed to be expended?

What was the state of the trading fund, at the latest date that accounts have been rendered?

Has the capital stock been diminished, and, if it has, what is the amount of the diminution?

Accept the assurance of my high respect.

JOS. ANDERSON, *Chairman of the Committee.*

J. MASON, Esq. &c.

INDIAN TRADE OFFICE, 12th April, 1810.

Sir:

In reply to the several inquiries made by the letter you did me the honor to address me on the 3d instant, I have to state that, since the commencement of the system, fourteen trading houses with the Indian tribes have been established, at the periods and in the positions enumerated below:

- At Coleraine, on the river St. Mary's, in the State of Georgia, in the year 1795.
- At Tellico block house, in the Southwestern territory, in the year 1795.
- At fort St. Stephens, on the Mobile, in the Mississippi territory, in the year 1802.
- At Chickasaw bluffs, on the Mississippi, in the Mississippi territory, in the year 1802.
- At fort Wayne, on the Miami of the Lakes, in the Indiana territory, in the year 1802.
- At Detroit, in the Michigan territory, in the year 1802.
- At Arkansas, on the river Arkansas, in the territory of Louisiana, in the year 1805.
- At Natchitoches, on the Red river, in the territory of Orleans, in the year 1805.
- At Belle Fontaine, mouth of the Missouri, in the territory of Louisiana, in the year 1805.
- At Chicago, on Lake Michigan, in the Indiana territory, in the year 1805.
- At Sandusky, Lake Erie, in the State of Ohio, in the year 1806.
- At the Island of Michilimackinac, Lake Huron, in the Michigan territory, in the year 1808.
- At fort Osage, on the Missouri, territory of Louisiana, in the year 1808.
- At fort Madison, on the Upper Mississippi, territory of Louisiana, in 1808.

Of these, two have been discontinued, that at Detroit, in 1805, and that at Belle Fontaine, in 1808; and two have been removed, that established originally at Coleraine, on the St. Mary's, to fort Wilkinson, on the Oconee, in 1797; and again, from that place to fort Hawkins, on the Oakmulgee, in 1806: and that originally established at Tellico, to the Hiwasee of the Tennessee, in 1807.

There are now in operation twelve trading houses, viz. at fort Hawkins, at Hiwasee, at fort St. Stephen's, at Chickasaw bluffs, at fort Wayne, at Arkansas, at Natchitoches, at Chicago, at Sandusky, at Michilimackinac, at fort Osage, and at fort Madison.

There have been employed, in all cases, a principal agent at each house, and in most cases, an assistant agent or clerk at each. The compensation allowed has been from \$750 to \$1250, per annum, to the principal agents, and from \$250 to \$600, per annum, to the assistant agents or clerks, exclusive of rations or allowance for rations, paid out of the funds of this establishment.

It does not appear that the annual compensation allowed to agents and assistant agents, or clerks, exceeded the sum of ten thousand dollars, until the year 1805; previous to which time, as has been said, six trading houses had been established; during that year four additional houses were set up, and one discontinued, leaving then in operation nine houses. At this time, the allowance of rations was commuted into money, at fixed rates per annum, and the compensations paid during the latter part of this year (1805) stood thus:

8 agents, at \$1,000, per annum,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$8,000
1 agent, at	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,250
7 assistants, at \$500,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,500
1 assistant, at	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	400
																				\$13,150

Allowance for subsistence, in lieu of rations:

9 agents, at \$365 per annum,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$3,285
6 assistants, at \$150	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	900
1 assistant, at	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	180
																				\$4,365

This commutation for rations, and these rates and amounts of compensation, were directed to be paid by order of the Secretary of War. The allowance to agents and their assistants or clerks, has been increased from that time, as additional trading houses have been set up, and there are payable, for the current year, to the persons, and at the posts, named in the paper marked A, sent herewith, and as there shown in detail:

For salaries	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$14,750
For subsistence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,475
																				Together
																				\$20,225

For the further information of the honorable committee, I beg leave to annex copies of three communications, made by me, as to these salaries, and other subjects relating to the business of this office, the one dated 18th January and 1st February, 1808, addressed to the Secretary of War, and by him submitted to the committee of the House of Representatives on Indian affairs; one other, dated 16th January, 1809, and addressed to the Honorable Mr. Newton, Chairman of the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures of the same body, at their next session; and one other, dated 29th January, 1810, to the Secretary of the Treasury.

As to the state of the trading fund, it is not practicable, while the business is actually going on at so many different and distant points, to make up, at any given period, an accurate account; all that can be done on this subject has been now attempted, to shew, by the last accounts received, and by estimates of property on hand, of uncertain value, of the debts due, and of unsettled accounts, the probable state of this fund.

The general statement sent herewith, having reference to various abstracts annexed, for particulars, comprehends all the property and cash on hand, as well as the factories, and in the hands of agents, at other places, as at this office; deductions by estimate, for losses, being first made, leave, for the probable amount of the fund, as existing on the 31st December last, \$235,461 64 cents.

The amount of the capital stock employed, is not shewn by any books or documents in this office. The business of the trading houses having been, previous to the year 1806, conducted by the purveyor of the public supplies, and others, under the direction of the Secretary of War, the books and documents relating to them have been but partially deposited with the Superintendent of Indian Trade.

But, considering the amount of the different appropriations to the trading fund to be \$300,000, and that the whole of this has been drawn from the treasury, and placed, from time to time, in the hands of the public agents, for the purpose of Indian trade, except \$20,000 of the appropriations of the last year, as is believed to be the fact, the capital stock, wherewith is to be compared the estimate of the present state of the fund now submitted, will be \$280,000; and that estimate, amounting to \$235,461 64 cents, the probable diminution will appear to have been \$44,538 36 cents, since the commencement of the establishment.

With very great respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

J. MASON.

The Hon. JOSEPH ANDERSON,  
Chairman of the Committee of the Senate on Indian Affairs.

The following statement exhibits the amount of property on hand, belonging to the United States' Indian Trading House Establishment, (as more particularly shewn by the abstracts referred to) on the 31st December, 1809.

Amount of property, of various kinds, on hand at the trading houses, per abstract B,	- - -	124,041	10
Do peltries in the hands of Thomas Bourke, agent, Savannah, per abstract C,	- - -	85	00
Do peltries, &c. in the hands of Joseph Saul, agent, New Orleans, per abstract D,	- - -	39,010	62
Do goods on the way to the factories, per abstract E,	- - -	25,519	16
Do merchandise, cash, and other balances, on the books of the superintendent, per abstract F,	- - -	57,084	45
Do furs and peltries in the hands of the superintendent, per abstract G,	- - -	8,150	00
		<u>\$253,890</u>	<u>33</u>
Less amount balances on the books of the superintendent, due to sundry persons, per abstract H,		8,428	69
		<u>\$245,461</u>	<u>64</u>
Deduct amount of salary, and subsistence money due to agents and assistants at the trading houses, and other balances, amounts unascertained, unpaid at the end of the year, estimated at	-	10,000	00
		<u>\$235,461</u>	<u>64</u>

NOTE.—No returns from three of the trading houses, viz: at fort Wayne, fort Osage, and fort Hawkins, later than the 30th September, have been received; but, as it is believed the result will not be materially affected, they have been considered, with the others, as of the 31st December.

There is an unsettled account with the War Department, for articles occasionally furnished to this establishment, on one side, and, on the other, for goods furnished and debts given in at Indian treaties. The balance is not believed to be against this office.

## A.

The following statement shews the sums payable for the salary and subsistence of the United States' Indian Factors, and their assistants, for the year 1810.

<i>Oakmulgee Factory.</i>	Jonathan Halstead, Factor, salary,	- - - - -	\$1,000	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	365	
Do	Charles Magnan, assistant, salary,	- - - - -	500	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	150	
			<u>\$2,015</u>	<u>00</u>
<i>Hiwasee Factory.</i>	Nicholas Byers, Factor, salary,	- - - - -	1,000	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	365	
Do	Arthur H. Henley, assistant, salary,	- - - - -	500	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	150	
			<u>2,015</u>	<u>00</u>
<i>Chickasaw Factory.</i>	David Hogg, Factor, salary,	- - - - -	1,000	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	365	
Do	Robert P. Bayly, assistant, salary,	- - - - -	500	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	150	
			<u>2,015</u>	<u>00</u>
<i>Choctaw Factory.</i>	George S. Gaines, Factor, salary,	- - - - -	1,000	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	365	
Do	Thomas Malone, assistant, salary,	- - - - -	500	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	150	
			<u>2,015</u>	<u>00</u>
<i>Arkansas Factory.</i>	John B. Treat, Factor, salary,	- - - - -	1,000	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	365	
Do	James B. Waterman, assistant, salary,	- - - - -	600	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	180	
			<u>2,145</u>	<u>00</u>
<i>Osage Factory.</i>	George C. Sibley, Factor, salary,	- - - - -	800	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	365	
Do	Isaac Rawlings, assistant, salary,	- - - - -	500	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	150	
			<u>1,815</u>	<u>00</u>
<i>Le Moine Factory.</i>	John Johnson, Factor, salary,	- - - - -	800	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	365	
			<u>1,165</u>	<u>00</u>
<i>Natchitoches Factory.</i>	Thomas M. Linnard, Factor, salary,	- - - - -	1,000	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	365	
			<u>1,365</u>	<u>00</u>
<i>Fort Wayne Factory.</i>	John Johnston, Factor, salary,	- - - - -	1,000	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	365	
Do	William Oliver, clerk, salary,	- - - - -	250	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	150	
			<u>1,765</u>	<u>00</u>
<i>Chicago Factory.</i>	Matthew Irwin, Factor, salary,	- - - - -	800	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	365	
			<u>1,165</u>	<u>00</u>
<i>Sandusky Factory.</i>	Samuel Tupper, Factor, salary,	- - - - -	750	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	250	
Do	Do clerk's salary,	- - - - -	250	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	130	
			<u>1,380</u>	<u>00</u>
<i>Michilimackinac Factory.</i>	Joseph B. Varnum, Jun. Factor, salary,	- - - - -	1,000	
Do	Do Do subsistence,	- - - - -	365	
			<u>1,365</u>	<u>00</u>
			<u>\$20,225</u>	<u>00</u>



## B.

*Abstract of Property on hand, and Debts due, at the different Trading Houses, at the dates against each, per the inventories and accounts rendered the Superintendent of Indian Trade by the factors.*

1809.	HIWASSEE FACTORY.			
December 31	Amount of merchandise on hand this day, per inventory,	- - -	1,134 59 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	Furs, Peltries, and Bees-wax,	- - -	2,277 42	
	Cash,	- - -	142 74 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	Debts due the factory, exclusive of an unsettled account with the Military, Indian, and War Departments,	- - -	423 02	
	Furniture,	- - -	169 00	
	Factory Buildings,	- - -	1,289 55	5,436 33
	FACTORY AT FORT HAWKINS, ON THE OAKMULGEE.			
September 30	Merchandise on hand, per inventory of this date,	- - -	2,375 99 $\frac{3}{4}$	
	Furs and Peltries,	- - -	5,397 00	
	Cash,	- - -	199 29 $\frac{5}{12}$	
	Debts,	- - -	206 48 $\frac{1}{4}$	
	Factory Buildings,	- - -	463 03 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,641 81
	CHOCTAW FACTORY.			
	Amount of merchandise on hand per inventory of this date,	- - -	2,936 60	
	Furs, Peltries, and other produce,	- - -	7,665 07	
	Debts due the factory,	- - -	3,227 35	
	Cash on hand,	- - -	696 46	14,525 48
	NATCHITOCHEs FACTORY.			
	Merchandise on hand this day, per inventory,	- - -	2,638 99	
	Furs, Peltries, &c.	- - -	10,797 38	
	Cash,	- - -	200 61 $\frac{1}{4}$	
	Debts,	- - -	1,046 67 $\frac{1}{4}$	
	Furniture,	- - -	200 00	
	Factory Buildings,	- - -	2,012 55	16,896 20
	ARKANSAS FACTORY.			
December 31	Merchandise on hand, per inventory of this date,	- - -	3,561 63	
	Debts,	- - -	2,860 31	
	Furniture,	- - -	194 94 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	Factory Buildings, estimated at	- - -	800 00	7,416 88
	FACTORY AT CHICKASAW BLUFFS.			
December 31	Merchandise on hand, per inventory of this date,	- - -	6,030 79	
	Furs, Peltries, and other produce,	- - -	5,779 79	
	Cash,	- - -	568 84	
	Debts,	- - -	4,768 84	
	Factory Buildings, estimated at	- - -	500 00	17,648 26
	OSAGE FACTORY.			
September 30	Merchandise on hand this day, per inventory,	- - -	17,982 81	
	Furs and Peltries, &c. on hand,	- - -	2,691 50	
	Debts due the Factory,	- - -	473 25	
	Factory Buildings, estimated at	- - -	1,000 00	22,147 56
	LEMOINE FACTORY.			
December 31	Merchandise on hand, per inventory of this date,	- - -	10,276 41	
	Furs, Peltries, &c. on hand,	- - -	5,116 96	
	Debts due the Factory,	- - -	759 51	
	Cash on hand,	- - -	333 50	
	Factory Buildings,	- - -	500 00	16,986 38
	FORT WAYNE FACTORY.			
October 5	Merchandise, Peltries, &c. on hand, per inventory,	- - -	5,020 75	
	Debts, as per return of March last, 1809,	- - -	2,112 72	
	Factory Buildings, estimated at	- - -	500 00	7,633 47
	MICHILIMACKINAC FACTORY.			
December 31	Merchandise on hand, per inventory of this date,	- - -	15,577 44	
	Furs and Peltries, &c.	- - -	60 50	
	Cash on hand,	- - -	156 52	
	Debts due the Factory,	- - -	584 99	16,379 45
	CHICAGO FACTORY.			
	Merchandise on hand, per inventory of this date,	- - -	4,378 34	
	Furs and Peltries,	- - -	877 62 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	Cash,	- - -	401 66 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	Debts,	- - -	1,185 39	
	Furniture,	- - -	134 31	
	Factory Buildings, estimated at	- - -	500 00	7,477 33

## ABSTRACT B.—Continued.

1809.		SANDUSKY FACTORY.			
December 31	Amount of merchandise on hand, per inventory of this date, - - -		3,120 03½		
	Furs and Peltries, &c. - - - - -		768 47½		
	Debts, - - - - -		1,029 48¼		
	Furniture, &c. - - - - -		148 38½		
	Factory Buildings, - - - - -		814 65		5,881 03
LATE FACTORY AT BELLE FONTAINE.					
1808. July 1	Factory Buildings, and land attached thereto, as per inventory of this date, - - - - -		1,200 00		
1809. December 31	Bonds in the hands of General Clarke, Agent at St. Louis, received for goods put into his hands by Rodolph Tellier, late factor at Belle Fontaine, and remaining of the funds of that factory, -		876 86		2,076 86
					<u>\$149,147 0¼</u>
RECAPITULATION.					
	Merchandise, as shewn in this abstract, - - - - -		74,311 67		
	Furs and Peltries, &c. - - - - -		42,154 42		
	Cash, - - - - -		2,699 64		
	Debts, - - - - -		19,554 89		
	Furniture, - - - - -		846 64		
	Factory Buildings, &c. - - - - -		9,579 78		149,147 04
	Deduct loss on Indian debts, many of which are old, and unsettled from the commencement of the business—amount as shewn above, \$19,554 89, estimated at 50 per cent. - - - - -		9,777 44½		
	Deduct loss on furs and peltries in the hands of the factors, run out in money at the prices taken in at by them (see note on abstract D)—amount as shewn above, \$42,154 42, estimated at 25 per cent. - - - - -		10,538 60½		
	Deduct loss on the buildings erected at the factories, most of which being remote from settlements, will be of no value when the trading houses may be moved or discontinued—amount as shewn above, \$9,579 78, estimated at 50 per cent. - - - - -		4,789 89		25,105 94
					<u>\$124,041 10</u>

## C.

*Abstract of peltries in the hands of Thomas Bourke, agent for the United States' Indian factories, Savannah, on the 31st December, 1809.*

From Hiwasee factory six bundles deer skins, weighing, at the factory, per Mr. Bourke's inventory of 31st December, 1809, 680 lbs. at 12½ cents, \$85 00

## D.

*Abstract of peltries, furs, &c. forwarded at various times from sundry trading houses, to Joseph Saul, agent for United States' factories at New Orleans, not included in any of the returns now made, of property on hand at the factories; put at the prices at which they were taken from the Indians by the factors, and remaining at New Orleans unsold, on the 31st December, 1809.*

DATE.	FROM WHAT FACTORY.	DESCRIPTION OF SKINS.	WEIGHT.	PRICE.		
1808—January 5	Choctaw factory,	Red deer skins,	4,178 lbs.	20	835 60	
“	do.	Grey do.	16,799	20	3,359 80	
March 29	do.	Red do.	9,378	20	1,875 60	
“	do.	Grey do.	10,836	20	2,167 20	
1809—January 24	do.	Red do.	3,392	20	678 40	
“	do.	Grey do.	14,463	20	2,892 60	
December 16	do.	Shaved do.	197	36	70 92	
“	do.	Bear do.	30 skins	1 00	30 00	
1808—March 13	Chickasaw factory,	Red deer do.	345 lbs.	25	86 25	\$11,910 12
“	do.	Grey do.	6,007	25	1,501 75	
“	do.	Shaved do.	410	37½	153 75	
“	do.	Red do.	2,785	25	696 25	
“	do.	Grey do.	55	25	13 75	
1809—April 29	do.	In hair do.	21,619	25	5,404 75	
“	do.	Shaved do.	3,300	37½	1,237 50	
May 3	do.	In hair do.	11,275	25	2,818 75	
“	do.	Bear do.	131 skins	1 00	131 00	
“	do.	Wolf and panther,	108	25	27 00	
1807—December 23	Arkansas factory,	Shaved deer skins,	3,848 lbs.	36	1,385 28	
1808—December 12	do.	do. do.	3,422	36	1,231 92	
1809—May 29	do.	do. do.	846	36	304 56	
1808—March 29	do.	do. do.	236	25	59 00	
December 12	do.	In hair do.	277	25	69 25	
1808—February 11	Natchitoches factory,	Shaved deer skins,	4,467	33	1,489 00	3,050 01
“	do.	In hair do.	8,475	22	1,864 50	
1809—February 9	do.	Shaved do.	12,735	33½	4,185 00	
“	do.	In hair do.	19,513	22	4,292 86	
“	do.	Bear skins, supposed	80 skins	1 00	80 00	
1809—December	Osage factory,	Shaved deer skins,	29,568 lbs.	25	7,392 00	11,911 36
“	do.	Otter skins.	256 skins	2 50	640 00	
“	do.	Bear skins, first quality,	1,055	1 50	1,582 50	
“	do.	do. do. 2d do.	100	1 00	100 00	
1809—December	Le Moine factory,	Shaved deer skins,	25,021 lbs.	25	6,255 25	9,714 50
“	do.	In hair do.	3,006	20	601 20	
“	do.	Bear skins first quality,	20 skins	1 50	30 00	
“	do.	do. do. 2d do.	44	1 00	44 00	
“	do.	Otter skins,	176	2 00	352 00	
“	do.	Bees wax,	100	20	20 00	
“	do.	Tallow,	968 lbs.	12½	121 00	
1809—December 26	Arkansas factory,	Shaved deer skins,	13,436	36	4,836 96	7,423 45
“	do.	In the hair,	1,273	25	318 25	
“	do.	Otter skins,	78 skins	2 05	160 29	
“	do.	Bear skins,	100	1 00	100 00	
“	do.	Common do.	60	50	30 00	
“	do.	Bear skins,	100	1 00	100 00	
	Purchased by Mr. Saul	Pipes to pack in,	424 pipes	8 00	-	5,545 50 3,392 00
NOTE. The furs and peltries forwarded from Arkansas to Mr. Saul, on the 26th December, had not reached him on the 31st of that month; but, as they have been received by him since, and are not included in the account of property on hand at the factory, at that date, it was thought proper to add them to this estimate,						65,017 69
NOTE. It is to be remarked, that all the above peltries are carried out in money at the prices at which they were taken in at the different factories, and that the practice in traffic with Indians is, to allow good prices for skins, and to obtain the rate of barter intended, by putting on the adequate advance on the goods furnished them; from this circumstance, and because great part of them have been on hand for want of a market, from one to two years, much damage may be expected; a reduction of at least forty per cent. may be estimated on the amount,						26,007 07
						\$39,010 62

## E.

*Abstract of Merchandise forwarded to sundry factories from the office of Superintendent of Indian Trade, which had not reached said factories at the date of their last inventories rendered, and which is not included in the amount of property on hand at the factories, per abstract B.*

<i>Choctaw Factory.</i> —Amount of merchandise forwarded on the 29th Oct. 1808, and the 8th June, 1809,	\$8,153 29
<i>Natchitoches Factory.</i> —Amount of merchandise forwarded on 28th November, 1809,	2,134 81
<i>Fort Wayne Factory.</i> —Amount of merchandise forwarded on 9th June, and on 28th July, 1809,	4,686 87
<i>Le Moine Factory.</i> —Amount of merchandise forwarded on 9th May, 5th June, and 16th June, 1809,	5,130 07
<i>Oakmulgee Factory.</i> —Amount of merchandise forwarded on 28th November, 1809,	4,081 43
<i>Fort Osage.</i> —Amount of merchandise forwarded on 5th June, 1809,	1,327 69
	<u>\$25,519 16</u>

## F.

*List of Balances due the Superintendent of Indian Trade, 31st December, 1809.*

Bills receivable, \$3,600 8, viz:

Four draughts drawn by William H. Harrison, Governor of the Indiana territory, on the Secretary of War, favor of John Johnston, factor at fort Wayne, all dated in October, 1809, and accepted, <i>but not then paid</i> , amounting to	\$7,570 95
One draught, John Sibley, on the Secretary of War, favor Thomas M. Linnard, factor at Natchitoches, dated 14th September, 1809, not yet paid,	1,029 13
	<u>\$8,600 08</u>
Thomas Crab, gun smith, advanced him on account of work to be done,	28 70
Baylis and Purkins, do do do do	300 00
Thomas Colclazer, do do do do	100 00
Cash account. Balance of cash on hand,	17,283 03
Merchandise account. Balance of goods on hand,	23,811 92
James Maury, U. S. consul, Liverpool. Balance remaining in his hands of goods ordered,	88 85
Joseph Lopez Dias, agent, New York. For sale of skins, notes not yet due,	4,622 83
Thomas Bourke, agent, Savannah. Remaining in his hands,	338 75
Thomas Watterman, agent, Philadelphia. Amount of sales of skins, notes not yet due,	2,010 29
	<u>\$57,084 45</u>

## G.

*Abstract of Furs and Peltries in the possession of John Mason, Superintendent of Indian Trade, received from the factories on Osage and Le Moine rivers.*

## OSAGE FACTORY.

Invoice of 1st June, 1809.	
4 tierces, containing 655 Indian dressed deer skins, received from New Orleans, through the agency of Joseph Saul,	at \$1 50 - \$982 50
4 tierces,	at 2 00 - 8 00
Invoice of 15th May, 1809.	
1,100 beaver,	at 2 00 - 2,200 00
115 lbs. second quality beaver,	at 1 00 - 115 00
1,420 muskrat, racoon, wild cat, and fox skins,	at 25 - 355 00
6 wolf skins,	at 1 00 - 6 00
Invoice 1st June, 1809.	
600 lbs. beaver,	at 2 00 - 1,200 00
328 racoon, wild cat, and fox skins,	at 25 - 82 00
6 wolf skins,	at 1 00 - 6 00
Invoice of 16th July, 1809.	
256 beaver,	at 2 00 - 512 00
91 racoon and wild cat skins,	at 25 - 22 75
7 wolf skins,	at 75 - 5 25
	<u>\$5,494 50</u>

## LE MOINE FACTORY.

Invoice of March 28th, 1809.	
710½ beaver, estimated	at 2 00 per lb. 1,421 00
1,353 muskrat skins, estimated	at 25 do 338 25
3,585 racoon skins, estimated	at 25 do 896 25
	<u>2,655 50</u>
	<u>\$8,150 00</u>

OFFICE OF INDIAN TRADE, 31st December, 1809.

## H.

*List of Balances due from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, on the 31st December, 1809.*

Peter Gansevoort, Jun. former military agent at Albany, for transportation,	\$1,590 25
Joseph Saul, agent at New Orleans, due him,	1,677 29
Levi Shefall, late military agent at Savannah,	967 22
John W. Bronaugh, agent for transportation,	49 74
John Teackle, on account of goods purchased of him,	100 49
William Clarke, military agent at St. Louis,	830 90
L. & P. Lannay, due them for merchandise,	720 13
E. J. Dupont de Nemours & Co. due them for gun powder,	568 00
L. H. Gansevoort, late military agent, Albany, due him,	534 67
Anthony Lamb, present military agent at Albany, estimated,	1,390 00
	<u>\$8,428 69</u>

OFFICE INDIAN TRADE, 18th January, 1808.

SIR:

Understanding that a committee of Congress have been appointed on the subject of Indian affairs, I beg leave to submit to your consideration some alterations which appear to me to be requisite in the law regulating the trading house establishment.

By this law, it is not permitted to export, on public account, either furs or peltries. Experience, as the books and correspondence of my predecessor will show, has proven that the demand for peltries, particularly deer skins, of which great numbers, in our trade with the Indians, are, of necessity, taken, is by no means equal to the quantities furnished; of course, if restricted to be sold here, great sacrifices must be made, and such as must, in spite of every vigilance, on the part of the superintendent and the agents, inevitably diminish the fund set apart for this trade. Although it is believed that the demand for furs, commonly used by hatters, in the manufactory of hats, is sufficient, in this country, to afford reasonable competition and sales, yet the existing restrictions to hold not less than six public sales in each year, and not more than two thereof in any one State, operate much against the fund, as thereby the President has it not in his power to select that market in the United States at which may have been found the greatest demand and best prices, as was evinced by the sales of the last year.

The law authorizes the President to draw, annually, from the treasury, a sum not exceeding ten thousand dollars, for the payment of the agents and their clerks, at the different trading houses, and allow the agents to draw from the public supplies two rations each, and their clerks one ration each, per diem. This has been commuted to subsistence money, and is paid at this office. There are now established on the frontiers ten trading houses, having one agent and one assistant at each. The salaries stand thus:

10 agents, 1 at \$1,250, 9 at \$1,000, per annum	-	-	-	\$10,250
Subsistence money to each, a \$365, per annum	-	-	-	3,650
Allowance, annually, for furniture, a \$25	-	-	-	250
10 assistants, at \$600, per annum	-	-	-	6,000
Subsistence money, a \$180, per annum	-	-	-	1,800
Interpreters at most of the posts are indispensably requisite—say				
7, at \$400, per annum	-	-	-	2,800
Occasional interpreting at other posts—say	-	-	-	250
				\$25,000

Thus it appears that a sum of not less than twenty-five thousand dollars is requisite for paying the salaries at the trading houses.

The clerk hire allowed by the law, for this office, is one thousand dollars, annually. It is impossible to do the business with less than two good clerks. This, I believe, will be readily admitted, when it is recollected that the superintendent has to do, at this time, with ten different trading houses, (and their number will probably be increased) that he has not only to correspond with, but to supply them with goods from time to time, to receive and sell their peltries, to receive and settle their accounts quarterly, and to keep an extensive set of books, and a considerable correspondence with others, on the business of this establishment. Two clerks cannot be had for less than sixteen hundred dollars; and this rate is certainly moderate, when compared with the rate of clerk hire allowed in the other public offices; and it is to be remembered, that the clerks of this office are restricted from any trade or commerce, which is not the case with those in any of the other offices. If the number of trading houses are extended, more aid here will yet be necessary. At this time I have but one clerk engaged; and the fact is, with my whole time, I am not thus able to keep the business of the office from going behind hand.

As to the propriety of extending the privilege of franking letters and packets, to this office, you, sir, who have witnessed their number and frequency, in passing through your Department, and the inconvenience attending the present mode of conducting the correspondence, can best judge.

With very great respect, I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

J. MASON, Superintendent of Indian Trade.

General HENRY DEARBORN, Secretary of War, Washington.

OFFICE INDIAN TRADE, 1st February, 1808.

SIR:

In the letter which I had the honor to write you on the 18th ultimo, the annual compensation to the agents and assistant agents, at the different trading houses, is said to stand thus: 9 agents, at \$1,000 each; 1 at \$1,250; subsistence money to each, \$365; 10 assistant agents, at \$600; subsistence money to each, \$180. This statement, which was taken from one made by my predecessor, I found in the office, and was supposed, at the time, by me, to contain the actual sums now paid. On more strict examination, I find it was conjectural only of what would probably be the settled rates of compensation.

The rates, now actually paid, are, 1 agent, \$1,250 salary, and \$365 subsistence money; 8 agents, \$1,000 salary, and \$365 subsistence money; and 1 agent, \$750 salary, and \$270 subsistence money; 1 assistant agent, \$600 salary, and \$180 subsistence money; 2 assistant agents \$500 salary, and \$180 subsistence money; 5 assistant agents, at \$500 salary, and \$150 subsistence money. There appears to be two factories, at this time, without assistant agents. (a)

Although the variation is not considerable, I consider it right to state the fact. The want of accuracy, in the first statement, I pray may be attributed to the true cause, that, from the short time I have been in office, and with but slender aid, I have not been, as yet, able to examine all the papers and accounts belonging to this establishment.

With great respect, I am, sir, &c. &c.

J. MASON, Superintendent of Indian Trade.

The Honorable HENRY DEARBORN, Secretary of War.

(a) 1 agent, \$1,250; 8 agents, a \$1,000	-	-	-	\$9,250
Subsistence money to each, \$365, per annum	-	-	-	3,285
1 agent, \$750, subsistence \$270	-	-	-	1,020
1 assistant agent, a \$600, subsistence, \$180	-	-	-	780
2 assistant do. a \$500, do. \$180	-	-	-	1,360
5 assistant do. a \$500, do. \$150	-	-	-	3,250
				\$18,945

OFFICE OF INDIAN TRADE, 16th January, 1809.

SIR:

By instructions from the Secretary of War, to communicate to you such information as may have been acquired at this office, as to the operation of the act for establishing trading houses with the Indian tribes, I take the liberty to address you.

By this act it is not permitted to export furs or peltries. Experience has proven, that the home demand for peltries, particularly deer skins, (of which great numbers are, of necessity, taken from the Indians) is by no means equal to the quantity furnished; of course, if restricted to be sold here, great sacrifices will often be made.

For furs commonly used by hatters, in the manufacture of hats, it is believed the demand in this country is sufficient to afford reasonable competition and sales, but the existing restrictions operate much against the fund, by narrowing the choice even among our own markets.

It appears to have been contemplated by the present law, to pay from the treasury the salaries requisite to conduct this establishment, and, by not taxing the fund therewith, to give the Indians their supplies on better terms. The increase of the business, by adding to the number of the trading houses, and spreading more extensively the benefits of the system among the various tribes, has, however, in part, compelled a departure from this plan, and occasioned heavy draughts from the funds.

The law authorizes the President to draw from the treasury, annually, a sum not exceeding ten thousand dollars, for the payment of the salaries of agents and their clerks on the frontiers, and allow them to draw rations from the public supplies. These (the rations) have been commuted into subsistence money, which is paid from the funds of this establishment.

There are, at this time, located and supplied on the frontiers, twelve trading houses, eleven of which are in full operation, and one will commence as soon as the spring opens; of these, three have been established during the last year.

The salaries now paid for conducting them, are:

To agents, 8, at each, \$1,000 per annum, and \$365 per annum subsistence money,	-	-	-	\$10,920
3, at \$800, and \$365 subsistence money,	-	-	-	3,495
1, at \$750, and \$270 subsistence money,	-	-	-	1,020
To assistant agents or clerks, 1 at \$600 per annum, and \$180 subsistence money,	-	-	-	780
1 at \$500, and \$180 subsistence money,	-	-	-	680
5 at \$500, and \$150 subsistence money,	-	-	-	3,250
				<u>\$20,145</u>
Interpreters are requisite at most of the posts; the average rate of salary is \$400 per annum, say, at 8 posts,				3,200
It will be seen, by the statement above, that, of the 12 factories, 7 only have assistant agents or clerks, 3 additional will probably be wanting, at \$650,				1,950
				<u>\$25,295</u>

The allowance for clerks for this office, payable from the treasury, is one thousand dollars per annum. Fourteen hundred dollars are paid, of which four hundred dollars from the funds of this establishment, as in the case of the agents at the trading houses. An additional accounting clerk is indispensably requisite, as the business of the office cannot be kept up with the present assistance; should it, therefore, be thought right to appropriate from the treasury enough to cover the annual expenses of agents, clerks, and assistants, twenty-five thousand three hundred dollars for the trading houses on the frontiers, and two thousand four hundred for this office, will be requisite.

Whether it will be necessary to add to the general fund for the purposes of trade with the Indian tribes, depending, in a great measure, on the policy of extending the system, it is not for me to give an opinion; it is, however, proper to remark, that the last has been an unfortunate year for the establishment, as well that the peltries depending for sale on foreign demand, are a dead and perishing stock on hand, as that most of the articles usually laid in for the supplies of the factories, have risen considerably in price.

From the nature of the business of this office, you will readily see, sir, that the correspondence must be constant and extensive; and I beg to submit to you the propriety of extending the privilege of franking to it, as to other public offices.

With very great respect, I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

J. MASON,  
Superintendent of Indian Trade.

The Honorable THOMAS NEWTON,  
Chairman of the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures.

INDIAN TRADE OFFICE, 29th January, 1810.

SIR:

Having remarked, in the list of appropriations lately reported to Congress for the present year, no provision for an additional clerk in this office, as allowed by an act of the last session of the tenth Congress, which, I presume, may have escaped your notice, from the circumstance of its having been inserted in an act separate from that in which other appropriations for the office were made, I respectfully beg permission to draw your attention to the subject.

The allowance for clerks for this office, by the original act of 1806, is \$1,000; three clerks are employed:

Jeremiah W. Bronaugh, at	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$800
John Fowler,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	800
And Meade Fitzhugh,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	600
								<u>\$2,200</u>

Four hundred dollars of which are paid out of the general fund. It is not reasonable to expect, that the gentlemen whose services are now employed, can long be retained, or other sufficient clerks be had at those rates, when it is considered that the compensation paid here to the principal clerks, is not more than is received in the other public offices, by mere transcribers; and when, too, it is peculiarly the case in this office, that they are restrained from doing any business of a mercantile nature on their own accounts, it must happen, that none but young men can be employed, and that, as soon as they have become sufficiently acquainted with the business to be really useful, they will find better offers elsewhere, and may often leave the office in an awkward situation. Again, the responsibility of the clerks of this office is greater than in many others, because of the quantity of goods constantly packing and unpacking, receiving, and sending off, in their charge. The business of this office has increased much, by the addition of new trading houses. A principal clerk, of competent knowledge of business generally, and of goods suited to the trade particularly, a complete book keeper, and a transcribing clerk, are indispensably necessary.

I therefore take the liberty to solicit, that an allowance of clerk hire be made, (including the 1,000 dollars appropriated by the act of 1806) of two thousand nine hundred dollars, and I beg leave, sir, to submit to your consideration the propriety of asking of Congress an appropriation to that effect.

With very great respect, &c. &c.

J. MASON,  
Superintendent of Indian Trade.

The Honorable ALBERT GALLATIN,  
Secretary of the Treasury.

[12th CONGRESS.]

No. 131.

[1st Session.]

## NORTH WESTERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, DECEMBER 19, 1811.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:*

I lay before Congress two letters received from Governor Harrison, of the Indiana territory, reporting the particulars and the issue of the expedition under his command, of which notice was taken in my communication of November 5th.

While it is deeply lamented that so many valuable lives have been lost in the action which took place on the 7th ult. Congress will see, with satisfaction, the dauntless spirit and fortitude victoriously displayed by every description of the troops engaged, as well as the collected firmness which distinguished their commander, on an occasion requiring the utmost exertions of valor and discipline.

It may reasonably be expected that the good effects of this critical defeat and dispersion of a combination of savages, which appears to have been spreading to a greater extent, will be experienced not only in a cessation of the murders and depredations committed on our frontier, but in the prevention of any hostile incursions otherwise to have been apprehended.

The families of those brave and patriotic citizens who have fallen in this severe conflict, will doubtless engage the favorable attention of Congress.

JAMES MADISON.

WASHINGTON, *December 18th, 1811.*VINCENNES, *18th November, 1811.*

SIR:

In my letter of the 8th instant, I did myself the honor to communicate the result of an action between the troops under my command and the confederation of Indians under the control of the Shawanese prophet. I had previously informed you, in a letter of the 2d instant, of my proceedings previously to my arrival at the Vermillion river, where I had erected a block house for the protection of the boats which I was obliged to leave, and as a depository for our heavy baggage, and such part of our provisions as we were unable to transport in wagons.

On the morning of the 3d instant, I commenced my march from the block house. The Wabash, above this, turning considerably to the eastward, I was obliged, in order to avoid the broken and woody country, which borders upon it, to change my course to the westward of north to gain the prairies which lie to the back of those woods. At the end of one day's march, I was enabled to take the proper direction, (N. E.) which brought me, on the evening of the 5th, to a small creek, at about eleven miles from the Prophet's town. I had, on the preceding day, avoided the dangerous pass of Pine creek, by inclining a few miles to the left, where the troops and wagons were crossed with expedition and safety. Our route on the 6th, for about six miles, lay through prairies, separated by small points of woods.

My order of march hitherto had been similar to that used by General Wayne; that is, the infantry were in two columns of files on either side of the road, and the mounted riflemen and cavalry in front, in the rear, and on the flanks. Where the ground was unfavorable for the action of cavalry, they were placed on the rear, but where it was otherwise, they were made to exchange positions with one of the mounted rifle corps. Understanding that the last four miles were open woods, and the probability being greater that we should be attacked in front than on either flank, I halted at that distance from the town, and formed the army in order of battle. The U. S. infantry placed in the centre, two companies of militia infantry, and one of mounted riflemen, on each flank, formed the front line. In the rear of this line was placed the baggage, drawn up as compactly as possible, and immediately behind it a reserve of three companies of militia infantry. The cavalry formed a second line, at the distance of three hundred yards in the rear of the front line, and a company of mounted riflemen the advanced guard at that distance in front. To facilitate the march, the whole were then broken off in short columns of companies—a situation the most favorable for forming in order of battle with facility and precision.

Our march was slow and cautious, and much delayed by the examination of every place which seemed calculated for an ambuscade. Indeed, the ground was, for some time, so unfavorable, that I was obliged to change the position of the several corps three times in the distance of a mile. At half past two o'clock, we passed a small creek at the distance of one mile and a half from the town, and entered an open wood, when the army was halted, and again drawn up in order of battle. During the whole of the last day's march, parties of Indians were constantly about us, and every effort was made by the interpreters to speak to them, but in vain. New attempts of the kind were now made, but, proving equally ineffectual, a Capt. Dubois, of the spies and guides, offering to go with a flag to the town, I despatched him, with an interpreter, to request a conference with the Prophet. In a few moments a messenger was sent by Captain Dubois to inform me that, in his attempts to advance, the Indians appeared on both his flanks, and although he had spoken to them in the most friendly manner, they refused to answer, but beckoned to him to go forward, and constantly endeavored to cut him off from the army. Upon this information, I recalled the Captain, and determined to encamp for the night, and take some other measures for opening a conference with the Prophet.

Whilst I was engaged in tracing the lines for the encampment, Major Daviess, who commanded the dragoons, came to inform me that he had penetrated to the Indian fields; that the ground was entirely open and favorable; that the Indians in front had manifested nothing but hostility, and had answered every attempt to bring them to a parley, with contempt and insolence. I was immediately advised by all the officers around me to move forward; a similar wish indeed pervaded all the army. It was drawn up in excellent order, and every man appeared eager to decide the contest immediately.

Being informed that a good encampment might be had upon the Wabash, I yielded to what appeared the general wish, and directed the troops to advance, taking care, however, to place the interpreters in front, with directions to invite a conference with any Indians they might meet with. We had not advanced above four hundred yards when I was informed that three Indians had approached the advanced guard, and had expressed a wish to speak to me. I found, upon their arrival, that one of them was a man in great estimation with the Prophet. He informed me that the chiefs were much surprised at my advancing upon them so rapidly; that they were given to understand, by the Delawares and Miamies, whom I had sent to them a few days before, that I would not advance to their town until I had received an answer to my demands made through them; that this answer had been despatched by the Pattawamy chief, Winnemac, who had accompanied the Miamies and Delawares on their return; that they had left the Prophet's town two days before, with a design to meet me, but had unfortunately taken the road on the south side of the Wabash. I answered that I had no intention of attacking them, until I discovered that they would not comply with the demands that I had made; that I would go on and encamp at the Wabash; and in the morning would have an interview with the Prophet and his chiefs, and explain to them the determination of the President; that, in the mean time, no hostilities should be committed.

He seemed much pleased with this, and promised that it should be observed on their parts. I then resumed my march. We struck the cultivated ground about five hundred yards below the town, but as these extended to the bank of the Wabash, there was no possibility of getting an encampment which was provided with both wood and water.



My guides and interpreters being still with the advanced guard, and taking the direction of the town, the army followed, and had advanced within about one hundred and fifty yards, when fifty or sixty Indians sallied out, and, with loud acclamations called to the cavalry and to the militia infantry, which were on our right flank, to halt. I immediately advanced to the front, caused the army to halt, and directed an interpreter to request some of the chiefs to come to me. In a few moments the man who had been with me before, made his appearance. I informed him that my object, for the present, was to procure a good piece of ground to encamp on, where we could get wood and water. He informed me that there was a creek to the northwest which he thought would suit our purpose. I immediately despatched two officers to examine it, and they reported that the situation was excellent. I then took leave of the chief, and a mutual promise was again made for suspension of hostilities until we could have an interview on the following day. I found the ground destined for the encampment not altogether such as I could wish it. It was, indeed, admirably calculated for the encampment of regular troops that were opposed to regulars, but it afforded great facility to the approach of savages. It was a piece of dry oak land, rising about ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie in front, (towards the Indian town) and nearly twice that height above a similar prairie in the rear, through which, and near to this bank, ran a small stream clothed with willows and brush wood. Towards the left flank this bench of high land widened considerably, but became gradually narrower in the opposite direction, and at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards from the right flank terminated in an abrupt point. The two columns of infantry occupied the front and rear of this ground, at the distance of about one hundred and fifty yards from each other on the left, and something more than half that distance on the right flank. These flanks were filled up, the first by two companies of mounted riflemen, amounting to about one hundred and twenty men, under the command of Major General Wells, of the Kentucky militia, who served as a major, the other by Spencer's company of mounted riflemen, which amounted to eighty men. The front line was composed of one battalion of United States' infantry, under the command of Major Floyd, flanked on the right by two companies of militia, and on the left by one company. The rear line was composed of a battalion of United States' troops, under the command of Captain Baen, acting as major, and four companies of militia infantry, under Lieutenant Colonel Decker.

The regular troops of this line joined the mounted riflemen under General Wells on the left flank, and Colonel Decker's battalion formed an angle with Spencer's company on the left.

Two troops of dragoons, amounting to, in the aggregate, about sixty men, were encamped in the rear of the left flank, and Captain Parke's troop, which was larger than the other two, in the rear of the front line. Our order of encampment varied little from that above described, excepting when some peculiarity of the ground made it necessary. For a night attack, the order of encampment was the order of battle, and each man slept immediately opposite to his post in the line. In the formation of my troops I used a single rank, or what is called Indian file; because, in Indian warfare, where there is no shock to resist, one rank is nearly as good as two, and in that kind of warfare, the extension of line is a matter of the first importance. Raw troops also manœuvre with much more facility in single than in double ranks. It was my constant custom to assemble all the field officers at my tent, every evening, by signal, to give them the watch-word, and their instructions for the night; those given for the night of the 6th were, that each corps which formed a part of the exterior line of the encampment should hold its own ground until relieved. The dragoons were directed to parade dismounted, in case of a night attack, with their pistols in their belts, and to act as a corps de reserve. The camp was defended by two captain's guards, consisting each of four non-commissioned officers and forty-two privates, and two subaltern's guards of twenty non-commissioned officers and privates. The whole under the command of a field officer of the day.

The troops were regularly called up, an hour before day, and made to continue under arms until it was quite light. On the morning of the 7th, I had risen a quarter after 4 o'clock, and the signal for calling out the men would have been given in two minutes, when the attack commenced. It began on our left flank; but a single gun was fired by the sentinels or by the guard in that direction, which made not the least resistance, but abandoned their officer and fled into camp, and the first notice which the troops of that flank had of the danger, was from the yells of the savages within a short distance of the line; but, even under those circumstances, the men were not wanting to themselves or to the occasion. Such of them as were awake, or were easily awakened, seized their arms, and took their stations, others, which were more tardy, had to contend with the enemy in the doors of their tents. The storm first fell upon Captain Barton's company, of the 4th United States' regiment, and Captain Geiger's company of mounted riflemen, which formed the left angle of the rear line. The fire upon these was excessively severe, and they suffered considerably before relief could be brought to them. Some few Indians passed into the encampment near the angle, and one or two penetrated to some distance, before they were killed. I believe all the other companies were under arms and tolerably formed before they were fired on. The morning was dark and cloudy. Our fires afforded a partial light, which, if it gave us some opportunity of taking our positions, was still more advantageous to the enemy, affording them the means of taking a surer aim; they were, therefore, extinguished as soon as possible. Under all these discouraging circumstances, the troops (nineteen-twentieths of whom had never been in action before) behaved in a manner that can never be too much applauded. They took their places without noise, and with less confusion than could have been expected from veterans, placed in a similar situation. As soon as I could mount my horse, I rode to the angle that was attacked. I found that Barton's company had suffered severely, and the left of Geiger's entirely broken. I immediately ordered Cook's company, and the late Captain Wentworth's, under Lieutenant Peters, to be brought up from the centre of the rear line, where the ground was much more defensible, and formed across the angle in support of Barton's and Geiger's. My attention was then engaged by a heavy firing upon the left of the front line, where were stationed the small company of United States' riflemen, (then, however, armed with muskets) and the companies of Baen, Snelling, and Prescott, of the 4th regiment. I found Major Daviess forming the dragoons in the rear of those companies; and understanding that the heaviest part of the enemy's fire proceeded from some trees about fifteen or twenty paces in front of those companies, I directed the major to dislodge them with a part of the dragoons; unfortunately, the major's gallantry determined him to execute the order with a smaller force than was sufficient, which enabled the enemy to avoid him in front, and attack his flanks. The major was mortally wounded, and his party driven back. The Indians were, however, immediately and gallantly dislodged from their advantageous position by Captain Snelling, at the head of his company. In the course of a few minutes after the commencement of the attack, the fire extended along the left flank, the whole of the front, the right flank, and part of the rear line. Upon Spencer's mounted riflemen, and the right of Warwick's company, which was posted on the right of the rear line, it was excessively severe. Captain Spencer, and his first and second lieutenants, were killed, and Captain Warwick mortally wounded. Those companies, however, still bravely maintained their posts, but Spencer had suffered so severely, and having originally too much ground to occupy, I reinforced them with Robb's company of riflemen, which had been drawn, or, by mistake, ordered from their position on the left flank, towards the centre of the camp; and filled the vacancy that had been occupied by Robb, with Prescott's company of the 4th United States' regiment. My great object was to keep the lines entire, to prevent the enemy from breaking into the camp, until day-light should enable me to make a general and effectual charge. With this view, I had reinforced every part of the line that had suffered much, and as soon as the approach of morning had discovered itself, I withdrew from the front line Snelling's, Posey's, (under Lieutenant Albright) and Scott's, and from the rear line, Wilson's, companies, and drew them up upon the left flank, and, at the same time, I ordered Cook's and Baen's companies, the former from the rear, and the latter from the front line, to reinforce the right flank, foreseeing that, at these points, the enemy would make their last efforts. Major Wells, who commanded on the left flank, not knowing my intentions precisely, had taken the command of these companies, and had charged the enemy before I had formed the body of dragoons, with which I meant to support the infantry; a small detachment of these were, however, ready, and proved amply sufficient for the purpose.

The Indians were driven by the infantry at the point of the bayonet, and the dragoons pursued and forced them into a marsh, where they could not be followed. Captain Cook and Lieutenant Larabee had, agreeably to my order, marched their companies to the right flank; had formed them under the fire of the enemy, and, being then joined by the riflemen of that flank, had charged the Indians, killed a number, and put the rest to a precipitate flight. A favorable opportunity was here offered to pursue the enemy with dragoons, but being engaged at that time on the other flank, I did not observe it until it was too late.

I have thus, sir, given you the particulars of an action which was certainly maintained with the greatest obstinacy and perseverance by both parties. The Indians manifested a ferocity, uncommon even with them. To their savage fury, our troops opposed that cool and deliberate valor which is characteristic of the Christian soldier.

The most pleasing part of my duty, (that of naming to you the corps and individuals who particularly distinguished themselves) is yet to be performed. There is, however, considerable difficulty in it; where merit was so common, it is almost impossible to discriminate.

The whole of the infantry formed a small brigade, under the immediate orders of Colonel Boyd. The colonel, throughout the action, manifested equal zeal and bravery, in carrying into execution my orders, in keeping the men to their posts, and exhorting them to fight with valor. His brigade major, Clarke, and his aid-de-camp, George Croghan, Esquire, were also very serviceably employed. Colonel Joseph Bartholemew, a very valuable officer, commanded, under Colonel Boyd, the militia infantry. He was wounded early in the action, and his services lost to me. Major G. R. C. Floyd, the senior officer of the fourth United States' regiment, commanded immediately the battalion of that regiment, which was in the front line; his conduct, during the action, was entirely to my satisfaction. Lieutenant Colonel Decker, who commanded the battalion of militia on the right of the rear line, preserved his command in good order. He was, however, but partially attacked.

I have before mentioned to you, that Major General Wells, of the fourth division of Kentucky militia, acted under my command as a major, at the head of two companies of mounted volunteers. The general maintained the fame which he had already acquired in almost every campaign and in almost every battle which has been fought with the Indians, since the settlement of Kentucky.

Of the several corps, the fourth United States' regiment and the two small companies attached to it, were certainly the most conspicuous for undaunted valor. The companies commanded by Captains Cook, Snelling, and Barton, Lieutenants Larabee, Peters, and Hawkins, were placed in situations where they could render most service and encounter most danger, and those officers eminently distinguished themselves. Captains Prescott and Brown performed their duty, also, entirely to my satisfaction, as did Posey's company of the seventh regiment, headed by Lieutenant Albright. In short, sir, they supported the fame of American regulars, and I have never heard that a single individual was found out of the line of his duty. Several of the militia companies were in no wise inferior to the regulars. Spencer's, Geiger's, and Warwick's, maintained their posts amidst a monstrous carnage, as indeed did Robb's, after it was posted on the left flank; its loss of men, (seventeen killed and wounded) and keeping its ground, is sufficient evidence of its firmness. Wilson's and Scott's companies charged with the regular troops, and proved themselves worthy of doing so.

Norris's company, also, behaved well. Hargrove's and Wilkin's companies were placed in a situation where they had no opportunity of distinguishing themselves, or I am satisfied they would have done it. This was the case with the squadron of dragoons, also; after Major Daviess had received his wound, knowing it to be mortal, I promoted Captain Parke to the majority, than whom, there is no better officer.

My two aids-de-camp, Majors Hurd and Taylor, with Lieutenant Adams, of the fourth regiment, the adjutant of the troops, afforded me the most essential aid, as well in the action, as throughout the campaign.

The arrangements of Captain Piatt, in the quartermaster's department, were highly judicious, and his exertions, on all occasions, particularly in bringing off the wounded, deserve my warmest thanks. But, in giving merited praise to the living, let me not forget the gallant dead.

Colonel Abraham Owen, commandant of the 18th Kentucky regiment, joined me a few days before the action, as a private in Captain Geiger's company; he accepted the appointment of volunteer aid-de-camp to me; he fell early in the action; the representatives of his State will inform you, that she possessed not a better citizen nor a braver man. Major J. H. Daviess was known as an able lawyer and a great orator; he joined me as a private volunteer, and, on the recommendation of the officers of that corps, was appointed to command the three troops of dragoons; his conduct in that capacity, justified their choice; never was there an officer possessed of more ardor and zeal to discharge his duties with propriety, and never one who would have encountered greater danger to purchase military fame. Captain Baen, of the fourth United States' regiment, was killed early in the action; he was unquestionably a good officer and valiant soldier. Captains Spencer and Warwick, and Lieutenants McMahan and Berry, were all my particular friends. I have ever had the utmost confidence in their valor, and I was not deceived.

Spencer was wounded in the head; he exhorted his men to fight valiantly; he was shot through both thighs, and fell, still continuing to encourage them; he was raised up, and received a ball through his body, which put an immediate end to his existence.

Warwick was shot immediately through the body; being taken to the surgery to be dressed, as soon as it was over, (being a man of great bodily vigor and still able to walk) he insisted upon going back to head his company, although it was evident that he had but a few hours to live.

All these gentlemen, sir, Captain Baen excepted, have left wives, and five of them, large families of children. This is the case, too, with many of the privates among the militia, who fell in the action, or who have died since, of their wounds.

Will the bounty of their country be withheld from their helpless orphans, many of whom will be in the most destitute condition, and, perhaps, want even the necessaries of life?

With respect to the number of Indians that were engaged against us, I am possessed of no data by which I can form a correct statement. It must, however, have been considerable, and perhaps not much inferior to our own, which, deducting the dragoons, who were unable to do us much service, was very little above seven hundred non-commissioned officers and privates. I am convinced there were, at least, six hundred. The Prophet had, three weeks before, four hundred and fifty of his own proper followers. I am induced to believe, that he was joined by a number of the lawless vagabonds who live on the Illinois river, as large trails were seen coming from that direction. Indeed, I shall not be surprised to find, that some of those who professed the warmest friendship for us, were arrayed against us. It is certain, that one of this description came out from the town, and spoke to me the night before the action. The Pattawatamy chief, whom I mentioned to have been wounded and taken prisoner in my letter of the 8th instant, I left on the battle ground, after having taken all the care of him in my power. I requested him to inform those of his own tribe who had joined the Prophet, and the Kickapoos, and the Winnebagoes, that, if they would immediately abandon the Prophet, and return to their own tribes, their past conduct would be forgiven, and, that we would treat them as we formerly had done. He assured me that he would do so, and that there was no doubt of their compliance. Indeed, he said that he was certain that they would put the Prophet to death.

I think, upon the whole, that there will be no further hostilities; but, of this, I shall be enabled to give you some more certain information in a few days.

The troops left the battle ground on the 9th instant; it took every wagon to transport the wounded; we managed, however, to bring off the public property, although almost all the private baggage of the officers was necessarily destroyed.

It may, perhaps, be imagined, sir, that some means might have been adopted to have made a more early discovery of the approach of the enemy to our camp, the morning of the 7th instant. But, if I had employed two-thirds of the army as out posts, it would have been ineffectual; the Indians, in such a night, would have found means to have passed between them. Placed in the situation that we were, there is no other mode of avoiding a surprise, than by a chain of sentinels, so close together that the enemy cannot pass between, without discovery, and, having the army in such readiness, that they can get to their alarm posts at a moment's warning. Our troops could not have been better prepared than they were, unless they had been kept under arms the whole night, as they lay with their accoutrements on, and their arms by their sides, and the moment they were up, they were at their posts. If the sentinels and the guards had done their duty, even the troops on the left flank would have been prepared to receive the Indians.

I have the honor to enclose you a correct return of our killed and wounded. The wounded suffered very much before their arrival here, but they are now comfortably fixed, and every attention has been, and shall continue to be, paid to them.

Doctor Foster is not only possessed of great professional merit, but is, moreover, a man of feeling and honor. I am convinced, sir, that the Indians lost many more men than we did. They left from thirty-six to forty on the field. They were seen to take off, not only the wounded, but the dead. An Indian that was killed and scalped in the beginning of the action, by one of our men, was found in a house in the town. Several others were also found in the houses, and many graves, which were fresh dug; one of them was opened, and found to contain three dead bodies.

Our infantry used, principally, cartridges containing twelve buck-shot, which were admirably calculated for a night action.

I have before informed you, sir, that Colonel Miller was prevented, by illness, from going on the expedition; he rendered essential service in the command of fort Harrison; he is an officer of great merit.

There are so many circumstances, which it is important for you to know, respecting the situation of this country, that I have thought it best to commit this despatch to my aid-de-camp, Major Taylor, who will have the honor of delivering it to you, and will be able to give you more satisfaction than I could do, by writing. Major Taylor (who is also one of our supreme judges) is a man of integrity and honor, and you may rely upon any statements he may make.

With the highest respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your humble servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

P. S. Not a man of ours was taken prisoner, and of three scalps which were taken, two of them were recovered. The Honorable W. EUSTIS, *Secretary of War*.

*A general return of the killed and wounded of the army, under the command of his Excellency William Henry Harrison, Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Indiana territory, in the action with the Indians, near the Prophet's town, November 7, 1811.*

	KILLED.						WOUNDED, (since dead.)				WOUNDED.						Total.									
	Aid-de-camp.	Lieut. Colonel.	Majors.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Privates.	Lieut. Colonel.	Major.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Privates.	Lt. Colonels.		Adjutant.	Surg'n's Mate.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Musicians.	Privates.	
General staff	1																									1
Field and staff										1						2	1									5
United States' infantry							2	5		1					14											77
Colonel Decker's militia								4		1					1						2					24
Major Redman's do						1		6							1			1								14
Major Daviess' dragoons								4															1			10
Major Wells' mounted riflemen								6										1				2				31
Captain Spencer's do				1	2										3											24
Spies, guides, and wagoners								5																	2	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>188</b>			

*Names of officers killed and wounded, as per general return.*

**Killed.**—Colonel Abraham Owens, aid-de-camp to the commander-in-chief.—(general staff.)

**WOUNDED.**

**Field and staff.**—Lieutenant Colonel Bartholemew, commanding Indiana militia infantry.  
Lieutenant Colonel Decker, do do do.  
Major Joseph H. Daviess, since dead, commanding squadron dragoons.  
Doctor Edward Scull, of the Indiana militia.  
Adjutant James Hunter, of mounted Riflemen.

**United States' troops.**—Captain W. C. Baen, acting major, since dead.  
Lieutenant George P. Peters.  
Lieutenant George Gooding.  
Ensign Henry Burchsted.

**Colonel Decker's detachment.**—Captain Warrick, since dead.  
**Major Redman's do.** Captain John Morris.  
**Major Wells' do.** Captain Frederick Geiger.

**KILLED.**

**Spencer's camp and Berry's detachment.**—Captain Spier Spencer.  
First Lieutenant Richard McMahan.  
Lieutenant Thomas Berry.

NATHANIEL F. ADAMS, *Adjutant to the Army*.

To his Excellency the COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

VINCENNES, 4th December, 1811.

SIR:

I have the honor to inform you that two principal chiefs of the Kickapoos of the Prairie arrived here, bearing a flag, on the evening before last. They informed me, that they came in consequence of a message from the chief of that part of the Kickapoos which had joined the prophet, requiring them to do so, and that the said chief is to be here himself, in a day or two. The account which they give of the late confederacy under the prophet, is as follows: "The prophet, with his Shawanese, is at a small Huron village, about twelve miles from his former residence, on this side of the Wabash, where, also, were twelve or fifteen Hurons. The Kickapoos are encamped near to the Tippecanoe. The Pattawatamies have scattered and gone to different villages of that tribe. The Winnebagoes had all set out on their return to their own country, excepting one chief and nine men, who remained at their former village. The latter had attended Tecumseh in his tour to the southward, and had only returned to the Prophet's town the day before the action. The Prophet had sent a messenger to the Kickapoos of the Prairie, to request that he might be permitted to retire to their town. This was positively refused, and a warning sent to him, not to come there. He then sent to request that four of his men might attend the Kickapoo chief here—this was also refused. These chiefs

say, on the whole, that all the tribes who lost warriors in the late action, attribute their misfortune to the Prophet, alone; that they constantly reproach him with their misfortunes, and threaten him with death; that they are all desirous of making their peace with the United States, and will send deputations to me for that purpose, as soon as they are informed that they will be well received. The two chiefs further say, that they were sent by Governor Howard and General Clarke, sometime before the action, to endeavor to bring off the Kickapoos from the Prophet's town; that they used their best endeavors to effect it, but unsuccessfully. That the Prophet's followers were fully impressed with a belief that they could defeat us with ease; that it was their intention to have attacked us at fort Harrison, if we had gone no higher; that Racoon creek was then fixed on, and finally, Pine creek; and that the latter would probably have been the place, if the usual route had not been abandoned, and a crossing made higher up; that the attack made on our sentinels, at fort Harrison, was intended to shut the door against accommodation; that the Winnebagoes had forty warriors killed in the action, and the Kickapoos eleven, and ten wounded. They have never heard how many of the Pattawatamies, and other tribes, were killed. That the Pattawatamy chief left by me on the battle ground, is since dead of his wounds, but that he faithfully delivered my speech to the different tribes, and warmly urged them to abandon the Prophet and submit, to my terms."

I cannot say, sir, how much of the above may be depended on. I believe, however, that the statement made by the chief is generally correct, particularly with regard to the present disposition of the Indians. It is certain that our frontiers have never enjoyed more profound tranquillity than at this time. No injury of any kind, that I can hear of, has been done, either to the persons or property of our citizens. Before the expedition, not a fortnight passed over, without some vexatious depredation being committed.

The Kickapoo chiefs certainly tell an untruth, when they say, that there were but eleven of their tribe killed, and ten wounded; it is impossible to believe that fewer were wounded than killed. They acknowledge, however, that the Indians have never sustained so severe a defeat, since their acquaintance with the white people.

I have the honor to be, &c.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Hon. WILLIAM EUSTIS, Esq. *Secretary of War.*

P. S. The chief of the Vermillion Kickapoos has this moment arrived.

12th CONGRESS.]

No. 132.

[1st Session.]

### NORTHWESTERN FRONTIER.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 27, 1811.

At an assembly of certain citizens and inhabitants of the territory of Michigan, held on Sunday, the eighth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and eleven, in consequence of receiving information, on the preceding night, of the battle on the Wabash, of the seventh of November, one thousand eight hundred and eleven,

SOLOMON SIBLEY was elected *chairman*,

AUGUSTUS B. WOODWARD, *Secretary.*

The Gazette of Pittsburg, entitled the Commonwealth, of the twenty-fifth of November, being first publicly read in the English language, and afterwards translated into the French language, by sentences,

*Resolved, unanimously*, That it is necessary and expedient to adopt some immediate measures for the protection and defence of these settlements.

*Resolved, unanimously*, That it is indispensably necessary to organize and maintain a nocturnal guard in the city of Detroit, without intermission, for thirty days from this date, at least, and as much longer as shall appear to be requisite, from further information which may be received.

*Resolved*, That it is expedient, by the most prompt and practicable means, to obtain information of the dangers impending over these settlements.

*Resolved*, That it is expedient and necessary to appoint a committee of public safety.

*Ordered*, That the said committee be composed of five persons.

*Ordered*, That they be selected by thirteen persons, to be immediately named by the meeting, to retire into a separate apartment, and to consider of, and report the committee, by whose election the committee will abide. Thirteen persons were immediately appointed, who retired into a separate apartment, and, after some time, returned, and reported the following persons as the committee of public safety:

SOLOMON SIBLEY,  
AUGUSTUS B. WOODWARD,  
JAMES WITHERILL,  
GEORGE M'DOUGALL,  
DANIEL BAKER.

*Resolved*, That the committee of public safety be empowered and instructed to collect all the pecuniary and physical means of defence, which may be afforded them by the General or the civil Government, or private patriotism, and apply the same, the most effectually, in aid of the temporary protection of the country during this impending danger, and that, as citizens, we will firmly support them, in all honorable means of effecting the above object, at the risk of our lives and properties.

And then the assembly adjourned, until called together by the committee of public safety.

Attest,  
A. B. WOODWARD, *Secretary.*

SOL. SIBLEY, *Chairman.*

At a meeting of citizens, called by the committee of public safety; to consider of a memorial to Congress, held on the tenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and eleven, the following memorial was unanimously agreed upon, and ordered to be immediately transmitted, and that it be signed by the committee in behalf of the meeting.

James Witherill and Daniel Baker having declined acting, Harris Hampden Hickman, and Richard Smyth, were elected to supply the vacancies.

Attest,  
A. B. WOODWARD, *Secretary.*

SOL. SIBLEY, *Chairman.*

*To the President, Senate, and House of Representatives, of the United States of America,*

The memorial of the undersigned, in behalf of the citizens and inhabitants of the territory of Michigan, assembled on the eight and tenth days of December, one thousand eight hundred and eleven, respectfully represents, and submits the matters following:

Dissatisfactions with the aboriginal inhabitants of these countries have been for some time engendering. They have at length been kindled into an open flame, and their blood, with that of the American citizen, has stained

the plains of the Wabash; the first which has been spilt in the Northwestern country, under public authority, since the pacification of Greenville, of the third day of August, one thousand seven hundred ninety-five.

We pray the God of peace, in his mercy, to grant that these disasters, so portentous to our country, may spread no farther; and that the forbearance and moderation of our Government, and, at the same time, its firmness, will prevent the conflagration from extending along the whole line of the frontier, from Kaskaskias to Detroit, through the Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan governments.

We know, however, from too long and fatal experience, that the savage mind, once fully incensed, once diverted from the pursuit of their ordinary subsistence, once turned upon plunder, once inflamed by the loss of their kindred and friends, once gratified with the taste of blood, is difficult to appease, and as terrible as subtle in vengeance. The horrors of savage belligerence, description cannot paint. No picture can resemble the reality. No effort can bring the imagination up to the standard of the fact. Nor sex, nor age, have claims. The short remnant of life left to the hoary head, trembling with age and infirmities, is snatched away. The tenderest infant, yet imbibing nutrition from the mamilla of maternal love, and the agonized mother herself, alike wait the stroke of the relentless tomahawk. No vestige is left of what fire can consume. Nothing which breathes the breath of life is spared. The animals reared by the cares of civilized man are involved in his destruction. No human foresight can divine the quarter which shall be struck. It is in the dead of the night, in the darkness of the morn, in the howling of the storm, that the demoniac deed is done.

The anxieties which crowd upon those of tender sex and years, upon our aged and infirm, and the throb of sensibility which communicates itself from them to those of hardier ages and habits, compel us to approach the fathers of our country, to expose to them the dangers and weakness of this colonial establishment, and to demand the protection of their parental arm. While our representation is on its wing, and ere our wishes, or your intentions, or the extent of the danger, are capable, at this distant separation, of becoming known, we shall be true to ourselves, and true to you; and all that precaution, united with resolution, can effect, we shall endeavor to accomplish. But we confidently trust that inaction or hesitation may prevail no longer; and that effective measures, demanded no less by the solid and permanent interest of the United States, than by our local exposure, will not be delayed.

The first impression, which is necessary to be distinctly made, on the minds of those to whom the destinies of the republic are confided, is that of our comparative strength, our comparative weakness. To those whose duty or whose wish it may be to possess themselves of information, at once the most accurate, and the most minute, with respect to the topographical and statistical relations of this territory, we give a reference, on the one hand, to the surveys of the whole of the settled parts of this country, recently taken, and which are of record in the treasury department; and, on the other, to the enumerations of the inhabitants, which have just been completed, and are of record in the Department of State. To generalize this information, and to present it *plain and naked* to the mind, we will condense the results in few words.

In the territory of Michigan, there are nine principal settlements:

- |                                  |                                       |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. The River Miami.              | 6. The River Detroit.                 |
| 2. The River Raisin.             | 7. The River Huron of Lake St. Clair. |
| 3. The River Huron of Lake Erie. | 8. The River Sinclair.                |
| 4. The River Ecorce.             | 9. The Island of Michilimackinac.     |
| 5. The River Rouge.              | 10. Sundry detached settlements.      |

From the first to the second, in the order they are enumerated, the distance is thirty-two miles. From the second to the sixth, thirty-six miles. From the sixth to the seventh, forty miles. From the seventh to the eighth, thirty-five miles. From the eighth to the ninth, two hundred miles. The total, from one extreme to the other, three hundred forty-three miles.

In the three first, the whole population is one thousand three hundred forty souls. The males above sixteen, three hundred ninety-one. In the four next, the whole population is two thousand two hundred and twenty-seven; males, as before, five hundred ninety-nine. In the two last, the whole population is one thousand seventy souls; males, as before, five hundred three.

In this territory are two garrisons; one in Detroit, one at Michilimackinac. The first has ninety-four men, the second seventy-nine.

Of the whole population, four-fifths are French, the remainder American, with a small portion of British.

The whole population of the territory of Michigan, including French, Americans, and British; settlers and troops; whites and persons of color; is four thousand seven hundred sixty two.

In other frontier countries, the frontier is on one side. It is also on the extremity. The settlements thicken as you recede from the circumferential establishments.

In the peculiar manner in which this territory is settled, two striking particularities are to be observed.

First, the whole territory is a double frontier. The British are on one side. The savages on the other.

Second, every individual house is a frontier. No one farm is covered by another farm in the rear of it.

It may therefore be at once conceived, what would be the situation of the people of the territory of Michigan, in a case of determined hostility against them, by the savages. The inhabitants are so dispersed, that, to assemble one hundred men, upon any one spot, on a sudden nocturnal notice, is physically impossible; and how are even the one hundred to be induced, in the hour of danger, to relinquish the last pleasure this world can present them, that of dying along with their innocent and helpless families, and to abandon them to certain destruction, under the, perhaps, visionary hope of any where embodying in force adequate to meet an enemy! that shall reduce into concert the exertions of two distinct people, unacquainted with the languages of each other; and who have reason to be divided in the degree of their fear? Is there again a refuge for the helpless in flight? On the south, the savages intercept them from their brethren of the States. On the west, on the north, they perfectly surround them. Shall they then lift an eye to the east, throw themselves on the mercy of the British, and will they, or can they, there, find mercy? Will reason sanction the idea; or have past events authorized the hope? And what, lastly, is to be expected from the military? They *can* and *will*, defend themselves; but they will not march out of the walls of their garrison. They have not even men enough to man their works.

Viewing the situation of the country in this light, which is no other than literal truth, the essential inquiry which remains is, *what is requisite to be done?* Perhaps you will think it right that we on the spot should speak out our minds. We do so then; and trust our sentiments will be approved.

First: An increase of the military force is necessary, sufficient to man the works, and afford a body to march out, in aid of the militia; a part cavalry.

Second: Additional garrisons are necessary on other points of the Northwestern frontier.

To present this subject in a view more systematic, more direct, than by generally referring to it, we suggest three points for new garrisons, calculated, as we conceive, to protect the whole of the present frontier on the north.

First: A garrison at the intersection of a meridian line from the mouth of the grand au Glaize river with a line of latitude drawn from the head of the river Sinclair, or, which is the same thing, the *embouchure* or outlet of lake Huron, being the most northern and western points to which the native title is lawfully extinguished, according to the first article of the treaty of Detroit, of the seventeenth day of November, one thousand eight hundred and seven.

We are decided in our sentiment that this garrison ought not to be on the course of the navigation along the great waters, but in the interior of the peninsula. Formerly, the points on the navigation were the most important. There was trade and commercial intercourse; no agriculture. Times have altered. At present, the little commerce which remains is sufficiently safe. It is *agricultural* protection which is wanted.

Without this garrison, you can neither run the lines of the treaty which has been last referred to, nor survey the lands acquired under it; nor sell them when surveyed; nor settle them when sold.

Second: A garrison at the mouth of the Wisconsin river, according to the eleventh article of the treaty of St. Louis, of the third day of November, one thousand eight hundred and four; being the most northern and western point to which the native title is lawfully extinguished in that quarter.

Third: A garrison in the same latitude as the mouth of the Wisconsin river, on the river Missouri, as soon as legitimate means may be used.

If peace prevails elsewhere on the frontier, notwithstanding the battle on the Wabash, the increase of the military force, before mentioned, and the establishment of the subsequent garrisons, will, as we conceive, give us protection; and, in that happy event, if we have aught to reproach ourselves with; if we have pressed too hard upon a fugitive people; if we have imposed on one that is ignorant; if, approaching the meridian of our strength, we are becoming indifferent to the happiness, to the rights of an unfortunate race of mankind, who, notwithstanding any temporary injuries they may be capable of inflicting, are destined to melt away before the irresistible advances of an empire, of whose magnitude, of whose stability, they can have no conception; if we have relinquished the *feelings* of their "*Father*" before they deprive us of the *title*, let us not refuse our admiration to the spirit which prompts man to defend his home, his country, to the last hour; let us seasonably retrace our steps; let us hasten to recall sentiments of humanity; let us hasten to render them justice!

If, on the contrary, pacific exertions have failed, and war and contest prevail, of which *your* information, notwithstanding our proximity, will be more prompt and authentic than *ours*; if, at the moment that our dangers and our feelings are announcing, in your halls, the warm blood of life is yet smoking on your frontier; we know of no reliance, in addition to our own exertions, and the military force to which we have adverted, but detachments of militia from the States of Ohio, Kentucky, New York, and Pennsylvania.

We need not urge the importance of our country to you. Your interest, your honor, compel you to keep it; and its intermediate protection is, on one side, a *right*, on the other a *duty*. Prompt effective defence is wisdom. The country once lost, who shall count the lives or the treasures you must expend to regain it?

All which is humbly and respectfully submitted.

SOL. SIBLEY,  
AUGUSTUS B. WOODWARD,  
GEO. M'DOUGALL,  
HARRIS H. HICKMAN,  
RICHARD SMYTH.

12th CONGRESS.]

No. 133.

[1st SESSION.]

TRADE.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 16, 1812.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *January 15th, 1812.*

SIR:

In obedience to a resolution of the honorable House of Representatives, of the 19th December last, "requesting the President of the United States to cause to be laid before this House, by the proper officers, a statement of the capital employed in the Indian trade; the amount of annual purchases, sales, and articles received in payment; together with the number, names, and salaries, of agents employed; the places where stationed, and specifying, as far as practicable, the state of the trade, at each place, for the last four years;" the Secretary of War has the honor to transmit the enclosed documents and letter from the Superintendent of Indian Trade, which contain the information requested.

All which is respectfully submitted.

W. EUSTIS.

Honorable H. CLAY,  
*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

INDIAN OFFICE, *January 13th, 1812.*

SIR:

In conformity with the resolution of the House of Representatives, of the 19th ultimo, transmitted me by you, I have the honor to state, that, of the appropriations made, at different times, for carrying on trade with the Indian tribes, to the amount of three hundred thousand dollars, ten thousand dollars remain in the treasury unapplied; so that the capital, as yet employed in the Indian trade, may be considered to be two hundred and ninety thousand dollars.

The amount of annual purchases, sales, and of articles received in payment, from the 1st January, 1808, to the 30th September, 1811, will be shown by the statement, sent herewith, marked A. The number, names, and salaries of agents employed, at the ten trading houses now in operation, and places where stationed, will be shown by the paper marked B; and the state of the trade, at each place, for the last four years, (that is, from the 31st December, 1807, to the 30th September, 1811) is specified, as far as practicable, by the paper marked C, and the accounts to which it refers; explanatory notes have been added to each statement and account, with a view to make them as intelligible as possible. It will be seen, that, from the nature of the case, I have been often obliged to resort to estimate; the result, however, as far as it goes, is believed to be near the truth.

It may be proper, sir, to remark, that, beside the property, by the returns herewith shewn, on hand at the factories, and on the way to them, or of remittances from them, unsold; the goods and cash on hand in this office, preparing for next year's supply; together with balances uncollected for sales, and others in hands of agents, &c. form a considerable item as to the state of the general fund.

With very great respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

J. MASON,  
*Superintendent of Indian Trade.*

Honorable WILLIAM EUSTIS, *Secretary of War.*

## A.

The following statement exhibits the amounts received by the Superintendent of Indian Trade, from the factories, in cash and drafts, and for furs, peltries, &c. sold from the 1st January, 1808, to the 30th September, 1811, with the amount of furs, peltries, &c. sent from the factories, then remaining unsold; also, the amount of merchandise purchased by him, and that sent off by him to the factories, in each year during that period.

DATE.	Amount of cash and drafts received in each year.	Amount received for furs, peltries, &c. sold in each year.	Total of cash, drafts, and sales, in each year, and furs, peltries, &c. remaining unsold.		Amount of merchandise purchased in each year.	Amount of merchandise sent to the factories during each year.
1808,	\$16,264 82	\$21,594 18	\$37,859 18	1808,	\$44,520 01	\$82,466 39
1809,	2,365 06	11,526 43	13,891 49	1809,	45,965 60	44,314 48
1810,	16,107 74	68,621 71	84,729 45	1810,	40,964 82	45,162 07
First three quarters of 1811,	1,024 05	31,783 94	32,807 99	For three quarters of 1811,	46,006 50	39,530 04
			\$169,288 11			
Amount of furs, peltries, &c. received from the factories, and remaining unsold on the 30th September, 1811, \$47,996 02, about one half of which being articles other than peltries, may be estimated at cost,			23,998 01			
From the other half, \$23,998 01, being peltries, at this time low in price, and for some time on hand, a reduction of twenty-five per cent. from the cost may be estimated for damage and loss on sales,			17,998 51			
			\$211,284 63		\$177,456 93	\$211,472 98

NOTE. The amounts purchased in the several years here taken, disagree with the amounts sent off to the factories in the same year, because of the quantity on hand in this office, at the time at which this statement is made to commence, and because of the necessity of purchasing, in quantities, the articles required, and the breaking them up and repacking, in proper assortments, for each factory.

The amounts of the merchandise sent to the factories, and the amounts received for cash and drafts, and for sales of furs and peltries, &c. will be found to exceed, somewhat, as stated within, the aggregate of the same items shown by the accounts, respectively, of the ten factories now in operation, because of goods sent, and remittances received, occasionally, from each of three factories, which were partially in operation, or were winding up, during the period taken, and now discontinued.



## B.

The following statement shews the number, names, and salaries, of Agents, Assistant Agents, and Clerks, employed at the several trading houses, and the places where stationed, on the 30th September, 1811.

PLACES WHERE STATIONED.		Annual salaries, paid from the Treasury.	Annual allowance for subsistence, paid from the trading fund.
Fort Hawkins, in the State of Georgia, - -	Jonathan Halstead, Agent,	1,000	365
Chickasaw Bluffs, in the Mississippi Territory, -	Chas. Magnan, Assistant,	500	150
Fort St. Stephen's, in Mississippi Ter. Mobile river	John B. Treat, Agent,	1,000	365
Fort Osage, on the Missouri river, - - -	Robt. P. Bayly, Assistant,	500	150
Fort Madison, on the Upper Mississippi, Louisiana,	George S. Gaines, Agent,	1,000	365
Natchitoches, on Red river, Orleans Territory, -	Thos. Malone, Assistant,	500	150
Fort Wayne, on the Miami of the lakes, - -	George C. Sibley, Agent,	1,000	365
Chicago, Lake Michigan, Indiana Territory, -	Isaac Rawlings, Assistant,	500	150
Sandusky, State of Ohio, - - - -	John Johnson, Agent,	1,000	365
Michilimackinac, Lake Huron, Michigan Territory	Asa Payne, Assistant,	500	150
	Thomas M. Linnard,	1,000	365
	John Johnston, Agent,	1,000	365
	Stephen Johnston, Clerk,	360	150
	Mathew Irwin, Agent,	800	365
	Samuel Tupper, Agent,	750	270
	James Chapin, Clerk,	240	130
	Joseph B. Varnum, Jr.	1,000	365
		\$12,650	\$4,685

## C.

Statement shewing the amount of estimated gain and loss on each of the United States' Indian Factories now in operation, as more particularly shewn by the accounts referred to, from the 31st December, 1807, to the 30th September, 1811.

Nos	FACTORIES.	Gained.	Lost.
1	Fort Hawkins factory, as per account No. 1,		1,023 00
2	Chickasaw Bluffs do. as per account No. 2,	3,000 49	
3	Fort St. Stephens do. as per account No. 3,		10,352 54
4	Fort Osage do. as per account No. 4,	10,291 40	
5	Fort Madison do. as per account No. 5,	10,026 39	
6	Natchitoches do. as per account No. 6,		11,718 73
7	Fort Wayne do. as per account No. 7,	10,502 77	
8	Chicago do. as per account No. 8,	3,725 46	
9	Sandusky do. as per account No. 9,		3,366 50
10	Michilimackinac do. as per account No. 10,	3,085 56	
		\$40,632 07	\$26,460 77
	Amount of gain, as above,		\$40,632 07
	Amount of loss, as above,		26,460 77
	Total amount gained during the term taken,		\$14,171 30

NOTE.—The period taken in this statement, and those to which it refers, viz. from the 31st December, 1807, to 30th September, 1811, is less by one quarter, than the term directed by the resolution of the House of Representatives: it being found, that, by commencing with a year, and ending with the last returns, from the manner of accounting at this office, most accuracy could be obtained. It has been respectfully presumed, that the object would be best answered by the mode adopted.

It will be found, that, generally, the Southern factories have lost, while the Northern factories have gained. The reason is obvious. At the first, peltries (deer skins) are in most part received from the Indians. The quantity of this article supplied in the country, greatly exceeds the home consumption. The market is on the continent of Europe. Since the obstructions to our commerce in that quarter, peltries have not only experienced a depression in price, in common with other of our produce consumed in that part of Europe, but are subject to a considerable loss by being kept over, because of the difficulty and expense of preserving from damage by vermin.

At the latter, (the Northern factories) hatters' furs are generally taken; these not exceeding the home demand, are of good sale. Another consideration is, that at some of the Northern factories, the Indians of their respective vicinities have been encouraged to employ a portion of labor on objects that are not attainable near the Southern factories. At fort Osage, in preparing buffalo tallow and candles; at Michilimackinac, in making maple sugar; and at fort Madison, in digging the ore, and melting down lead; in all which, they are succeeding tolerably well, as to quality and quantity. In the article of lead, remarkably well.

The United States' Indian Factory at fort Hawkins.

DR.

CR.

1807.		1811.		1811.		1811.	
Dec. 31,		Sept. 30,		June 30,		Sept. 30,	
To amount property on hand, per factor's inventory of this date, viz:				By amount property on hand, per factor's inventory of this date, viz:			
Merchandise	4,872 88			Merchandise	4,632 85		
Farming utensils, horses, &c.	203 72			Cash	1,468 02		
Peltries, &c.	1,933 75			Peltry, &c.	7,188 87½		
Cash on hand	330 99			Buildings	470 28½		
Furniture	84 01			Debts due	110 97		
Buildings	405 43						13,871 00
		7,830 78					
To amount merchandise forwarded from the superintendent's office, from 1st January, 1808, to this date		12,105 36		By goods on the way to the factory			2,533 87
To amount of transportation and contingent accounts paid at the superintendent's office, for this factory, including store rent, labor, and packages, for preserving skins, at Savannah, Philadelphia, and New York, compensation to agents in transporting, selling, &c. buildings, interpreters, labor, &c. at the factory, and due proportion of the contingent account at the superintendent's office, as office and warehouse rent, stationary, fuel, labor, &c. viz:				By amount received by the superintendent for peltries, furs, &c. sold by this sum received from Hoofman & Glass, auctioneers, New York, being amount State duty incorrectly paid by them on sales peltries, which was afterwards refunded			1,848 54
In 1808	608 96			By so much of the salary money payable from treasury, through the superintendent's office, to the agent and clerk, as has been received by them at the factory, from the 1st January, 1808, to 30th September, 1811, such transfer being in the nature of a remittance to this office			31 73
In 1809	479 36						4,021 97
In 1810	295 50			Balance			10 17
In first three quarters of 1811	997 22						
		2,381 14					
		\$22,317 28					\$22,317 28
To balance for loss, as shewn on other side		10 17		By additional value for cost of transportation of merchandise, on hand at the factory, and on the way from superintendent's office thereto, being credited above at first cost, and the expense of transportation thereon having been included in the general annual charges on the other side, estimated at 15 per cent.			
To loss on peltries, &c. on hand, amount \$7,188 87, estimated at 25 per cent.		1,797 21		Amount on hand	\$4,632 85		1,075 00
To loss on Indian debts \$110 97				Amount on the way	2,533 87		1,023 00
To loss on buildings 470 28				Balance	7,166 72		\$2,098 00
	\$581 25 estimated at 50 per cent.	290 62					
		\$2,098 00					
To balance lost, as shewn on other side		\$1,023 00					

NOTE.—No returns having been received from this factory since 30th June last, the accounts, as to stock, &c. on hand, are made up only to that time, instead of 30th September. The result will be nearly the same. The Indians in that quarter having the use of money, this factory has usually been in cash, to pay salaries and other expenses on the spot; thence the large credits and small charges on these accounts; and because, also, of the peltries taken, for the last year or two, having been kept at the factory. One-half the debts are estimated bad; this, with Indian debts, is as little as can be counted on; yet it is indispensably necessary to credit them to a certain degree.

The buildings, being remote from white settlements, must lose considerably, if disposed of; they are, therefore, estimated at half their value.

DR.

The United States' Indian Factory at Chickasaw Bluffs.

CR.

1807.				1811.	
Decem. 31.	To amount of property on hand, per the factor's inventory of this date, viz:			Sept. 30.	By amount of property on hand, per the factor's inventory of this date, viz:
	Merchandise, - - - - -	\$11,580 18			Merchandise, - - - - -
	Debts due the factory, - - - - -	5,928 46	\$17,508 64		Contingent articles, - - - - -
	Amount of merchandise forwarded from the superintendent's office, from 1st January, 1808, to 30th September, 1811, - - - - -		16,842 71		Cash, - - - - -
	Amount of merchandise received from the factory at Arkansas, per John B. Treat's receipt, of 10th November, 1810, - - - - -		2,146 19		Peltries, furs, &c. - - - - -
1811.	Amount of transportation, and contingent accounts, paid at the superintendent's office for this factory, including store rent, labor, and packages to preserve skins in, at New Orleans, compensation to agents in transporting, selling, &c. buildings, interpreters, labor, &c. at the factory, and due proportion of the contingent account at the superintendent's office, as office and warehouse rent, stationery, fuel, labor, &c. viz:				Factory buildings, - - - - -
Septem. 30.	In 1808, - - - - -	\$ 937 07			Debts due the factory, - - - - -
	In 1809, - - - - -	1,819 88			
	In 1810, - - - - -	2,373 66			By amount of goods on their way to the factory, - - - - -
	For three first quarters in 1811, - - - - -	2,671 61	7,802 23		By amount of cash and drafts remitted the superintendent by the factor, - - - - -
	Balance, - - - - -		7,738 93		By amount received by the superintendent, for furs, peltries, &c. sold, - - - - -
			\$52,038 69		By amount of furs, peltries, &c. in store with agents, or on their way to market, - - - - -
	To loss on peltries and furs on hand at the factory, amount, - - - - -	5,640 17			By so much of the salary money payable from the treasury, through the superintendent's office, to the agent and clerk, as has been received by them at the factory, from the 1st January, 1808, to 30th September, 1811, such transfer being in the nature of a remittance to this office, - - - - -
	To loss on ditto, in store, or on the way to market, - - - - -	11,483 27			
	Estimated at 25 per cent. on - - - - -	\$17,523 44	4,380 86		By balance for gain as shewn on the other side, - - - - -
	To loss on debts due from Indians, amount \$3,387 97, estimated at fifty per cent. - - - - -		1,693 98		By additional value for cost of transportation of merchandise on hand at the factory, and on the way from the superintendent's office thereto, being credited above at first cost, and the expense of transportation thereon having been included in the general annual charges on the other side, estimated at fifteen per cent. viz:
	To ditto, whole amount of buildings worth nothing, - - - - -		100 00		Amount on hand at the factory, - - - - -
	Balance, - - - - -		3,000 49		Amount on the way thereto, - - - - -
			\$9,175 33		
				1811.	By balance for gain, as shewn on the other side, - - - - -
				Sept. 30.	

NOTE. This factory, dealing in a certain proportion of furs as well as peltries, has somewhat more than made up the loss of the one, by the gain of the other. The Indians, in its vicinity, dealing, in part, in cash, has enabled it to pay most of its local expenses, and good part of the salaries, on the spot. One-half of the debts are estimated bad; this, with Indian debts, is as little as can be counted on, yet it is indispensably necessary to credit them to a certain degree.

Dr.

The United States' Indian Factory at Fort St. Stephen's.

Cr.

1807. Dec. 31	To amount of property on hand, per factor's inventory of this date, viz: Merchandise, - - - - - 7,910 37 Property and other produce, - - - - - 9,397 59½ Cash, - - - - - 1,014 86 Debts, - - - - - 5,007 84½		1811. June 30	By amount of property on hand, per factor's inventory of this date, viz: Merchandise, - - - - - 7,776 96 Peltries, furs, &c. - - - - - 13,508 26 Cash, - - - - - 1,530 34 Debts, - - - - - 3,994 86	
		23,329 87			26,810 42
1811. Sept. 30	To amount of merchandise forwarded from the superintendent's office, from 1st January, 1808, to date, - - - - - 24,089 41 To amount of transportation and contingent accounts paid at the superintendent's office, for this factory, including store rent, labor, and packages, for preserving skins at Orleans, compensation to agents in transporting, selling, &c. buildings, interpreters, labor, &c. at the factory, and due proportion of the contingent account at the superintendent's office, as office and warehouse rent, stationery, fuel, labor, &c. viz: In 1808, - - - - - 3,995 90 In 1809, - - - - - 3,498 82 In 1810, - - - - - 3,018 27 First three quarters of 1811, - - - - - 1,785 15		Sept. 30	By amount of goods on the way to the factory, - - - - - 3,248 61 By amount received by the superintendent in cash and drafts from the factory, - - - - - 2,414 73 By amount received by ditto for furs, peltries, &c. sold, - - - - - 12,641 63 By amount peltries, furs, &c. in store with agents, or on their way to market, - - - - - 5,124 64 By so much of the salary money payable from the treasury, through the superintendent's office, to the agent and assistant agent, as has been received by them at the factory, from its proper funds, from the 1st January, 1808, to the 30th September, 1811; such transfer of funds being in the nature of a remittance, - - - - - 3,926 68 Balance, - - - - - 5,350 72	
		12,098 14			
		<u>\$59,517 42</u>			<u>\$59,517 42</u>
	To balance for loss, as shewn on the other side, - - - - - 5,350 72 To loss on peltries, on hand, being principally deer skins, rated on the other side at the prices at which they were taken in at the factory, - - - - - 13,508 26 Ditto received on their way to market, - - - - - 5,124 64			By additional value for cost of transportation of merchandise on hand at the factory, or on their way from the superintendent's office thereto, being credited above at first cost, and the expense of transportation thereon having been included in the general annual charges on the other side, estimated at 15 per cent. viz: - - - - - On merchandise on hand at the factory, - - - - - 7,776 96 On do. on the way to do. - - - - - 3,248 61	
		18,632 90			11,025 57
	Loss estimated at 25 per cent. because of the present low prices, and dull sale of the article, and of occasional damage, - - - - - 4,658 22 To loss on Indian debts, amount \$ 3,994 86, being in part of old standing, estimated for this factory at 50 per cent. - - - - - 1,997 43			Balance, - - - - -	1,653 83
		<u>\$12,006 37</u>			<u>10,352 54</u>
1811. Sept. 30	To balance for loss, as per estimate above, - - - - -	10,352 54			<u>\$12,006 37</u>

NOTE. No returns having been received from this factory since the 30th June last, the accounts, as to stock, &c. on hand, are made up only to that time, instead of 30th September; the result will be nearly the same. This factory has suffered much by the late depression in price of deer skins, almost the only article it takes in. The expenses paid for it have been above the ordinary proportion; because of the heavy duties paid to the Spaniards on the passage of both merchandise and peltries on the Mobile, and of the great expenses incurred at Orleans (to which place its peltries are sent for sale) in packing, preserving, &c. It will be remarked, that its amount of traffic has been large.

One half of the debts are estimated bad; this, with Indian debts, is as little as can be expected: yet it is indispensably necessary to credit them to a certain degree.

1812.1

TRADE.

DR.

The United States' Indian Factory at Fort Osage.

CR.

1811. Sept. 30.		25,539 51	1811. Sept. 30.		21,298 35
To amount merchandise forwarded from superintendent's office, to date, Ditto, from Belle Fontaine factory, per George C. Sibley's receipt, dated 9th August, 1808,		14,042 08	By amount of property on hand, per factor's inventory of this date, viz:		
To amount of transportation and contingent accounts paid at the superintendent's office, for this factory, from the date of its establishment, in 1808, including store rent, labor, and packages for preserving skins, at Saint Louis, New Orleans, &c.; compensation to agents, in transporting, selling, &c.; buildings, interpreters, labor, &c. at the factory, and due proportion of contingent account at the superintendent's office, as office and ware-house rent, stationery, fuel, labor, &c. viz:			Merchandise, - - - - -	16,118 25	
In 1808, - - - - -	1,238 62		Furs, peltries, &c. - - - - -	1,087 16	
In 1809, - - - - -	2,662 21		Factory buildings, - - - - -	3,180 00	
In 1810, - - - - -	4,025 24		Debts due the factory, - - - - -	912 94	
First three quarters of 1811, - - - - -	816 08				21,298 35
		8,742 15	By amount goods on the way to the factory, - - - - -		534 94
To so much of the salary and subsistence money payable from the trade fund, to the agent and assistant agent, as has been paid from the superintendent's office, from the date of the establishment of this factory, in 1808, to the 30th September, 1811, the residue, for that period, having been received by them at the factory, - - - - -			By amount remitted the superintendent, in cash, and drafts from the factory, - - - - -		317 74
Balance, - - - - -		771 34	By amount received by the superintendent, for furs, peltries, &c. sold		20,272 44
		9,839 89	By amount furs and peltries, &c. in store with agents, or on their way to market, - - - - -		13,031 50
		<u>\$58,934 97</u>	By amount of annuities, and cost of transportation, furnished the Great and Little Osage nations, for the years 1810 and 1811, - - - - -		3,480 00
To loss on Indian debts, amount, dollars 912 94, estimated at 50 per cent. - - - - -		456 47			<u>\$58,934 97</u>
To do. on buildings, amount, dollars 3,180, estimated at 50 per cent. - - - - -		1,590 00	By balance for gain, as shewn on the other side, - - - - -		9,839 89
To furs and peltries on hand, being, principally, hatters' furs, of good sale, - - - - -			By additional value, for cost of transportation of merchandise on hand, at the factory, and on the way from the superintendent's office thereto, being credited above, at first cost, and the expense of transportation thereon having been included in the general annual charges on the other side, estimated at 15 per cent.		
Balance, - - - - -		10,291 40	Amount on hand, 16,118 25 } 16,653 19		2,497 98
		<u>\$12,337 87</u>	On the way, - 534 94 }		<u>\$12,337 87</u>
			By balance gained, as shewn on the other side, - - - - -		<u>\$10,291 40</u>

NOTE. The gain on this factory has been because it takes in, principally, hatters' furs, on which there is profit, and shaved deer skins, which, bearing the carriage better than those in the hair, lose less in times of dull sale.  
 The buildings being remote from white settlements, must lose considerably, if disposed of; they are, therefore, estimated at half their cost.  
 For loss on Indian debts, see note on No. 3.  
 This factory having been established after the 31st December, 1807, to wit: in the summer of 1808, no inventory of property, on hand at that date, is, of course, shewn, but this account exhibits its transactions from the commencement, to the 30th September, 1811.

788 INDIAN AFFAIRS. [1812

DR.

The United States' Indian Factory at Fort Madison.

CR.

100

\*

1811. Sept. 30,		22,315 06	1811. Sept. 30,		
	To merchandise forwarded from the superintendent's office to this date, To ditto from Belle Fontaine factory, per John Johnson's receipt of 23d August, 1808,	14,715 99		By amount of property on hand, per the factor's inventory of this date, viz: Merchandise, - - - - - 12,521 37 Furs, peltries, lead, &c. - - - - - 3,328 Debts due, - - - - - 743 50 Factory buildings, - - - - - 3,321	19,913 87
	To amount of transportation and contingent accounts paid at the superintendent's office for this factory (from the date of its establishment in 1808) including store rent, labor, &c. packages for preserving skins at St. Louis, New Orleans, &c. compensation to agents in transporting, selling, &c. buildings, interpreters, hire, labor, &c. at the factory, and due proportion of the contingent account at the superintendent's office, as office and ware house rent, stationery, fuel, labor, &c. viz:			By amount of goods on the way to the factory, - - - - - By amount remitted the superintendent in cash and drafts, from the factory, - - - - -	2,270 26
	In 1808, - - - - - 928 20			By amount received by the superintendent for furs, peltries, lead, &c. sold, - - - - -	1,078 33
	In 1809, - - - - - 2,115 53			By amount of furs, peltries, &c. in store, with agents, or on the way to market, - - - - -	28,912 30
	In 1810, - - - - - 4,231 68				2,051 68
	In first three quarters of 1811, - - - - - 3,123 18	10,398 59			
	To so much of the salary and subsistence money payable from the trade fund to the agent and assistant agent, as has been paid from the superintendent's office, from the establishment of this factory, in 1808, to 30th September, 1811, the residue for that period having been received by them at the factory, -	368 13			
	Balance, - - - - -	7,328 67			
		\$55,126 44			\$55,126 44
	To loss on Indian debts, amount 743 dollars 50 cents, estimated at 50 per cent.	371 75		By balance for gain, as shown on the other side, -	9,839 89
	To ditto on factory buildings, 3,321 dollars, estimated at 50 per cent.	1,660 50		By additional value for cost of transportation of merchandise on hand at the factory, and on the way from the superintendent's office thereto, being credited above at first cost, and the expense of transportation thereon, having been included in the general annual charges on the other side, estimated at 15 per cent. viz:	
	Balance, - - - - -	10,026 39		Amount on hand, 12,521 37	
				Ditto on the way, 2,270 26	
		\$12,058, 64		- 14,791 63 is - - - - -	2,218 75
					\$12,058 64
			1811. Sept. 30,	By balance for gain, as shown on the other side, -	10,026 39

1812.1

TRADE.

789

NOTE.—The gain on this factory is because it takes in principally hatters' furs and lead, on which there is profit. For loss on buildings, see note on No. 4.—For loss on Indian debt, see note on No. 3. This factory having been established after the 31st December, 1807, to wit: in the summer of 1808, no inventory of property on hand at that date is, of course, shown; but this account exhibits its transactions from the commencement, to the 30th September, 1811.

The United States' Indian Factory at Natchitoches.

DR.		1811. Sept. 30.	CR.		1811. Sept. 30.
1807. Dec. 31.	To amount property on hand, per the factor's inventory of this date, viz:		By amount of property on hand, per the factor's inventory of this date, viz:		
	Merchandise - - - - -	8,482 51	Merchandise - - - - -	2,403 21	
	Cash and drafts - - - - -	4,252 98	Peltries, furs, &c. - - - - -	4,691 92	
	Peltries, furs, &c. - - - - -	3,331 34	Cash - - - - -	26 43 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	
		16,066 83	Buildings - - - - -	2,239 97	
			Furniture - - - - -	200 00	
			Debts - - - - -	954 19 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
1811. Sept. 30.	To amount merchandise forwarded from the superintendent's office, from 1st January, 1808, to this date	23,368 38			10,515 73
	To so much of the salary and subsistence money payable from the trade fund to the agent and assistant agent, as has been paid from the superintendent's office, from 1st January, 1808, to 30th September, 1811, the residue for that period having been received by him at the factory	682 29	By amount of goods on the way to the factory - - - - -		8,665 33
	To amount of transportation and contingent accounts, paid at the superintendent's office for this factory, including store rent, labor, and packages for preserving skins at Orleans; compensation to agents in transporting, selling, &c. buildings, interpreters, labor, &c. at the factory, and due proportion of the contingent account at the superintendent's office, as office and ware-house rent, stationery, fuel, labor, &c. viz: In 1808 - - - - -		By amount remitted the superintendent in cash and drafts - - - - -		4,062 00
	In 1809 - - - - -	2,044 04	By amount received by the superintendent for furs, peltries, &c. sold - - - - -		15,462 08
	In 1810 - - - - -	2,899 83	By amount of peltries, &c. in store with agents, or on their way to market		2,911 56
	In 1810 - - - - -	2,698 97	Balance: - - - - -		10,441 05
	In first three quarters of 1811 - - - - -	4,297 41			
		11,940 25			
		<u>\$52,057 75</u>			<u>\$52,057 75</u>
	To balance for loss, as shown on the other side - - - - -	10,441 05	By additional value for cost of transportation of merchandise on hand at the factory, or on the way from the superintendents' office thereto, being credited above at first cost, and the expense of transportation, thereon, having been included in the general annual charges on the other side, estimated at fifteen per cent.		
	To loss on Indian debts, amount \$954 19, estimated at 50 per cent. - - - - -	477 09 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	On merchandise on hand at the factory - - - - -	2,403 21	
	To ditto on factory buildings, amount \$2,239 97, estimated at 25 per cent. - - - - -	559 99 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Ditto on the way - - - - -	8,665 33	
	To ditto on peltries, furs, &c. on hand at the factory - - - - -	4,691 92		11,068 54	
	To ditto on ditto, in the hands of agents, or on their way to the markets - - - - -	2,911 56	Balance - - - - -		1,660 28
		7,603 48, at 25 per cent.			11,718 73
		1,900 87			
		<u>\$13,379 01</u>			<u>\$13,379 01</u>
1811. Sept. 30.	To balance lost, as per estimate above - - - - -	11,718 73			

NOTE.—This factory has suffered much by the late depression in the price of deer skins, almost the only article taken in. The expenses paid for it are large, because of the distance to transport; the heavy charges at Orleans, in preserving peltries; and the cost of buildings lately completed for its use. In estimating the present value of the buildings, 25 per cent. only is taken off, because of their immediate vicinity to the settlements. For loss on Indian debts, see note on No. 3.



DR.

The United States' Indian Factory at Fort Wayne.

CR.

1807.				1811.			
Dec. 31,				Sept. 30,			
To amount property on hand, per factor's inventory of this date, viz:				By amount property on hand at the factory, as per factor's inventory of this date, viz:			
Merchandise, &c.	13,046 84			Merchandise, - - - - -	10,281 66		
Debts, - - - - -	2,459 29	15,506 13		Furs, peltries, &c. - - - - -	689 62		
				Debts due from Indians, - - - - -	2,747 56		
1811.				Cash on hand, - - - - -	76 37½		
Sept. 30,				Factory buildings, - - - - -	400 00		
To amount merchandise forwarded from the superintendent's office, from 1st January, 1808, to this date,		15,226 91					
To amount of transportation and contingent accounts paid at the superintendent's office for this factory, including store-rent, labor, and packages, for preserving skins at New York, Philadelphia, &c. Compensation to agents in transporting, selling, &c. Interpreters, labor, &c. at the factory, and due proportion of the contingent account at the superintendent's office, as office and warehouse rent, stationery, fuel, labor, &c. viz:				By amount received from superintendent, for furs, peltries, &c. sold, -		14,195 21	
In 1808, - - - - -	1,850 39			By amount received by ditto, in cash and drafts, from the factory, -		13,826 29	
In 1809, - - - - -	1,568 23			By amount furs, peltries, &c. in store, with agents, or on their way to market, - - - - -		3,053 12	
In 1810, - - - - -	1,614 87			By amount goods returned from the factory to the superintendent's office, by this sum received from David Dunham, auctioneer, New York, being amount State duty incorrectly paid by him on sales furs, &c. which was afterwards refunded, - - - - -		1,752 34	
In first three quarters of 1811, - - - - -	1,015 13			By so much of the salary money payable from the treasury, through the superintendent's office, to the agent and clerk, as has been received by them at the factory, from the 1st January, 1808, to 30th September, 1811, such transfer being in the nature of a remittance to this office, - - - - -		195 42	
Balance, - - - - -		6,048 62				572 30	
		10,533 80					
		<u>\$47,315 46</u>				<u>\$47,315 46</u>	
To loss on Indian debts and factory buildings,				By balance for gain, as shown on other side, - - - - -		10,533 80	
Amount debts, - - - - -	2,747 56			By additional value for cost of transportation of merchandise on hand at the factory, being credited above at first cost, and the expense of transportation thereon, having been included in the general annual charges on the other side, estimated at 15 per centum, amount \$10,281 66, - - - - -		1,542 25	
Buildings, - - - - -	400 00					<u>\$12,076 05</u>	
	3,147 56						
Estimated at 50 per cent. - - - - -		1,573 28					
To ditto, on furs, peltries, &c. on hand, being principally hatters' furs, and of good sale,							
Balance, - - - - -		10,502 77					
		<u>\$12,076 05</u>					
				1811.			
				September 30.	By balance for gain, as shown on other side, - - - - -	10,502 77	

NOTE. For the cause of gain at this factory, and manner of estimating buildings, see note on No. 4. The inventory price of the buildings here is small, because they have gone, in a measure, to decay.  
 The expenses paid for this factory are comparatively small, because of a large proportion of the remittances in drafts, the rest principally in small furs, which has lessened the transportation account.  
 For loss on Indian debts, see note on No. 3.

1812.]

TRADE.

DR.

The United States' Indian Factory at Chicago.

CR.

1807. Sept. 30.		1811. Sept. 30.	By amount of property on hand, per factor's inventory of this date, viz:		
To amount of property on hand at the factory, per factor's inventory of this date, viz:			Merchandise, - - - - -	4,118 78	
Merchandise, - - - - -	2,396 71		Cash, - - - - -	824 73	
Produce, furs, &c. - - - - -	757 54		Furs, peltries, &c. - - - - -	1,171 12	
Cash, - - - - -	254 30½		Debts, - - - - -	428 67	
Drafts, - - - - -	545 98½		Goods on the way to the factory, - - - - -	785 00	
Debts due, - - - - -	1,045 52		Furniture, - - - - -	134 31	
			Factory buildings, - - - - -	500 00	
To amount of merchandise forwarded from the superintendent's office, - - - - -	5,000 06				7,962 61
To ditto forwarded from Mackinac factory, on 7th September, 1810, - - - - -	11,209 19		By amount remitted the superintendent in cash and drafts, - - - - -		5,988 37
To Sandusky factory for eight kegs powder, forwarded from superintendent's office, in July, 1809, destined for that factory, and brought to this factory by mistake, - - - - -	2,743 05		By amount received by the superintendent for furs and peltries sold, - - - - -		8,948 87
To so much of the salary and subsistence money, payable from the trade fund to the agent, as has been paid from the superintendent's office, from 1st January, 1808, to 30th September, 1811, the residue for that period having been received by him at the factory, - - - - -	89 60		By amount of furs, peltries, &c. in store with agents, or on their way to market, - - - - -		5,280 50
To amount of transportation and contingent accounts paid at the superintendent's office, for this factory, including store rent, labor, and packages, for preserving skins at New York, Philadelphia, &c. compensation to agents in transporting, selling, &c. buildings, interpreters, labor, &c. at the factory, and due proportion of the contingent account at the superintendent's office, as office and warehouse rent, stationery, fuel, labor, &c. viz:	1,462 55		By this sum received from David Dunham, auctioneer, New York, being part of State duty, incorrectly paid by him on sales of furs, &c. which was afterwards refunded, - - - - -		173 08
In 1808, - - - - -	1,083 05				
In 1809, - - - - -	1,076 11				
In 1810, - - - - -	462 10				
In first three quarters of 1811, - - - - -	1,773 48				
To balance, - - - - -	4,394 74				
	3,454 24				
	<u>\$28,353 43</u>				<u>\$28,353 43</u>
To loss on Indian debts and factory buildings, estimated at 50 per cent.			By balance for gain, as shown on the other side, - - - - -		3,454 24
Debt, - - - - -	428 67		By additional value for cost of transportation of merchandise on hand at the factory, or on the way from the superintendent's office thereto, being credited above at first cost, and the expense of transportation thereon having been included in the general annual charges on the other side, estimated at 15 per cent. on merchandise on hand at the factory, - - - - -	4,118 78	
Buildings, - - - - -	500 00		On the way - - - - -	785 00	4,903 78
To balance, - - - - -	928 67				735 56
	464 33½				
	3,725 46½				
	<u>\$4,189 80</u>				<u>\$4,189 80</u>
			By balance gained, as shown on the other side, - - - - -		\$3,725 46½

NOTE. For the gain on this factory, and manner of estimating buildings, &c. see note on No. 4. For loss on Indian debts, see note on No. 3.

DR.

## The United States' Indian Factory at Sandusky.

CR.

1807. Dec. 31.			1811. Sept. 30.		
	To amount of property on hand, per factor's inventory, of this date, viz:			By amount of property on hand, per factor's inventory, of this date, viz:	
	Merchandise - - - - -	1,666 41		Merchandise - - - - -	4,234 30
	Buildings, &c. - - - - -	727 96½		Furs, peltries, &c. - - - - -	554 16
	Furs, peltries, &c. - - - - -	1,663 96½		Factory buildings, &c. - - - - -	917 64
	Debts - - - - -	1,204 99		Debts - - - - -	691 24
		5,263 33			6,397 34
	To amount goods from the superintendent's office - - - - -	9,037 09		By amount of 8 casks powder, destined for this factory, in 1809, which were carried to Chicago factory by mistake - - - - -	89 60
	To amount merchandise forwarded from Mackinac factory, per factor's invoice, of 30th September, 1810 - - - - -	98 50		By amount remitted the superintendent in cash and drafts - - - - -	39 19
	To amount of transportation and contingent accounts paid at the superintendent's office for this factory, including store rent, labor, and packages for preserving skins at New York, Philadelphia, &c., compensation to agents in transporting, selling, &c., buildings, interpreters, labor, &c., at the factory, and due proportion of the contingent account at the superintendent's office, as office and ware house rent, stationery, fuel, labor, &c., viz:			By amount received for furs, peltries, &c., sold - - - - -	6,641 41
	In 1808 - - - - -	773 73		By amount of furs and peltries in store, with agents, or on the way to market - - - - -	1,388 10
	1809 - - - - -	1,284 31		By this sum received from David Dunham, auctioneer, New York, being amount State duty incorrectly paid by him on sales furs, &c., which was afterwards refunded - - - - -	93 08
	1810 - - - - -	564 07		By so much of the salary money payable from the treasury, through the superintendent's office, to the agent and clerk, as has been received by them at the factory, from the 1st January, 1808, to the 30th September, 1811, such transfer being in the nature of a remittance to this office - - - - -	245 18
	In the three first quarters of 1811 - - - - -	1,299 48		Balance - - - - -	3,426 61
		3,921 59			245 18
		\$18,320 51			3,426 61
	To balance for loss, as shown on the other side - - - - -	3,426 61		By additional value for cost of transportation of merchandise on hand at the factory, being credited above at first cost, and the expense of transportation thereon having been included in the general annual charges on the other side, estimated at 15 per cent.: amount on hand, 4,234 30	635 14
	To loss on Indian debts, amount 691 dollars 24 cents, estimated at 50 per cent. - - - - -	345 62		Balance - - - - -	3,366 50
	To do. on factory buildings, amount 917 dollars 64 cents, estimated at 25 per cent. - - - - -	229 41			
	To do. on furs, &c., being principally hatters' furs, which are of good sale - - - - -				
		\$4,001 64			\$4,001 64
	To balance lost, as shewn on the other side - - - - -	3,366 50			

NOTE.—This factory is not situated to do much, or good business, although it is considered usefully located in other points of view: it is the only one in the fur country that has lost. For manner of estimating buildings, see note on No. 4. For loss on Indian debts, see note on No. 3.

The United States' Indian Factory at Michilimackinac.

CR.

794

INDIAN AFFAIRS.

[1812.

DR.

1811. Septem. 30.			1811. Septem. 30.		
	To amount merchandise forwarded from the superintendent's office, from the establishment of the factory, in 1808, to this date, - - - - -	20,409 01		By amount property on hand, as per factor's inventory of this date, viz:	
	To amount of transportation and contingent accounts, paid at the superintendent's office, for this factory, from the date of its establishment, in 1808, including store rent, labor, and packages for preserving skins at New York, &c. compensation to agents in transporting, selling, &c. interpreters, labor, &c. at the factory, and due proportion of contingent account at the superintendent's office, as office and ware house rent, stationery, fuel, labor, &c. viz:			Merchandise, - - - - -	9,120 18
	In 1808, - - - - -	741 55		Furs, maple sugar, &c. - - - - -	596 19
	In 1809, - - - - -	473 68		Cash and drafts, - - - - -	8,965 76
	In 1810, - - - - -	131 05		Debts, - - - - -	2,281 69
	First three quarters of 1811, - - - - -	848 47		Furniture, - - - - -	200 00
		2,194 75			21,163 80
	To so much of the salary and subsistence money, payable from the trade fund to the agent and assistant agent, as has been paid from the superintendent's office, from the date of the establishment of the factory, in 1808, to the 30th September, 1811, the residue for that period having been received by them at the factory, - - - - -	1,902 62		By amount goods forwarded to Chicago factory, on 7th September, 1810, - - - - -	2,743 05
	Balance, - - - - -	1,945 71		By amount goods forwarded to Sandusky factory, 30th September, 1810, - - - - -	98 50
		\$26,452 09		By amount remitted the superintendent, in cash and drafts, - - - - -	2,226 68
	To loss on debts, amount \$2,281 68, being principally due from white people, estimated at 10 per cent. - - - - -	228 17		By amount received for furs and peltries sold, - - - - -	220 06
	To loss on furs and sugar, being of good sale, - - - - -	0 00			
	Balance, - - - - -	3,085 56		By balance for gain, as shewn on the other side, - - - - -	1,945 71
		\$3,313 73		By additional value of cost of transportation of merchandise on hand at the factory, being credited above at first cost, and the expense of transportation thereon having been included in the general annual charges on the other side, estimated at 15 per cent. amount on hand, \$9,120 18, - - - - -	1,368 09
					\$3,313 73
				By balance gained, as shewn on the other side, - - - - -	3,085 56

NOTE.—The articles taken in at this factory have been, principally, maple sugars, made by the Indians, and some hatters' furs. These, it has been found best to have sold to the traders and merchants of that country. Thence, the sum of cash and drafts shewn, and the smallness of the transportation and expense account.  
 For loss on Indian debts, see note on No. 3.  
 This factory having been established after the 31st December, 1807, to wit: in summer, 1808, no inventory of property, on hand at that date, is, of course, shewn; but this account exhibits its transactions from the commencement, to the 30th September, 1811.

[12th CONGRESS.]

No. 134.

[1st Session.]

## THE WYANDOTS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 28, 1812.

*To the President of the United States of America, the Senate, and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled, at Washington.*

The petition of your children, the principal chiefs and sachems of the nation of Wyandots, in behalf of themselves, their warriors, their women and children.

FATHERS: Listen to your children the Wyandots, who are now desirous of letting you know their sentiments.

FATHERS, LISTEN! We, your children, now address you, on a subject of the utmost concern to ourselves, our women, and children; we hope the Master of Life will inspire you with sentiments of benevolence, to hear our complaint with patience, and that the appellation of *father*, which our deceased friend General Wayne, at the treaty of Greenville, assumed, and desired us, for the future, to call our Great Fathers, the Long Knives, will be realised in this instance, and that your unfortunate children will in this matter experience the indulgent treatment which they have a right to expect from a great, a rich, and a powerful nation.

FATHERS, LISTEN! For we want you to know our minds. Our friends have made our hearts glad, when they have read to us, annually, the messages of the respective Presidents of the United States to Congress, as respects ourselves, that every thing was done to ameliorate our circumstances; that ploughs, and several implements of agriculture, had been delivered to us, with many sweet talks, from the agents of the Indian department in this territory, to cultivate the earth, as the game was getting scarce.

FATHERS, LISTEN! This has given your children great pleasure to hear; we trust, when our father, the President of the Seventeen Great Fires directed these messages and talks to be sent, that he had not a bit of sugar in his mouth at the time: for we found his voice very sweet. We hope that the words came from the bottom of his heart.

FATHERS, LISTEN! We the Wyandots have taken hold of this good work, and peaceably have cultivated the land we have lived on, time immemorial, and out of which we sprung: for we love this land, as it covers the bones of our ancestors.

FATHERS, LISTEN! The bad birds are going about seeking to do mischief; we are now told, that we and our children are not to be allowed to live on this land more than *fifty* years, and, if we leave it, as we always have done in the winter season, to hunt on the Scioto, and other parts of the State of Ohio, that the land will be taken from us.

FATHERS, LISTEN! This is not according to the promises which were made to us at the treaty of Greenville, and afterwards, more particularly by our late friend General Wayne, after his arrival at Detroit; his death on the road, going to the seat of Government, is much lamented by us; for, if it had pleased the Great Spirit to have spared his life a little longer, his words would not have been buried with him at Presqu' Isle.

FATHERS, LISTEN! The late General Wayne was a warrior, and a brave man, and such men as he was, never tell lies.

FATHERS: Listen to your children the Wyandots. When your agent, our friend Governor Hull, told us, at the treaty of Detroit, that you wanted the land from the Big Rock towards Saguna, going to fort Defiance, we reluctantly signed the treaty, because our young warriors and women had made us solemnly promise never to dispose of that land; but our friend assured us that he would write to our Great Father, the President of the Seventeen Fires, to give us back the land we and our ancestors have so long lived on, situated between *Rivière aux Ecorces*, and Rocky river of lake Erie, and in that expectation we signed the paper.

FATHERS, LISTEN! The treaty of Detroit had not long been executed, when our friend Governor Hull again called us together at Brownstown. He said that Congress wanted more of our lands, and particularly a road, upwards of two miles wide, on the best part of our hunting ground from the Miami river to Sandusky, and from thence due south to the boundary line of the treaty of Greenville.

FATHERS, LISTEN! We then told our friend Governor Hull, that all our nations had agreed together, in a most solemn manner, to sell no more lands, and the council was broke off on that account; but we at length consented to make our Great Father a present of this land, in hopes that he would reciprocate with us, and let us keep the land out of which we sprung. Surely, since you call yourselves our Fathers, let your conduct answer to your professions. We have given you one hundred times as much, at the treaty of Brownstown, for nothing; we have always behaved like dutiful children; surely you will not, after this, treat us like a step father, but you will at least be the hundredth part as generous as we have been to you.

FATHERS, LISTEN! After all these explanations, made with frankness, we expect you will not turn us off of our lands at Brownstown and Menquagon aforesaid, but that you will grant us, your children the Wyandots, the land contained in the following boundary, viz: to commence at a small run, about half a mile from Maera, or Walk-in-the-Water's dwelling house, on the northeast side, to run from thence, along the Detroit river, until it crosses the river Huron, on the north side of lake Erie, for one mile, (that is, the river Huron, beyond Brownstown, to the southwest) thence, to extend back to the boundary line established by the treaty of Detroit, (beyond which to Rocky river, near river Raisin, we will forever, hereafter, abandon any further claim to) excepting, nevertheless, those lands which the commissioners of the land office at Detroit have confirmed to actual settlers.

FATHERS, LISTEN! Should you grant our wishes as above, we will undertake to keep open, and maintain in good order, all the roads and bridges which may be required on this land, by existing laws, going from Detroit to river Raisin.

FATHERS, LISTEN! Should you not like the above proposal, which we delivered to our friend Governor Hull, on the 30th September, 1809, and of which speech we now send you a copy, to be referred to, we hope you will at least grant us the land, which none shall have it in their power to sell, or dispose of, unless with the consent of the chiefs and sachems of the Wyandot nation.

FATHER, LISTEN! Several black robes (i. e. ministers) have come to our villages, to preach the religion of white people; they told us the religion of the whites consisted in a few words; that was, to do unto others as we wish that others should do unto us.

FATHERS, LISTEN! Since we have made you so large a present of land, at the treaty of Brownstown, we wish you to put the above Christian rule in practice; for we are a poor, helpless race of mortals: we are objects of compassion.

FATHERS, LISTEN! If you really want to ameliorate our condition, let us have the land given to us; we have built valuable houses, and improvements on the same; we have learned the use of the plough; but now we are told we are to be turned off the land in fifty years.

FATHERS, LISTEN! This has given us great uneasiness; this pretence of bettering our situation, it appears, is only for a temporary purpose: for, should we live on the land for fifty years, as farmers, and then be turned off, we will be very miserable indeed. By that time, we shall have forgot how to hunt, in which practice we are now very expert, and then you'll turn us out of doors, a poor, pitiful, helpless set of wretches.

FATHERS, LISTEN! We are desirous that the paper which our friends Governor Hull and Judge Woodward brought forward while they were at Washington together, about six years ago, should be passed into a law, and that we will, each, at least get sixty acres of this land per head, and that six hundred and forty acres of said land will be

granted to each of our chiefs and sachems, to enable them to sustain the dignity of their offices, and to keep up their importance, as regards the necessary regulations of police.

FATHERS, LISTEN! The atmosphere is all cloudy, and every thing looks as if the Great Spirit was displeased. We are told that there is to be war between our Great Fathers and the British. We are also told, that there has been a battle between Governor Harrison's army, and those Indians who are under the influence of the Shawanee prophet.

FATHERS, LISTEN! We know that some of your wise men, who do not know our customs, will look into your book of treaties, and they will find, that, at Muskingum, fort Harmar, Greenville, and at the treaty of Detroit, this piece of land has been conveyed to the United States, by all the nations.

FATHERS, LISTEN! We can assure you in sincerity and truth, how the thing is conducted at all treaties. When the United States want a particular piece of land, all our nations are assembled; a large sum of money is offered; the land is occupied probably by one nation only; nine-tenths have no actual interest in the land wanted; if the particular nation interested refuses to sell, they are generally threatened by the others, who want the money or goods offered, to buy whiskey. Fathers, this is the way in which this small spot, which we so much value, has been so often torn from us. We, the Wyandotts, are now a small nation. Unless you have charity for us, we will soon be forgot, like the Nottaways of Virginia.

FATHERS, LISTEN! We are very desirous of living in friendship and peace with our brethren of the Seventeen Great Fires; but our young men are not satisfied to be turned off this land in their old days.

FATHERS: Listen to your children—open your ears! What we have said to you, comes from the bottom of our hearts: it is but a trifle we ask of you, as a great nation. Be charitably inclined to us, and grant us our petition.

Maera, or Walk-in-the-Water, his × mark,  
Chidawenoe, his × mark,  
Rowesah, his × mark,  
Rewayerough, his × mark,  
Ququengh, his × mark,  
Yeagh Lowanea, his × mark,  
Rohiyarech, his × mark,  
Mentotonak, his × mark.

DETROIT, February 5th, 1812.

*The speech of the principal chiefs and warriors of the Wyandots, delivered on the 30th day of September, 1809.*

To his Excellency Governor HULL:

FATHER:

Listen to your children, the Wyandots, delivered by their chiefs and warriors, in which they let you know their sentiments.

Father, listen! for we speak to you now to let you know the sentiments of our minds. We thought the land we resided upon was our own; formerly, our old chiefs, who are now dead and gone, made a great promise to the Great Spirit above, that they never would move from the land we, their children, now live upon and occupy.

FATHER, listen! You informed us that the land we occupy belonged to you; at the treaty of Greenville, made with our father General Wayne, he promised to us the land on which we live; and for that reason, we never will consent to give up talking upon this subject.

FATHER, listen! You will remember that some of our principal chiefs went, last fall, to visit our great father, the President of the United States; our chiefs were very sorry that they could not get an opportunity to talk with our Great Father, the President of the United States, personally.

FATHER, listen! When you arrived at this place amongst your children, you always gave your children good advice to cultivate the land. Your children of the Wyandot tribe of Indians have followed your advice, to their great benefit and satisfaction. Father, we were astonished when you told us there was a small tract of land at Brownstown and Maguawgo, for our use for fifty years, and a vacancy in the middle between the two villages.

FATHER, listen to what your children the Wyandots say; this small tract of land is entirely too small for us. What will become of our children that are growing up?

FATHER, listen! You have cut off from us the best part of our land. Your children, the principal chiefs, the old warriors, head-warriors, with some of our sensible young men, of the Wyandot nation, request you to grant them the following favor: That the boundary of our lands should commence at a small run, about half a mile from Walk-in-the-water's dwelling house, on the northeast side; to run from thence, along the Detroit river, until it crosses the river Huron for one mile, that is, the river Huron beyond Brownstown, to the southwest; thence to extend back to the extent of the United States' purchase, on a line established by the treaty of Detroit. Beyond which, to Rocky river, we will forever abandon further claim. Father, you know there is a bed of land between the two villages. The chiefs of the Wyandots, and sensible young men of our nation, wish you to let them have that bed of land which lies between the two villages. Father, the reason why your children like this bed of land so well, they have made valuable improvements thereon, which have cost them both labor and expenses; and what is still more sensible to our feelings, we love the land that covers the bones of our fathers.

FATHER, listen! Those lands are our sole dependence for cultivation and hunting.

FATHER, listen again! You inform us concerning our lands, that we are only to enjoy them for fifty years; your children are very uneasy at this information; they say let us enjoy and have our land forever.

FATHER, listen! Your children say, let your children, the Wyandots, have their land for one hundred years. The reason why we say one hundred years is this: if your children, the principal old chiefs of the Wyandot tribe of Indians, live so long in peace and quietness, when that day comes, at the end of one hundred years, father, we will again talk on the same subject.

FATHER, listen! It surprises us, your children, that our Great Father, the President of the United States, should take as much upon himself as the Great Spirit above, as he wants all the land on this island. Father, we think he takes the word out of the mouth of the Great Spirit; he does not consider that He is Master. Father, he does not think of the Great Spirit above, that He is omnipotent, and master of us all, and every thing in this world.

FATHER, listen to the request of all your Wyandot children; grant us, we supplicate you, our land, in the quantity we have requested in this speech; then, father, we will thank the voice of the Great Spirit above, and thank our father, the President of the United States, in granting this.

FATHER, listen! You requested your children, last spring, to take into consideration this subject, concerning our land; we have complied with your request, and now give this answer.

FATHER, listen! We hope you will not think that it is for want of respect to you, that we make known our sentiments on paper, by our friend Jacob Visger. Father, as you have repeatedly promised your children that you would assist them, we will never forget your paternal care of us, if you will assist us at this present time, in forwarding these, our wishes and sentiments, to our Father, the President of the United States.

Schow-Han-Wret, or Black Chief, his + mark,  
Maera, or Walk-in-the-water, his + mark,  
Sin-dae-we-no, his + mark,  
Te-yuch-quant, his + mark,  
Han-nac-saw, or Split-log, his + mark,  
Ha-yane-me-dac, or Isedore, his + mark,  
Yuch-sha-waw-no, his + mark,  
Rone-yae-ta, or Sky light, his + mark,  
Ta-han-none-ka, his + mark.

12th CONGRESS.]

No. 135.

[1st Session.

## NORTHWESTERN FRONTIERS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JUNE 13, 1812.

Mr. McKee, from the committee to whom was referred so much of the President's message as relates to Indian affairs, reported:

That the attention of the committee has been directed to the following inquiries:

- 1st. Whether any, and what, agency the subjects of the British Government may have had in exciting the Indians, on the Western frontier, to hostilities against the United States;
- 2d. The evidence of such hostility, on the part of the Indian tribes, prior to the late campaign on the Wabash;
- 3d. The orders by which the campaign was authorized and carried on.

The committee have obtained all the evidence within their power, relative to these several inquiries. The documents accompanying the President's message to Congress, of the 11th instant, contain all, and some additional evidence to what had been obtained by the committee, in relation to the first inquiry. Those documents afford evidence as conclusive as the nature of the case can well be supposed to admit of, that the supply of Indian goods furnished at fort Malden, and distributed during the last year by the British agents, in Upper Canada, to the Indian tribes, were more abundant than usual; and it is difficult to account for this extraordinary liberality on any other ground than that of an intention to attach the Indians to the British cause, in the event of a war with the United States.

That the Indian tribes should put to hazard the large annuities which they have been so long in the habit of receiving from the United States; that they should relinquish supplies so necessary to their comfort, if not to their existence, by a hostile conduct, in the absence of all other evidence, is not the least convincing proof that some agency has been employed to stimulate the savages to hostilities; and, having pursued a course of conduct which must lead to a forfeiture of those advantages, renders it at least probable that they had assurances of receiving an equivalent elsewhere.

Additional presents, consisting of arms and ammunition, given at a time when there is evidence that the British were apprised of the hostile disposition of the Indians, accompanied with the speeches addressed to them, exciting disaffection, are of too decisive a character to leave doubt on the subject.

With regard to the second subject of inquiry, the committee are of opinion, that the evidence accompanying this report, together with the official communication made to the Executive, by the British Government, affords such evidence of the hostile views and intentions of the Indians, as to render it the duty of the President of the United States, to use the necessary means of protecting the frontiers from the attack with which they were threatened. Accordingly, in pursuance of the provisions of the act of Congress, entitled "An act for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions," the Executive ordered the 4th regiment of infantry, with one company of riflemen, under the command of Colonel Boyd, from Pittsburg to Vincennes, subject to the further orders of Governor Harrison, who was authorized, with this force, and such additional number of companies from the militia as should be deemed necessary, to establish a new post on the Wabash, and to march against, and disperse, the armed combination under the Prophet.

These considerations, together with the documents, are respectfully submitted.

WAR DEPARTMENT, December 19th, 1811.

SIR:

In answer to the call of the honorable committee of the House of Representatives, contained in your letter of the 25th ultimo, for "all evidence tending to shew what agency the subjects of his Britannic Majesty may have had in exciting the Indians on the Western frontier to hostility with the United States; the evidence of hostility towards the United States, on the part of the Shawanee Prophet, and his tribe, and which, it is presumed, gave rise to the expedition under the command of Governor Harrison; and the orders, or authority, vested in Governor Harrison by the Government of the United States, under which the expedition is carried on:"

I have the honor to state, that the information received by this Department, relative to the subjects of inquiry, is contained in the correspondence of the Governors of the Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois territories, and of other officers and agents of Government, on the Northern and Western frontier, extracts from which, embracing the objects of inquiry of the honorable committee, together with the memorials of the inhabitants of the Indiana and Illinois territories, are herewith transmitted.

On the information and representation of facts therein contained, the 4th regiment of infantry, with one company of riflemen, under the command of Colonel Boyd, were ordered from Pittsburg to Vincennes, subject to the further orders of Governor Harrison, who was authorized, with this force and such additional number of companies from the militia as should be deemed necessary, to establish a new post on the Wabash, and to march against, and disperse, the armed combination under the Prophet.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your most obedient servant,

W. EUSTIS.

HON. SAMUEL MCKEE, *Chairman of a Committee H. of R.*

*Index to the extracts of letters addressed to the War Department.*

Michilimackinac,	-	-	-	24 May,	1807,	Captain Dunham, of the U. States' Army.
Do.	-	-	-	30 August,	1807,	" Dunham and others.
Jeffersonville, falls of Ohio,	-	-	-	14 April,	1808,	Governor Harrison.
Vincennes,	-	-	-	19 May,	1808,	Ditto.
St. Louis,	-	-	-	5 April,	1809,	General Clark.
Fort Wayne,	-	-	-	8 April,	1809,	W. Wells.
St. Louis,	-	-	-	30 April,	1809,	Gen. Clark, with an enclosure from Boilvin.
Vincennes,	-	-	-	3 May,	1809,	Governor Harrison.
Sandusky,	-	-	-	7 June,	1809,	S. Tupper.
Detroit,	-	-	-	16 June,	1809,	Governor Hull.
Vincennes,	-	-	-	13 June,	1810,	Governor Harrison.
Do.	-	-	-	26 June,	1810,	Do.
Do.	-	-	-	11 July,	1810,	Do.
Do.	-	-	-	18 July,	1810,	Do.
St. Louis,	-	-	-	20 July,	1810,	General Clark.
Vincennes,	-	-	-	25 July,	1810,	Governor Harrison.



Detroit, - - - - -	27 July, 1810,	Governor Hull.
Fort Wayne, - - - - -	7 August, 1810,	Captain Johnston.
Vincennes, - - - - -	1 August, 1810,	Governor Harrison.
St. Louis, - - - - -	12 Sept. 1810,	General Clark.
Vincennes, - - - - -	6 Feb. 1811,	Governor Harrison.
Fort Wayne, - - - - -	8 Feb. 1811,	Captain Johnston.
Chicago, - - - - -	13 May, 1811,	W. Irvine.
St. Louis, - - - - -	24 May, 1811,	General Clark.
Chicago, - - - - -	2 June, 1811,	Saliene, Indian Interpreter.
Vincennes, - - - - -	19 June, 1811,	Governor Harrison.
Illinois territory, - - - - -	20 June, 1811,	Governor Edwards.
Old Station, - - - - -	21 June, 1811,	W. Whiteside.
Illinois territory, - - - - -	27 June, 1811,	Governor Edwards.
Vincennes, - - - - -	2 July, 1811,	Governor Harrison.
St. Louis, - - - - -	3 July, 1811,	General Clark.
Illinois territory, - - - - -	6 July, 1811,	Governor Edwards.
Vincennes, - - - - -	10 July, 1811,	Governor Harrison.
Belle Fontaine, - - - - -	22 July, 1811,	Colonel Bissell.
Vincennes, - - - - -	6 August, 1811,	Governor Harrison.
Illinois territory, - - - - -	11 August, 1811,	Governor Edwards.
Fort Wayne, - - - - -	18 August, 1811,	J. Shaw.
Nashville, - - - - -	10 Sept. 1811,	Gordon, } Enclosed by Governor Blount,
Do. - - - - -	9 Sept. 1811,	Robertson, } 16th Sept. 1811.
Vincennes, - - - - -	17 Sept. 1811,	Governor Harrison.
Do. - - - - -	25 Sept. 1811,	Do.
Do. - - - - -	6 October, 1811,	Do.
On the Wabash, - - - - -	13 October, 1811,	Do.
Do. - - - - -	28 October, 1811,	Do.
Vermillion river, - - - - -	2 Nov. 1811,	Do.
Chickasaw, - - - - -	29 Nov. 1811,	J. Neilly.
St. Louis, - - - - -	23 Nov. 1811,	General Clark.

*Extracts of letters addressed to the War Department.*

MICHILMACKINAC, *May 24th, 1807.*

There appears to be a very general and extensive movement among the savages in this quarter. Belts of wampum are rapidly circulating from one tribe to another, and a spirit is prevailing, by no means pacific. The enclosed *talk*, which has been industriously spread among them, needs no comment.

There is certainly *mischief at the bottom*, and there can be no doubt, in my mind, but that the object and intention of this great Manitou, or second Adam, under the pretence of restoring to the aborigines their former independence, and to the savage character its ancient energies, is, in reality, to induce a general effort to *rally*, and to strike, somewhere, a desperate blow.

*Extract from a talk delivered at Le Maiouitnong, entrance of lake Michigan, by the Indian chief Le Maiquois, or the Trout, May 4th, 1807, as coming from the first man whom God created, said to be now in the Shawanee country, addressed to all the Indian tribes, (referred to above.)*

"I am the father of the English, of the French, of the Spaniards, and of the Indians. I created the first man, who was the common father of all these people, as well as yourselves; and it is through him, whom I have awaked from his long sleep, that I now address you. *But the Americans I did not make. They are not my children, but the children of the evil spirit.* They grew from the scum of the great water, when it was troubled by the evil spirit, and the froth was driven into the woods by a strong east wind. They are numerous, but I hate them.

"My children: You must not speak of this *talk* to the whites. *It must be hidden from them.* I am now on the earth, sent by the Great Spirit to instruct you. Each village must send me two or more principal chiefs to represent you, that you may be taught. The bearer of this talk will point out to you the path to my wigwam. I could not come myself to Abre Croche, because the world is changed from what it was. It is broken, and leans down, and, as it declines, the Chippewas, and all beyond, will fall off and die. Therefore, you must come to see me, and be instructed. Those villages which do not listen to this talk, and send me two deputies, will be cut off from the face of the earth!"

MICHILMACKINAC, *August 30th, 1807.*

The cause of the hostile feelings, on the part of the Indians, is principally to be attributed to the influence of foreigners trading in the country.

JEFFERSONVILLE, *Falls of Ohio, 14th April, 1808.*

A young man from the Delaware towns came to inform me, that a Pattawatamy Indian had arrived at the towns, with a speech from the British, in which they were informed that they (the British) were upon the point of commencing hostilities against the United States, and requesting the Delawares to join them.

VINCENNES, *May 19th, 1808.*

The prophet has selected a spot on the upper part of the Wabash, for his future and permanent residence, and has engaged a considerable number of Pattawatamies, Ottawas, Chippewas, and other Northern Indians, to settle there, under his auspices. An intelligent man, who passed, a few weeks ago, through some of the villages of the Pattawatamies that are under the Prophet's influence, says, that they are constantly engaged in what they term religious duties; but that their prayers are always succeeded by, or intermixed with, warlike sports.

This combination of religious and warlike exercises, and the choice of weapons of their own manufacture, sufficiently indicates the designs of their author.

ST. LOUIS, *April 5th, 1809.*

The Indian prophets have been industriously employed, the latter part of the winter and spring, privately counselling with, and attempting to seduce the Kickapoos, Saukeys, and other bands of Indians residing on the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, to *war* against the frontiers of this country.

FORT WAYNE, *8th April, 1809.*

The Indians appear to be agitated respecting the conduct, and, *as they say*, the intentions of the Shawanee Prophet. The Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pattawatamies are hurrying away from him, and say that their reason for doing so is, because he has told them to receive the tomahawk from him, and destroy all the white people at Vincennes and Ohio, as low down as the mouth of the Ohio, and as high up as Cincinnati; that the Great Spirit had directed that they should do so, at the same time threatening them with destruction, if they refused to comply with what he proposed.

St. Louis, *April 30th*, 1809.

I have the honor to enclose you a copy of a letter, which confirms my suspicions of the British interference with our Indian affairs in this country. (Extract from the enclosed letter:) "I am at present in the fire, receiving Indian news every day. A chief of the Puant nation appears to be employed by the British to get all the nations of Indians to Detroit, to see their fathers, the British, who tell them that they pity them in their situation with the Americans, because the Americans had taken their lands and their game; that they must *join* and send them off from their lands; they told the savages that the Americans could not give them a blanket, nor any thing good for their families.

"They said they had but one father that had helped them in their misfortunes, and that they would assemble, defend their father, and keep their lands." It appears that four English subjects have been at Rivière a la Roche this winter, in disguise; they have been there to get the nations together, and send them on the American frontiers. Other Indians are pushed on, by our enemies, to take the fort of Belle Vue.

VINCENNES, *3d May*, 1809.

— is decidedly of opinion that the Prophet will attack our settlements. His opinion is formed from a variety of circumstances, but principally from a communication made to Mr. —, by two chiefs, his friends, the substance of which was, that the Prophet and his followers had determined to commence hostilities as soon as they could be prepared, and to "sweep all the white people from the Wabash and White river, after which they intended to attack the Miamies."

About eight days ago, he (the Prophet) had with him three hundred and fifty warriors, well armed with rifles, and tolerably supplied with ammunition; they have also bows and arrows, war clubs, and a kind of spear.

SANDUSKY, *7th June*, 1809.

The conduct of British traders, in introducing spirituous liquors among the Indians in this part of the country, and their determined hostility to the measures of our Government, have long been subjects of complaint, and their infamous stories have much embarrassed our operations.

DETROIT, *June 16th*, 1809.

The influence of the Prophet has been great, and his advice to the Indians injurious to them and the United States. We have the fullest evidence, that his object has been to form a combination of them in hostility to the United States. The powerful influence of the British has been exerted in a way alluring to the savage character.

VINCENNES, *14th June*, 1810.

I have received information from various sources, which has produced entire conviction on my mind, that the Prophet is organizing a most extensive combination against the United States.

The person who had charge of the boat, sent up the river with the annuity salt, has just returned, and reports that the Prophet and the Kickapoos who were with him, refused to receive that which he was directed to deliver to them, on his way up the Wabash; but he was ordered by the Prophet to leave the salt on the bank of the river, as he could not determine whether he would receive it or not, until his brother, the war chief, arrived from Detroit. On the return of the boat, the master was directed to take the salt on board, as they were determined to have nothing to do with it. Whilst they were rolling the salt into the boat, the Prophet seized the master by the hair, and shook him violently, asking him whether he was an American.

VINCENNES, *26th June*, 1810.

Winemac assured me that the Prophet, not long since, proposed to the young men to murder the principal chiefs of all the tribes; observing, that their hands would never be untied until this was effected; that these were the men who had sold their lands, and who would prevent them from opposing the encroachments of the white people.

An Ioway Indian informs me, that, two years ago this summer, an agent from the British arrived at the Prophet's town, and, in his presence, delivered the message with which he was charged, the substance of which was, to urge the Prophet to unite as many tribes as he could against the United States; but not to commence hostilities until they gave the signal.

From this man, and others of his nation, I learn that the Prophet has been constantly soliciting their own, and other tribes of the Mississippi, to join him against the United States.

VINCENNES, *July 11th*, 1810.

I have received a letter from fort Wayne, which confirms the information of the hostile designs and combination of the Indians. The people in the neighborhood where the horses were stolen, are so much alarmed, that they are collecting together for their defence.

VINCENNES, *July 18th*, 1810.

From the Ioways, I learn that the Sacs and Foxes have actually received the tomahawk, and are ready to strike whenever the Prophet gives the signal. A considerable number of the Sacs went, some time since, to see the British superintendent, and on the first instant, fifty more passed Chicago for the same destination. A Miami chief who has just returned from his annual visit to Malden, after having received the accustomed donation of goods, was thus addressed by the British agent: "My son, keep your eyes fixed on me; my tomahawk is now up; be you ready, but do not strike until I give the signal."

St. Louis, *July 20th*, 1810.

A few weeks ago the post-rider, on his way from Vincennes to this place, was killed, and the mail lost; since that time we have had no communication with Vincennes. A part of the Sacs, and the greatest part of the Kickapoos, who reside east of the Mississippi, have been absent some time on a visit to the Indian Prophet. One hundred and fifty Sacs are on a visit to the British agent, by invitation, and a smaller party on a visit to the island of St. Joseph, in Lake Huron.

VINCENNES, *July 25th*, 1810.

There can be no doubt of the designs of the Prophet and the British agent of Indian affairs, to do us injury. This agent is a refugee from the neighborhood of —, and his implacable hatred to his native country prompted him to take part with the Indians, in the battle between them and General Wayne's army. He has, ever since his appointment to the principal agency, used his utmost endeavors to excite hostilities, and the lavish manner in which he is allowed to scatter presents amongst them, shews that his Government participates in his enmity and authorizes his measures.

DETROIT, *July 27th*, 1807.

Large bodies of Indians from the westward and southward continue to visit the British post at Amherstburgh, and are supplied with provisions, arms, ammunition, &c. Much more attention is paid to them than usual.

FORT WAYNE, *August 7th*, 1810.

Since writing you on the 25th ultimo, about one hundred Sawkeys have returned from the British agent, who supplied them liberally with every thing they stood in want of. The party received forty-seven rifles and a number of fusils, with plenty of powder and lead. This is sending firebrands into the Mississippi country, inasmuch as it will draw numbers of our Indians to the British side, in the hope of being treated with the same liberality.

VINCENNES, *August 1st*, 1810.

A number of the inhabitants of the northern frontier of the Jeffersonville district, have been driven off by the Indians, and much of their property destroyed.

ST. LOUIS, *September 12th*, 1810.

On the night of the 20th of July, four white men, who reside near the Missouri, about one hundred miles from this place, who had been in pursuit of horses which had been stolen from them, were killed in their camp, and one wounded, by the Indians.

Gomo, the principal chief of the Pattawatamies, assured me, that the portion of the Pattawatamies under his authority did not commit the murder. He blames the Prophet, with whom he disclaims any connexion.

VINCENNES, *February 6th*, 1811.

If the intentions of the British Government are pacific, the Indian department of Upper Canada have not been made acquainted with them: for they have very lately said every thing to the Indians, who visited them, to excite them against us.

FORT WAYNE, *February 8th*, 1811.

— has been at this place. The information derived from him is the same I have been in possession of for several years, to wit: the intrigues of the British agents and partizans, in creating an influence hostile to our people and Government, within our territory. I do not know whether a garrison is to be erected on the Wabash or not; but every consideration of sound policy urges the early establishment of a post, somewhere contiguous to the Prophet's residence.

CHICAGO, *May 13th*, 1811.

An assemblage of the Indians is to take place on a branch of the Illinois, by the influence of the Prophet—the result will be hostile, in the event of a war with Great Britain.

ST. LOUIS, *May 24th*, 1811.

From the hostile appearance of the Indians towards the lakes and about the head of the Wabash rivér, I have thought it a duty to keep out spies, and have at this time spies among those tribes. I enclose you a *talk* from the Loways (from which the following is extracted): "I tell you this, although death is threatened against those who discover it: The time is drawing nigh when the murder is to begin, and all the Indians who will not join are to die with the whites."

CHICAGO, *June 2*, 1811.

Several horses have been stolen by the Indians. The Indians in this quarter are inclined to hostility.

VINCENNES, *June 19*, 1811.

I informed you, by my last, that I had sent a pirogue up the Wabash, with the annuity salt. All the salt was taken by the Prophet, five barrels of which only were destined for the Prophet's town. — informs me, by the pirogue, that there are about six hundred men, and that Tecumseh is daily expected, with a considerable reinforcement, from the lakes.

ILLINOIS TERRITORY, *June 20*, 1811.

Indians hostile. Enclosing a deposition, which proves that a man was murdered, and a woman taken prisoner.

OLD STATION, *June 21*, 1811.

It is with pain I inform you that I just received an express, that on yesterday, nine o'clock, P. M. the Indians killed one man, and mortally wounded another.

ILLINOIS TERRITORY, *June 27*, 1811.

In consequence of the hostile appearance of the Indians, block houses are erecting on the frontier, in front of the settlements. As much of the regular military force should be afforded for protection as can be spared.

VINCENNES, *July 2*, 1811.

We were informed, four weeks ago, that it was the intention of the Prophet to commence hostilities in the Illinois territory, in order to cover his principal object, which was an attack upon this place.

These events require no comments; they merit, and, no doubt, will receive, the immediate attention of the Government. The people are in great alarm, and have talked of collecting in stations. A despatch has also been received from the Illinois territory, informing of hostilities and murders.

ST. LOUIS, *July 3*, 1811.

All the information received from the Indian country, confirms the rooted enmity of the Prophet to the United States, and his determination to commence hostilities as soon as he thinks himself sufficiently strong. His party is increasing, and from the insolence which himself and party have lately manifested, and the violence which has lately been committed by his neighbors and friends, the Pattawatamies, on our frontiers, I am inclined to believe that the crisis is fast approaching.

A number of horses have been taken from the Mississippi, by Pattawatamies, Winnebagoes, and others, under the influence of the Prophet.

ILLINOIS TERRITORY, *July 6th*, 1811.

An express has been received, with information of several other murders having been committed by the Indians on the frontiers. In fact, I consider peace as totally out of the question; we need not expect it till the Prophet's party is dispersed, and the bands of Pattawatamies about the Illinois river are cut off.

Hostility, with them, has grown into a habit; there is no reason to believe that they will make sufficient satisfaction for the murders they committed, and the goods and horses which they stole last year, or for the very aggravated and increased instances of similar hostilities in the present year. Energetic measures would lessen his power of forming coalitions with other tribes, but we have not the power of taking any efficient means to arrest his progress; if we do not make preparation to meet him, an attack is certain; if we make preparation formidable enough to deter him, though no war actually take place, we have to encounter all the expense, inconvenience, and injury, to which a war with him would subject us; and there seems to be no reasonable ground to hope for a change for the better, whilst he is permitted to increase his strength with impunity.

VINCENNES, *July 10th*, 1811.

I have supposed, that if the Prophet does not immediately throw off the mask and commence the war, that calamity might yet be avoided, by marching a considerable force up to our exterior boundary on the Wabash, and requiring the immediate dispersion of the banditti he has collected.

BELLE FONTAINE, *July 22d*, 1811.

On the eleventh instant, I detached a subaltern, sergeant, corporal, and fifteen privates, with a month's provisions, to the Illinois river, to choose a proper site for a block house, for temporary accommodation and defence; with orders to scout and reconnoitre the country, and to watch every movement of the Indians.

VINCENNES, *6th August*, 1811.

The Shawanee chief, Tecumseh, has made a visit to this place, with about three hundred Indians, though he promised to bring but a few attendants; *his intentions hostile*, though he found us prepared for him.

Tecumseh did not set out till yesterday; he then descended the Wabash, attended by twenty men, on his way to the southward. After having visited the Creeks and Choctaws, he is to visit the Osages, and return by the Missouri. The spies say, his object in coming with so many, was to demand a retrocession of the late purchase. At the moment

he was promising to bring but a few men with him, he was sending in every direction to collect his people. That he meditated a blow at this time, was believed by almost all the neutral Indians.

ILLINOIS TERRITORY, *August 11th, 1811.*

Nothing but the most perfect conviction of the necessity, could have induced the calling out of the militia. Whether the Prophet intends to make war, or not, partial war must continue to be the consequence; the hostility which he excites against the United States, is the cement of union among his confederates; and such is the nature of Indians, that they cannot be collected, and kept together, under such circumstances, without having their minds prepared for war; and, in that situation, it is almost impossible to restrain them from premature acts of hostility. Were this the only danger, it would be sufficient to justify the dispersion of the Prophet's party.

FORT WAYNE, *August 18th, 1811.*

It appears that the fruit of the Shawanee Prophet, and his band, is making its appearance in more genuine colors than heretofore. I have lately had opportunities of seeing many of the Indians of this agency, from different quarters, and by what I have been able to learn from them, particularly the Pattawatamies, I am induced to believe the news circulating in the papers, respecting the depredations committed in the Illinois territory, by the Indians, is mostly correct, and is thought by them to have proceeded from Mar Poe, and the influence of the Shawanee Prophet. Several of the tribes have sent to me for advice.

NASHVILLE, *September 10th, 1811.*

As I passed through the Chickasaw nation, a respectable man of that nation informed, that a deputation of eighteen Northern Indians, and two Creeks, were on their way to the Creek nation, but would not tell their business, nor the object of their mission. The party consisted of six Shawanese, six Kickapoes, and six of some tribe far to the Northwest, the name of which they refused to tell; from the manner in which they proceeded, the Indians are of opinion their intention is to stimulate the Creeks and Cherokees to hostilities against the United States.

NASHVILLE, *September 9th, 1811.*

There is in this place a very noted chief of the Chickasaws, a man of truth, who wishes the President should be informed that there is a combination of the Northern Indians, promoted by the English, to unite in falling on the frontier settlements, and are inviting the Southern tribes to join them.

VINCENNES, *September 17th, 1811.*

— — — states, that almost every Indian from the country above this, had been, or were then gone, to Malden, on a visit to the British agent. We shall probably gain our destined point at the moment of their return. If then the British agents are really endeavoring to instigate the Indians to make war upon us, we shall be in their neighborhood at the very moment when the impressions which have been made against us are most active in the minds of the savages. — — — succeeded in getting the chiefs together at fort Wayne, though he found them all preparing to go to Malden. The result of the council discovered that the whole tribes, (including the Weas and Bel rivers, for they are all Miamies) were about equally divided in favor of the Prophet and the United States. Lapourier, the Wea chief, whom I before mentioned to you as being seduced by the Prophet, was repeatedly asked by — — — "what land it was that he was determined to defend with his blood, whether it was that which was ceded by the late treaty, or not?" but he would give no answer.

— — — reports, that all the Indians of the Wabash have been, or now are, on a visit to the British agent at Malden; he has never known more than one-fourth as many goods given to the Indians as they are now distributing. He examined the share of one man, (not a chief) and found that he had received an elegant rifle, twenty-five pounds of powder, fifty pounds of lead, three blankets, three strouds of cloth, ten shirts, and several other articles. He says every Indian is furnished with a gun, (either rifle or fusil) and an abundance of ammunition. A trader of this country was lately in the King's store at Malden, and was told that the quantity of goods for the Indian department, which had been sent out this year, exceeded that of common years by £20,000 sterling. It is impossible to ascribe this profusion to any other motive than that of instigating the Indians to take up the tomahawk; it cannot be to secure their trade, for all the peltries collected on the waters of the Wabash, in one year, if sold in the London market, would not pay the freight of the goods which have been given the Indians. Although I am decidedly of opinion that the tendency of the British measures is hostility to us, candor obliges me to inform you, that, from two Indians of different tribes, I have received information that the British agent absolutely dissuaded them from going to war against the United States.

One of them (a Delaware) says that he was present at the audience given by the agent, to three hundred Sacs from the Mississippi. The latter informed him that they had taken up the tomahawk against the United States, at the request of the Prophet, and that they came there to get arms and ammunition. That — — — told them he would supply their wants, but strongly advised them to decline the meditated war.

VINCENNES, *September 25th, 1811.*

As Captain Piatt was coming from Louisville to this place, his horses, and that of another traveller, were taken from the stable, on the White river, thirty-five miles from this; and the night after, four others from the Roperon settlement. The trail of the horses from the latter place was very visible, and two white men, and a free negro, who speaks some of the Indian languages, went immediately in pursuit of them. They crossed the Wabash, and on the second day, near night, they came to the Indian camp. There were but three Indians in the camp, and they soon discovered their own horses, Captain Piatt's, and a number more. They agreed to give up the four horses taken from Roperon. Our people commenced their return, and had gotten but a few miles, when they perceived the Indians following them; having but one gun amongst them, they endeavored to escape by flight, but the two foremost Indians soon came so near as to fire on them. They had no other alternative than to abandon all the horses, even those which they had rode, and betake themselves to a thick swamp, which luckily presented itself.

VINCENNES, *October 6th, 1811.*

The Indians have been again plundering our citizens. They took eight horses from a detached settlement in the Illinois territory, about thirty miles above Vincennes, in open day-light.

ON THE WABASH, *October 13th, 1811.*

The Prophet has not contented himself with throwing the gauntlet, but has absolutely commenced the war. His parties were in our neighborhood, for the first time, on the night of the 10th instant. Our sentinels were fired upon, and one of the best men of the fourth regiment badly, though not mortally, wounded.

ON THE WABASH, *October 28th, 1811.*

The Delaware chiefs arrived in camp yesterday, and gave an account of their efforts to induce the Prophet to lay aside his hostile designs. They were badly treated and insulted, and finally dismissed with the most contemptuous remarks upon them and us. The party which fired upon our sentinels, arrived at the town when the Delawares were there; they were Shawanese, and the Prophet's nearest friends.

VERMILLION RIVER, *November 2d, 1811.*

A letter from Colonel Miller, (whose indisposition was such as to oblige me to leave him at the new fort) announces, that an attack has been made upon a boat loaded with corn, which was ascending the river from the fort, to this place. It was fired on, four miles above the fort, and one man killed.

CHICKASAW, *November 29th*, 1811.

The Shawanese Indians, and some of the Kickapoos, solicited the king of this nation for men to join the Prophet's party. I am told that there are some Creeks gone to join the Prophet's party; how many, I have not heard. I have been constantly advising this nation against, and showing them the consequences of, joining the Prophet.

ST. LOUIS, *November 23d*, 1811.

One of the bands of the Pattawatamies, on the Illinois river, have lately killed about twenty head of cattle, and a number of hogs, the property of the inhabitants of the village of Peoria, and have threatened the white settlers of that village with destruction, if they take part with the Americans in preference to them. A like conduct has been pursued by some of the Indians about Prairie du Chien, who have ascended the Mississippi above that place, and are wintering with a trader, who, as I am informed, has smuggled a very large supply of British goods into the Mississippi, by Prairie du Chien.

I am willing to believe, that when the unfriendly bands, towards the lakes, hear of the defeat of the Prophet, and the loss which has been sustained by his followers, that their tone will be changed, (if no exertions are made by the British agents) and they will most probably come into the measures of their chiefs, who have been willing to be on friendly terms, and do us justice.

To effect a permanent termination of the differences which now exist, I presume the Prophet's party will be pursued in every direction, caught, and punished, and temporary establishments of regular troops made, calculated to prevent Indian combinations, and check British influence with those tribes towards the lakes.

A Pattawatamy chief, called the White Rabbit, is, at this time, on a mission from the Prophet to the Sacs, Foxes, and Sioux, the object of which is to gain them over to his party; those tribes to act in the spring. I do not believe the mission will succeed; indeed, I have not been under any apprehension of the Prophet's gaining over any of the Indians of this side of the Mississippi.

The Sacs, Foxes, and some of the Ioways, were, at one time, partially under the influence of the Prophet and British, and would have done a great deal of mischief, if their plans had not been fortunately discovered in time.

I am informed that the British agents, or suspected persons, have been, indirectly, tampering with the Sacs, Ioways, and Sioux; if they meet with any success, it will be partial.

*Memorials from the inhabitants of the Indiana and Illinois Territories, addressed to the President of the United States.*

At a meeting of a very considerable number of the citizens of the county of Knox, at the seminary, in Vincennes, on Wednesday, the 31st of July, 1811, when Colonel Ephraim Jordan was appointed president, and Captain James Smith, secretary: Thereupon, General W. Johnson addressed the meeting, in which he informed them of the present situation of the inhabitants, of not only the town, but country, in regard to the Shawanee Prophet, his brother Tecumseh, and their confederacy of Indians, and advised, that, for the safety of the citizens, some resolutions should be fallen into; and the following were adopted, viz:

1. *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the safety of the persons and property of this frontier can never be effectually secured, but by the breaking up of the combination formed by the Shawanee Prophet on the Wabash.

2. *Resolved*, That we consider it highly impolitic and injurious, as well to the inhabitants of the United States, as that of the territory, to permit a formidable banditti, which is constantly increasing in number, to occupy a situation which enables them to strike our settlements, without the least warning.

3. *Resolved*, That we are fully convinced that the formation of the combination, headed by the Shawanee Prophet, is a British scheme, and that the agents of that power are constantly exciting the Indians to hostilities against the United States.

4. *Resolved*, That the assemblage of Indians at this place, at this time, and under the circumstances which attend it, was calculated to excite the most serious alarm; and but for the energetic measures which have been adopted by our Executive, it is highly probable that the threatened destruction of this place, and the massacre of the inhabitants, would have been the consequence.

5. *Resolved*, That a temporising policy is not calculated to answer any beneficial purpose with savages, who are only to be controlled by prompt and decisive measures.

6. *Resolved*, That we approve highly of the prompt and decisive measures adopted by the Governor of the territory. We are convinced that the situation in which we stand with the Prophet, and his adherents, rendered them necessary for our safety, and from them we confidently expect such a termination of the presumptuous pretensions of this daring chief, as must be pleasing to every patriot, and honorable to himself.

7. *Resolved*, That a committee, to consist of the Rev. Samuel T. Scott, Rev. Alexander Devin, Colonel Luke Decker, Colonel Ephraim Jordan, Daniel McClure, and Walter Wilson, Esquires, and Colonel Francis Vigo, or a majority of them, be, and they are hereby, appointed to prepare, and forward to the Executive of the United States, a respectful address on behalf of this meeting, assuring him of our attachment to his person and administration, and requesting him to take such measures as his wisdom may dictate, to free the territories, in this quarter, from future apprehensions from the Prophet and his party; and that he also be requested to insist upon the surrender, by the Indian tribes, of those who have murdered our fellow-citizens, and provide compensation for such as have lost their property.

8. *Resolved*, That these resolutions be printed in the Western Sun; and, also, that an address may be prepared, and forwarded to the President, in pursuance of them.

E. JORDAN, *President*.  
JAMES SMITH, *Secretary*.

*To James Madison, President of the United States.*

SIR:

In obedience to the wishes of a numerous meeting of our fellow-citizens, assembled for the purpose of taking into consideration the state of this country, in relation to Indian affairs, we have the honor to address you. In approaching the Chief Magistrate of our country, who is so deservedly celebrated for the talents which distinguish the statesman, and the virtues which adorn the man, we should not do justice to our own feelings, and the feelings of those whom we represent, if we neglected to express our confidence in his administration, and our sincere respect and esteem for his person.

In fulfilling the duty which has been assigned to us, sir, it is scarcely necessary that we should do more than to refer you to the resolutions which are enclosed; they contain a true statement of facts, and a true picture of the feelings of the citizens of this part of the country. It is impossible to doubt but that the combination which has been formed on the Wabash, is a British scheme; and it is equally certain that this banditti is now prepared to be let loose upon us, and that nothing but vigorous measures will prevent it. In this part of the country we have not, as yet, lost any of our fellow-citizens by the Indians; but depredations upon the property of those who live upon the frontiers, and insults to the families that are left unprotected, almost daily occur.

The impunity with which these savages have been so long suffered to commit crimes, has raised their insolence to a pitch that is no longer supportable.

We are not, sir, advocates for unnecessary rigor towards our Indian neighbors. The character which some of us sustain, as ministers of the Gospel of Christ, will shield us from the suspicion that we wish to plunge our country in

an unnecessary war; our object is peace; but we are fully persuaded that blessing can now only be secured to us by the exertion of some vigor.

Let the savages be made sensible, that every aggression from them will meet with prompt punishment, and Indian depredations will seldom be heard of.

Since the adoption of the resolutions under which we act, we have listened to the speech delivered by the brother of the Prophet to Governor Harrison, and if a doubt remained upon our minds as to the designs of the confederacy he has formed, it has been completely removed. Shall we then quietly wait the stroke, when we see the weapon suspended over us? We hope and trust this will not be expected, and that the General Government will take effectual measures to avert the danger. What these measures shall be, we will not presume to dictate; but we beg leave most respectfully to observe, that we conceive that the country will forever be exposed to those alarms, which are at once so injurious to its settlement, and the interests of the United States, so long as the banditti under the Prophet are suffered to remain where they now are. The people have become highly irritated and alarmed; and if the Government will not direct their energies, we fear that the innocent will feel the effects of their resentment, and a general war be the consequence. The Western country, sir, is indebted to your predecessor for an undeviating attention to its prosperity; and the gratitude and attachment which they feel towards that distinguished patriot can never be effaced. With equal confidence they look up to his successor, who, pursuing the same course of politics with regard to European Powers, is to them sufficient proof of coincidence of sentiment in that which relates to the continent.

That you may be the means, under Providence, of establishing the affairs of your country, and settling its interest in every quarter of the globe, upon a secure and lasting foundation, and that you may long live to enjoy the blessing of your countrymen for the happiness procured for them, is the sincere prayer of your fellow-citizens.

SAMUEL T. SCOTT.  
ALEXANDER DEVIN.  
LUKE DECKER.  
EPHRAIM JORDAN.  
DANIEL M'CLURE.  
WALTER WILSON.  
FRANCIS VIGO.

At a large meeting of the inhabitants of the county of St. Clair, Illinois territory, where Colonel William Whiteside was conducted to the chair, and Samuel D. Davidson, Esquire, appointed secretary:

*Resolved, unanimously,* That the following memorial be presented to Ninian Edwards, Governor of the territory aforesaid, as the joint sense of the meeting, to be signed by the chairman; which humbly sheweth, that we are highly gratified with the prompt, speedy, and prudential manner in which your Excellency has issued your orders for the defence of the exposed frontiers of said country, to oppose the repetition of Indian hostilities; and that we have the utmost and incontrovertible confidence in your abilities and patriotism, for our safety in the present alarming times, as the constitutional channel between the General Government and us: *Wherefore,* we confidently request of your Excellency to forward the annexed memorial to the President of the United States, with such statements as may appear reasonable and just, to gain the object prayed for, as we are confident your Excellency must feel and see with us, that one or more garrisons, established and defended by the regular veterans of the United States, would be of the utmost safety to the extensive and exposed frontiers of both the Louisiana and Illinois territories, in a more particular manner as the great and numerous tribes of Indians, who had the hardihood and insolence to wage war against the United States, (and, in some instances, with effect) a few years since, that by the treaty of Greenville, and other subsequent treaties, have relinquished their title to their former hunting ground, which is now transformed into substantial plantations, and are changing their habitations fast from the lakes and waters of the Ohio, down the Illinois river to the Mississippi, where, undoubtedly, it would be necessary to establish a fort, in order to set reasonable bounds to their savage fury and unprovoked disturbance; we beg leave to refer your Excellency to a view of the great and manifest benefits lately obtained by the garrisons established far up on the two great rivers, several hundred miles above their junction, when, before the establishing of these strengths, there did not a season pass by but some innocent person fell a victim to savage barbarity, on both sides of the river, and we confidently believe it would have the same salutary effect, in establishing one fort or block house on the first eminence above either the mouths of the Missouri or the Illinois rivers, and another in the seditious village of Peoria, the great nursery of hostile Indians and traitorous British Indian traders; we hope it will not be thought superfluous to mention, that the above request is not to gratify our pride or avarice, in obtaining military pomp to decorate our streets, or the expenditure of public money to buy our produce, but it is to keep the improving citizen in peace, on a remote region from the United States, who is now working to convert the fertile and extensive plains of the Mississippi into the fairest portion of the Union.

From different circumstances, the inhabitants of this country are not in possession of a sufficiency of arms to repel any attack that may be offered; owing to the present alarm, it is not in our power to buy any, and a considerable portion of the militia are not circumstanced to buy. If your Excellency will be pleased to make use of your good office to obtain from the General Government the use of what rifles and muskets may be thought, in your wisdom, needful, it certainly would be of great service to this frontier country.

WM. WHITESIDE,  
SAM'L. D. DAVIDSON.

At a numerous meeting of the militia officers, and other inhabitants of St. Clair county, Illinois territory, at the court house, the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 1811, to take into consideration the alarming situation of the frontiers of this county, from the numerous and horrid depredations lately committed by the Indians; Colonel William Whiteside was conducted to the chair, and Samuel D. Davidson appointed secretary.

*Resolved,* That there be a memorial immediately signed by the chairman of this meeting, and countersigned by the secretary, stating to the President of the United States the necessity of his ordering what number of regular troops he, in his wisdom, may think requisite, to be stationed for the defence of said county.

*Resolved,* That the said memorial be sent to the Governor of said territory, requesting him to forward the same to the President of the United States, and make such statement (to accompany said memorial) as the urgency of the subject does require.

*To James Madison, President of the United States, greeting:*

The memorial of the inhabitants of the aforesaid county humbly sheweth:

That the inhabitants residing on the frontiers aforesaid have sustained frequent and repeated damages from the different and numerous tribes of Indians, on and in the neighborhood of the Illinois river, these five or six years past, by stealing their horses, and other property, as well as the cruel murder of some few of the citizens. In lieu of retaliating, the said citizens curbed their passions, and restrained their resentment, lest they should be so unfortunate as to draw a stigma on the Government, by punishing the innocent for the transgressions of the guilty; and, in one instance, restrained the vindictive spirit, by taking two Indians prisoners, who were in possession of stolen property, after a chase of one hundred miles, and gave them up to the law.

We are become the victims of savage cruelty in a more hasty and general manner, than what has lately been experienced in the United States. Last spring there were numbers of horses stolen. On the second of June, a house of Mr. Cox was robbed of valuable effects, five horses stolen, a young man massacred, and his sister taken prisoner; sad and conclusive presages of war! There was likewise a man severely wounded, when following the aforesaid Indians.

On the 20th of the same month, (June) a man was killed and scalped, and another mortally wounded, which can be more fully stated by the Executive of said territory. Those who have suffered, are not intruders, but are living on their own farms, on the northwestern frontier of said county. From our knowledge of the danger we are in, and our long suffering, we think we ask nothing but what is reasonable, and what will be advantageous to the United States, when we implore you to station what number of soldiers you may think sufficient, to establish a garrison at the village of Peoria, commonly called Opea, on the Illinois river; and one other on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, at or near the place once viewed and adopted by Captains Stoddart and Bissel, six or eight miles below the mouth of said Illinois river, both sites being covered by treaty. We beg leave to refer you to the Governor of said territory concerning the urgency and necessity of the case: not doubting, but that you will grant our request, if you think it will be for the welfare of the Union.

WM. WHITESIDE,  
SAM'L D. DAVIDSON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *January 17th, 1812.*

SIR:

In addition to the information, heretofore given, in answer to your letter of the 25th of November, I have the honor to enclose extracts from the speeches of the Seneca and Ottawa nations of Indians.

With great respect, sir, your obedient servant,

W. EUSTIS.

Hon. SAMUEL MCKEE, *Chairman.*

*Extract of a speech of Red Jacket, in behalf of himself and the other deputies of the Six Nations.—Taken from the interpretation of Mr. Jasper Parrish, in presence of Erastus Granger, U. S. Agent to the Six Nations. Washington City, February 13th, 1810.*

BROTHER: At the time we were making bright the chain of friendship at Canandaigua, the commissioner on your part told us, that the time might come when your enemies would endeavor to disturb our minds, and do away the friendship we had then formed with you. That time, Brother, has already arrived. Since you have had some disputes with the British Government, their agents in Canada have not only endeavored to make the Indians at the westward your enemies, but they have sent a war belt amongst our warriors, to poison their minds, and make them break their faith with you. This belt we exhibited to your agents in council, and then sent it to the place from whence it came, never more to be seen among us. At the same time, we had information that the British had circulated war belts among the Western Indians, and within your territory. We rested not, but called a general council of the Six Nations, and resolved to let our voice be heard among our Western brethren, and destroy the effects of the poison scattered among them. We have twice sent large deputations to their council fire, for the purpose of making their minds strong in their friendship with your nation; and, in the event of a war between the white people, to sit still on their seats, and take no part on either side: so far as our voice has been heard, they have agreed to hearken to our counsel, and remain at peace with your nation.

BROTHER: If war should take place, we hope you will inform us of it through your agents, and we will continue to raise our influence with all the Indians with whom we are acquainted, that they will sit still upon their seats, and cultivate friendship with our people.

[Signed by all the Chiefs.]

*Extract from the speech of the Ottawa nation of Indians, delivered to the Secretary of War, by their delegation, on the 5th of October, 1811.*

FATHER: A man of the Pattawatamy nation, who pretends to be a prophet among us, has frequently endeavored to stir up a hostile disposition in our minds towards the American people. He has very lately sent a speech to us and the Chippewa nation, fraught with bad and foolish advice.

FATHER: Our ears are closed to those bad birds which sing around us, and we have returned for answer, that whoever listened to the advice of the Prophet or his followers, would be destroyed by the American People.

[12th CONGRESS.]

No. 136.

[1st SESSION.]

### HOSTILE MOVEMENTS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JUNE 24, 1812.

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit to the Senate a report of the Secretary of War, complying with their resolution of the 19th instant.

JAMES MADISON.

June 23d, 1812.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *June 22d, 1812.*

SIR:

I have the honor to lay before you, extracts of letters from the Governors of territories, and other agents, "respecting the hostile and friendly movements and intentions of the Indians towards the United States," in conformity to a resolution of the honorable the Senate, passed June 19th, 1812.

WILLIAM EUSTIS.

The PRESIDENT.



*Extract from a letter from Benjamin Howard, dated*

ST. LOUIS, January 13, 1812.

I have the honor to enclose you the copy of a letter from Mr. Johnson, at fort Madison. The information it conveys, proves, clearly, that our difficulties with the Indians are not at an end; and, my own opinion is, that, as soon as the winter is over, we have much danger to apprehend from them. I feel no hesitation in recommending a campaign to be carried on in the spring, against the hostile Indians on the Illinois; for, until some of those tribes are punished, we shall not have a durable peace with them.

*Copy of a letter from John Johnson, dated*

FORT MADISON, 7th January, 1812.

SIR:

I am sorry to inform you that, on the 1st instant, a party of Puants, about twenty, arrived at Mr. George Hunt's house, lead mines, &c; killed two Americans, and robbed Hunt of all his goods. Mr. Hunt bearing the name of an Englishman, saved his life; at the same time another party went to Nathan Pryer that was, and killed him; after killing all the Americans there, as they thought, the head-man observed, the Americans had killed a great many of their people, and that they intended to kill all they saw.

I expect they went upward, in search of more. Hunt and his interpreter, Vistor Lagotery, arrived here last night. Mr. Hunt, on his way here, was informed by the Foxes, that a large party of Puants had set out for this place. The Foxes shewed every disposition to be friends, and promised to save all his goods they could. On the 3d, your express left here a-foot; poor fellow, I fear he will meet the Puants. Yesterday the express left here, with M. John McRae, for St. Louis, with many letters and public papers. Will you do me the favor to show this letter to General William Clark, and ask to write General Mason, informing him the goods I furnished Hunt, are all lost? Every hour I look for a war party, and God only knows when it will end.

I hope you will cause immediate relief, by increasing our number of men at this post.

In haste, I am your very humble servant,

JOHN JOHNSON.

His Excellency Governor B. HOWARD, *St. Louis.*

*Extract of a letter from Governor Howard, dated*

ST. LOUIS, March 19, 1812.

NOTE. In the commencement of the Governor's letter, he gives a detail of depredations and most barbarous murders.

I think nothing can prevent a strong combination among the Indians against us, now, but a succession of quick campaigns against those that are avowedly hostile, or a display of efficient defensive measures. The latter, I think, would have a tendency to deter those that are decidedly inimical to us, from attempting further mischief, and would determine those who are wavering to remain neutral.

In addition to this, I would recommend, that, when a party does mischief, that an authority be given to pursue them quickly, on horse back, to their camp or village, and cut off the band to which they belong. This was what I intended by the expedition recommended in my letter of January.

*Extracts from a letter of William Wells, dated Fort Wayne, 10th February, 1812.*

At the request of the Little Turtle, I enclose you his speech to Governor Harrison, of the 25th ultimo.

On the 12th ult. two British emissaries passed through this neighborhood, on their way to see the Prophet. On the 21st ultimo, they called at my house, on their return to Malden; they were two Munsey Indians. It appears that their business was to invite all the Indians to meet at Malden very early in the spring. What took place between them and the Prophet, I have not as yet learnt.

The Pattawatamy chief, Marpack, has been in the neighborhood of Malden since August last; he now is near the white settlement, on the river Raisin, in Michigan territory, and visits Malden every eight or ten days. He has about one hundred and twenty of the best warriors in this country with him, stationed in such a manner as to be unobserved by the whites; that is to say, eight or ten in one place, fifteen or twenty in another, and so on; but within such distance of each other, as to enable him to collect them all in twenty-four hours. I know this chief is hostile inclined towards the United States, and have no hesitation in saying, that he is kept at that place by the British agents at Malden; and in case the United States have war with that Power, this chief will attack our settlements immediately. I believe many of the warriors that fought Governor Harrison, have, and are now about to join him.

*Copy of a speech of the Little Turtle to Governor Harrison.*

FORT WAYNE, 25th January, 1812.

GOVERNOR HARRISON:

MY FRIEND: I have been requested by my nation, to speak to you; and I obey their request with pleasure, because I believe their situation requires all the aid I can afford them.

When your speech by Mr. Dubois was received by the Miamies, they answered it, and I made known to you their opinion at that time.

Your letter to William Wells, of the 23d November last, has been explained to the Miami and Eel river tribes of Indians.

MY FRIEND: Although neither of these tribes have had any thing to do with the late unfortunate affair, which happened on the Wabash, still they all rejoice to hear you say, that if those foolish Indians which were engaged in that action, would return to their several homes, and remain quiet, that they would be pardoned, and again received by the President as his children. We believe there is none of them that will be so foolish as not to accept of this friendly offer; while, at the same time, I assure you, that nothing shall be wanting on my part, to prevail on them to accept it.

All the Prophet's followers have left him, with the exception of two camps of his own tribe.

Tecumseh has just joined him with eight men only. No danger can be apprehended from them at present; our eyes will be constantly kept on them, and should they attempt to gather strength again, we will do all in our power to prevent it; and at the same time give you immediate information of their intentions.

We are sorry that that peace and friendship, which has so long existed between the red and the white people, could not be preserved without the loss of so many good men as fell on both sides, in the late action on the Wabash; but we are satisfied that it will be the means of making that peace, which ought to exist between us, more respected both by the red and the white people.

We have been lately told by different Indians from that quarter, that you wished the Indians from this country to visit you; this they will do with pleasure, when you give them information of it in writing.

My FRIEND: The clouds appear to be rising in a different quarter, which threatens to turn our light into darkness. To prevent this, it may require the united efforts of us all.

We hope that none of us will be found to shrink from the storm that threatens to hurt our nations.

Your friend,

MISHECAUSQUAH or LITTLE TURTLE,  
For the Miami and Eel river tribes of Indians.

Witness, W. M. TURNER,  
Surgeon's mate, United States' Army.

I certify that the above is a true translation.

W. WELLS.

*Extract of a letter from Captain Heald, dated Chicago, 7th February, 1812.*

An express arrived at this post on the 1st instant, from General Clark. He was sent for the purpose of finding out the disposition of the Indians; he was a Frenchman, and well acquainted with the Indians. He told me, that the Indians on the Illinois, were hostile disposed towards the United States, and that the war between the Indians and white people had just commenced, alluding to the late battle on the Wabash.

*Extracts from a letter of William Wells, dated Fort Wayne, 1st March, 1812.*

In my letter of the 10th ultimo, I informed you that the Indian chief, Tecumseh, had arrived on the Wabash. I have now to state to you, that it appears that he has determined to raise all the Indians he can, immediately, with an intention, no doubt, to attack our frontiers. He has sent runners to raise the Indians on the Illinois, and the upper Mississippi; and I am told has gone himself, to hurry on the aid he was promised by the Cherokees and Creeks.

The Prophet's orator, who is considered the third man in this hostile band, passed within twelve miles of this place, on the 23d ultimo, with eight Shawanese, eight Winnebagoes, and seven Kickapoos, in all twenty-four, on their way as they say to Sandusky; where they expected to receive a quantity of powder and lead, from their father the British.

*Extract of a letter of N. Heald, Captain commanding, dated Chicago, 7th February, 1812.*

An express arrived here on the first of the month from St. Louis, sent by General Clark, Indian agent at that place, for the purpose of finding out the disposition of the Indians, between here and there. This express is a Frenchman, who is well acquainted with the Indians; and he is of opinion, that there are many of them determined to continue the war against the whites.

*Extract from a letter from N. Heald, Captain, dated Chicago, 11th March, 1812.*

I have been informed, and believe it to be true, that the Winnebagoes have lately attacked some traders on the Mississippi, near the lead mines; it is said they killed two Americans, and eat them up, and took all their goods; there was two French traders whom they robbed of all their goods, and suffered them to go off alive. This news came to me from a Frenchman at Millwaikie, who has been to the Winnebago nation. The Winnebagoes who escaped from the Prophet's town are still in this neighborhood.

*Extract of a letter from J. Rhea, captain thirteenth regiment of infantry, dated Fort Wayne, March 14, 1812.*

You say, if we have a British war we shall have an Indian war. From the best information I can get, I have every reason to believe we shall have an Indian war this spring, whether we have a British war or not. I am told the Indians are making every preparation. There is certainly a very deep plan going on among the Indians.

*Extract of a letter from Captain J. Whistler, dated Fort Detroit, April 2, 1812.*

Lieutenant Eastman arrived here on the evening of the 29th ultimo, from Cincinnati, and about six miles on this side of the foot of the Miami rapids, he met twenty-four Indians (who were in the action against Governor Harrison.) They were on their return from Malden, and had been there for a length of time this winter, and had, when Mr. Eastman met them, each a new stand of arms; some of them were rifles, others smooth bore; also a quantity of ammunition. One of those Indians has shown in this town several wounds he had received in the action.

*Extract of a letter from Captain N. Heald, dated Fort Dearborn, at Chicago, 15th April, 1812.*

The Indians have commenced hostilities in this quarter. On the 6th inst. a little before the sun set, a party of eleven Indians, supposed to be Winnebagoes, came to Messrs. Russell and Leigh's cabin, in a field on the Portage branch of the Chicago river, about three miles from the garrison, where they murdered two men; one by the name of Liberty White, an American, and the other a Canadian Frenchman, whose name I do not know. White received two balls through his body; nine stabs with a knife in his breast and one in his hip; his throat was cut from ear to ear—his nose and lips were taken off in one piece, and he's skinned almost as far round as they could find any hair. The Frenchman was only shot through the neck and scalped. Since the murder of these two men, one or two other parties of Indians have been lurking about us, but we have been so much on our guard, that they have not been able to get any scalps.

*Extract of a letter from General William Clark, dated St. Louis, January 12, 1812.*

I have this moment heard, by an express, from the commanding officer at fort Madison, to Colonel Bissell, that a party of Winnebagoes, (part of the Prophet's party) did, on the 1st instant, rob and kill several American traders, near the Spanish mines, on the Mississippi.

*Extract of a letter from General William Clark, dated St. Louis, February 13, 1812.*

On the 8th instant, a party of that nation, (Winnebagoes) some of whom were known, fired on my express, about forty miles above the settlements, who was on his return from Prairie du Chien, the mines, and fort Madison. On the 9th, an American family of women and children was killed on the bank of the Mississippi, a few minutes before the express passed the house.

*Extract of a letter from General William Clark, dated St. Louis, March 15, 1812.*

I this moment received an express from fort Madison, with letters from the agent at that post, which informs me "that, on the 3d instant, a war party of five Winnebagoes killed one of the corporals of that post, a short distance from the fort." By express I received a talk from a band of the Sacs, nearest our settlements, declaring their determination of continuing in friendship with the United States.

*Extract of a letter from General William Clark, dated St. Louis, March 22, 1812.*

The Winnebago bands, part of the Kickapoos, and some of the Pattawatamies, are yet friendly to the Prophet, and may join him again in the spring. His brother Tecumseh returned from the Southern tribes in December last; he made great exertions to get the Shawanese and Delawares of this territory to join the Prophet's party, but without success. He proceeded to the Sacs and Sioux country, where his councils have been more attended to.

The Prophet's combination is not the only one we have to watch in this quarter. I strongly suspect a coalition of the Pattawatamies will take place, under that vile fellow called the *Marpuck*, who has been all the winter at fort Madison, and no doubt has received his lesson, as he has sent runners to his nation, informing them, among other excitements, that he will play a new game with the Americans. The point where they are to build their town is at some small lakes, sixty miles northwest of Chicago.

I am informed through the Indians, that some of the *Senecas*, of Upper Canada, are coming over, either to join the Prophet, or reside with the Sacs, whom they have applied to for lands.

*Extracts of a letter from General William Clark, dated St. Louis, April 12, 1812.*

Some of the chiefs, considerate men, warriors, women and children, from the bands on the Illinois river, in all sixty, are now here. They came down by the invitation of Governor Edwards, to council on the differences existing between those bands and our citizens, &c. Near the mouth of the Missouri, on their way to see the Governor, they were fired on by a party of the inhabitants of the Illinois territory, fortunately no one killed. They are now under my protection, and I believe so much alarmed that they will not visit the Governor at Kaskaskia.

Those chiefs have informed me that a large party of Winnebagoes are out on a war party, intending to attack the frontiers of this territory. Governor Howard has placed the northern frontiers in a state of defence, and they will most probably meet with a warm reception.

P. S. Since writing the within letter, Mr. Payne arrived from fort Madison, by whom I received letters, mentioning that, on the night of the 29th of March, the Puants or Winnebagoes shot a sentinel at that place; on the 3d instant, one of the sentinels at that post shot and killed a Puant at the gate. During the night, several shots were fired at the fort, by the Winnebagoes. Small parties are continually about the fort.

*From Erastus Granger, Agent to the Six Nations.*

BUFFALO, April 18, 1812.

SIR:

I have held a council with the Six Nations of Indians, since my return; they are well satisfied with what you have done for them, and are determined to hold the United States fast by the hand.

BUFFALO, May 6, 1812.

SIR:

I had the honor of receiving your letter of the 7th ultimo, relating to a report that one hundred and fifty, or more, of the Indians under my agency, are expected to join the hostile Indians this spring.

From my own observations, and the assurances made me by the chiefs, I am confident that not a single warrior of the Six Nations, living within the United States, has expressed a wish to join the unfriendly Indians, to the westward.

BUFFALO, May 30, 1812.

SIR:

On the 29th instant I closed a council with the Six Nations of Indians; we had been four days in council.

The Senecas received their money from the United States. The Cayugas and Onondagoes, were paid their annuities from the State of New York.

They returned to their villages well satisfied, and with a determination to remain friendly to the United States.

A deputation of thirty-one started yesterday, for Grand river, to strengthen the minds of the Indians in Upper Canada to remain neutral in case of war.

*From General William Hull.*

STAUNTON, June 3, 1812.

SIR:

I am happy to inform you, that I have received reports already, from five or six Indian villages, since my speech was communicated, more favorable than I had reason to expect. The chiefs are now on their way to visit me, and the frontiers have already become tranquil.

*From John Johnston.*

PIQUA TOWN, OHIO, May 1, 1812.

SIR:

The Indians have recently murdered two men at fort Dearborn, and report says, three more at Defiance, on the Miami of the lake.

Since writing the enclosed, (above) I received two letters, which confirm the information of the murder at Defiance, and convey the first intelligence of the killing of two Americans at Sandusky.

May 5th, 1812.

The Indians have killed, within three days, a man at Greenville. The chiefs of the Wabash will not visit the President this summer.

May 21st, 1812.

As far as I am informed, the disaffection among the Indians is increasing. Some families have been killed within a few miles of Vincennes. Yesterday the Shawanese chiefs sent me notice, that hostile parties would shortly visit the country, and promised their assistance in repelling their attacks.

From Mr. Irwin.

CHICAGO, March 10th, 1812.

SIR:

The Chippewa and Ottawa nations, hearing that the Winnebagoes and Pattawatamies, were hostilely inclined towards the whites, sent speeches among them, desiring them to change their sentiments, and live in peace with the whites.

April 16th, 1812.

On the 6th instant, a party of ten or eleven Indians surrounded a small farm house on Chicago river, and killed two men. The Indians are represented to be of the Winnebago tribe, which has been since ascertained to be the fact.

From Governor W. H. Harrison.

VINCENNES, 6th May, 1812.

SIR:

On Sunday evening last, a party of Indians attacked a house on White river, about thirty five-miles from this place; killed the owner (Mr. John McGowan,) but were driven off without doing further injury. Most of the citizens in this country have abandoned their farms, and taken refuge in such temporary forts as they have been able to construct.

Nothing can exhibit more distress than those wretched people, crowded together in places almost destitute of every necessary accommodation. Unless something can be done soon to enable the people to return to their farms, I fear that there will be little or no corn planted this season.

On the second instant, I received a letter from Mr. Stickney, containing the result of the council lately held at fort Wayne, which has, no doubt, been communicated to you. This letter was brought to fort Harrison by an Indian, who was employed by Mr. Stickney for the purpose. On his way he was joined by the chief, Winnemac, with nine other Pattawatamies. They were very desirous of coming here, but were, very properly, detained by Captain Snelling. I have refused to suffer them to come further, because I am convinced they would be killed in despite of any endeavors of mine to prevent it. I also suspect that there are spies amongst them, sent by the Prophet. These people were at fort Harrison when the murder was committed on McGowan, and, very probably, by a part of the same tribe. It is thus that we are served by these scoundrels; whilst some of them are making warm professions of friendship and enjoying our hospitality, others are murdering our citizens.

VINCENNES, May 13, 1812.

The information given by the party of Pattawatamies, mentioned in my last, to Captain Taylor, at fort Harrison, was, that the Prophet was in the neighborhood of his former residence, with about three hundred Winnebagoes, and about two hundred of other tribes, and that he was daily gaining strength.

May 27, 1812.

No further mischief has been done by the Indians, that has come to my knowledge.

VINCENNES, 3d June, 1812.

The information received, within a few days, from Governor Edwards, (and he has better means of acquiring it than I have, from the intercourse that is kept up between the Tippecanoe and Illinois river) confirms that which I had previously received from a principal Pattawatamy chief, viz: that the major part of the Winnebago tribe are at Tippecanoe, with the Prophet and Tecumseh; small bands from the Illinois river and the east of Lake Michigan, making a force at least equal to that which they commanded last summer, and that their intentions were entirely hostile. The Governor also says, there are, at this time, nearly eight hundred warriors embodied at Peoria; that the British agents were endeavoring to effect a peace between the Sioux and Chippewas, for the purpose of uniting both those tribes in the war against us, and they were making large deposits of Indian goods at their establishments on Lake Michigan, and on the communication between that and Lake Superior.

Substance of various letters from Governor Edwards and others.

ILLINOIS TERRITORY, February 15th, 1812.

Enclosed resolutions of the militia officers of St. Clair county, with their opinion on the measures to be adopted for the security of the settlements, with letters to Governor Howard, from N. Boilvin, and Maurice Blandeau—1st dated Prairie du Chien, January 5th, 1812; 2d dated Spanish Mines, January, 1812; Indians dissatisfied; fears entertained for the frontiers.

ILLINOIS TERRITORY, February 18th, 1812.

Indian hostilities no longer a matter of conjecture; states murders committed by them.

ILLINOIS TERRITORY, March 23d, 1812.

Advices from Chicago, Peoria, and fort Madison, all confirming the hostile intentions of the Indians between the lakes, and the rivers Illinois and Mississippi; the Sioux supposed to have joined the hostile confederacy; more murders committed.

ILLINOIS TERRITORY, March 3d, 1812.

Opinions of Governor Howard and General Clark that a formidable combination of Indians will be effected, and that a bloody war must ensue; more murders committed; the Prophet is regaining his influence.

ILLINOIS TERRITORY, April 24th, 1812.

Has held a council with the Pattawatamies, Kickapoos, Ottawas, and Chippewas; little dependence to be placed on their professions; hostile Indians approaching the settlements.

ILLINOIS TERRITORY, May 6th, 1812.

Relative to the council above alluded to; the Indians composing the same, the Sacs and Foxes, from Prairie du Chien, Peoria, and traders, all confirm the hostile machinations of the Prophet, and the hostility of the Winnebagoes, who are approaching our frontiers.

ILLINOIS TERRITORY, *May 12th*, 1812.

The Fox and Sac Indians at war; the policy of the United States to support the former, with a view to prevent their joining the hostile confederacy now forming.

ILLINOIS TERRITORY, *May 16th*, 1812.

Discovers that the murders mentioned, in his letter of 18th July, were committed by a party of the Kickapoos, residing near Peoria.

ILLINOIS TERRITORY, *May 20th*, 1812.

Appearances of hostilities continue to increase; some Indians killed by the whites; particulars not yet received.

ILLINOIS TERRITORY, *May 22nd*, 1812.

Enclosing letters from Leonard White, Benjamin Talbot, and Philip Trammell, dated United States' Saline, May 16th and 17th, as to the safety of the settlements, and the means to be resorted to for their safety.

ILLINOIS TERRITORY, *June 2d*, 1812.

Encloses his speech to the Kickapoos, in which he demands some murderers belonging to their tribe; thinks that a refusal on their part to deliver them up, will be a signal for war; rumors of a large collection of Indians on the left bank of the Ohio; appearances of an Indian war in no way lessened.

*Extract of a letter from Governor Edwards to Lieut. Colonel D. Bissell, dated Elveraide, Randolph county, Illinois territory, July 14, 1812.*

Such is the unfavorable aspect of our Indian relations, that I feel myself constrained to ask you to cause the block house, on the Mississippi, in this territory, to be re-occupied by such a portion of the troops, under your command, as you think you can, with propriety, spare for that service.

*From R. J. Meigs, Cherokee Agent.*

HIWASEE, *8th May*, 1812.

Three Cherokee chiefs, men of property and considerable information, came into the council and observed, that there would be war between the United States and the English, and that they thought it would be for the advantage of their nation to offer their aid to our government; and that they wished each to raise a number of young warriors, and offer their services.

*From Captain H. Starke.*

FORT MADISON, *January 1*, 1812.

Mr. George Hunt has arrived from the mines, and brings the melancholy intelligence that all the Americans at that place have been massacred by the Puants or Winnebago Indians. His life was saved only on the supposition that he was an Englishman.

*January 26*, 1812.

I omitted to mention to you, that, about the 8th instant, there was a very general council held by the Sac Indians, relative to peace or war, when their decision was for peace.

*From Governor W. Blount.*

KNOXVILLE, *June 8th*, 1812.

The enclosed letters from Majors Coffee and Coleman, inform that a party of Indians had, a few days ago, killed and scalped Charles Hays. That the same party killed several of the children of Crawley and Manley, in Hickman county; shot and scalped Mrs. Manley, and took Mrs. Crawley prisoner.

*From Colonel Benjamin Hawkins.*

CREEK AGENCY, *February 3d*, 1812.

Our Indians are, many of them, occupied in spinning, weaving, making new settlements, or improving those heretofore made. I believe nine-tenths of the Lower Creeks have left their old towns, and formed, or are forming settlements, on the creeks and rivers where the lands are good, and the range for stock good.

CREEK AGENCY, *April 6th*, 1812.

On the 26th ult. Thomas Meredith, Sen. a respectable old man, travelling with his family to the Mississippi territory, was murdered on the post road, at Kittome, a creek 150 miles from this. Sam Macnac, a half breed of large property, who keeps entertainment on the road, at whose house Meredith is buried, calls it an accident. Thomas Meredith, son of the deceased, was an eye witness, says, "there was murder committed on the body of Thomas Meredith, Sen. at Kittome creek, by Maumouth and others, who appeared to be in liquor; that is, Maumouth himself, but none of the others. The company were all on the other side of the creek, except my father and an old man. They fell on him without interruption, and killed him dead as he was trying to make his escape in a canoe, and sorely wounded the other, with knives and sticks, so much so, that I fear we shall have to bury him on the way." The Speaker of the nation and some of his Executive council were with me, returning home, at the time I received the communication, which I read to them, and directed, on their return, to convene their chiefs, and cause justice to be done without delay. Maumouth is an old chief, known to all of us. Several travellers have passed and repassed since, and I hear of no further interruption.

CREEK AGENCY, *May 11th*, 1812.

I have just returned from the council of the Lower Creeks, and have time only, by this mail, to write you a short letter. Charles Hicks, late interpreter of the United States, for the Cherokees, addressed, by order of his chiefs, a friendly letter to the Creeks; he said "the rumors of war which surrounded us would soon be verified, and if the Indians joined Great Britain against the United States, they would lose every foot of land; and if they joined the United States against Great Britain, they would get no land, but would secure the friendship of the United States forever." The reply was, they were determined not to interfere in the wars of white people, and should prepare the minds of their young people to be neighborly and friendly.

The council complained to me of intrusions on their rights, by building fish traps, driving stock to range on their lands, hunting with dogs, cutting cedar and other timber, and cultivating fields on the Indian side of the Oakmulgee, below fort Hawkins. They said, this unwarrantable conduct rendered their young men ungovernable, and was the real cause of all the depredations committed by them. I exhibited claims for damages done by the Indians, on the frontiers of Georgia; and impositions on traders, by taking exorbitant ferriage, to the amount, in all, of somewhat more than one thousand dollars, which I told them I should stop out of their stipend. I allowed claims of theirs for damages done them by white people, for somewhat less than one hundred dollars.

CHEROKEE AGENCY, *May 25th, 1812.*

Amidst the most solemn assurances to me, on the part of the chiefs of this nation, that they were friendly to the citizens of the United States, and would exert themselves to keep their young people from doing acts of violence to their persons or property, as well as to the persons and property of the Floridians, (during the unhinged state of Spanish affairs I felt it my duty to watch over the safety of my neighbors in that quarter) I was this day informed by Mr. Cornell, our interpreter for the Upper Creeks, that, on the 23d inst. a white man, William Lott, was murdered eight miles this way from his house, by four Indians, without the least provocation. The post rider gave him the information; he went immediately, met the travellers with the dead man; one of them accompanied him to the place where the Indians fired, from whence he tracked them up, until he found one he knew, and three strangers, and ascertained the town and family of the murderers. The chiefs will meet in one week, and we shall see what can be done. We have a report, also, that two families have been killed in Tennessee. To aid the chiefs to bring the murderers to justice, it is likely a show of force will be necessary within the agency.

CREEK AGENCY, *June 9th, 1812.*

Our chiefs have not yet returned from Tuckaubatchee, where they were convened on the demand of satisfaction for the murder of Mr. Lott, on the 23d ult. I have sent the assistant agent, accompanied by Ensign Turner, of the army of the United States, with a reiterated demand; the result of which shall be communicated as soon as received. The Indians seem much alarmed; those of the Lower Creeks, particularly, have expressed their fears, as well as determination, to aid the Upper Creeks in bringing the offenders to justice. The former have recently, on my demand, cropped and whipped two Indians, for breaking open and plundering the factory of the United States of furs, to the value of two hundred and sixteen dollars, and request me to replace the amount out of their stipend for this year.

We experience some inconvenience from loose, worthless characters travelling through this agency, and some pretending to be scientific, misrepresenting every thing they see, either from design, or from associating with persons who have fled from the restraints of civil society. You have a specimen of one of these travellers in the Georgia Journal, of 13th May, who signs himself Francis McHenry; answered in that of the 27th, by Timothy Barnard, public interpreter. This man passes himself sometimes as an Englishman, then a Virginian, and again a Scotchman. I have never seen him; I have a short letter requesting me to aid in correcting some parts of his work, relative to the Indians, which he will send me, and which I would certainly do for any man in pursuit of truth.

I have lately, on complaint being made to me by the chiefs, given orders to the marshal of the agency to apprehend all such characters found in the agency, off the post road, and deliver them to the civil authority, or to whip them out of the agency. When I had Bowles arrested, and sent to answer for his crimes, I was vested unanimously, by the four nations, with absolute authority over all white and black people, within the agency. Until Congress legislate completely within this agency, I shall execute the authority vested in me by the chiefs. As the rumor of war approaches, and probably will be realized in a month, unless something should arrive from Europe, upon which the Government can count as leading with certainty to peace, I shall soon issue a proclamation against all offenders in the premises, and suited to the approaching crisis.

*Extract of a letter from B. F. Stickney, dated Fort Wayne, May 25, 1812.*

My last was on the 15th instant. I told you then of the measures I had taken to make peace with the relations of the two Indians who were killed at Greenville. Before receiving this, you will undoubtedly have received more correct information of the circumstances than I could give you. The women and child who were taken prisoners, were sent to me by Mr. Johnson, with three or four horses, and as much of the other property that was taken, as he could obtain, under the care and protection of two Shawanee chiefs and ten warriors. They arrived four days ago, when there was a general collection of Indians forming, to inform me what had been doing at a grand council they had been holding on the Wabash, where twelve tribes were represented, consisting of the Wyandots, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pattawatamies, Delawares, Miamies, Eel River Miamies, Weas, Piankeshaws, Shawanese, Kickapoos, and Winnebagoes. The council here continued two days, and amounted to but very little more than that they had united to secure and maintain peace. I cannot explain the whole better than by enclosing you a copy of my letter to Governor Hull.

*Copy of a letter from B. F. Stickney, Indian agent, to Governor Hull, dated*

FORT WAYNE, *May 25, 1812.*

SIR:

The time appears to have arrived, when it is necessary, if possible, to cut off the communication between the Indians within the territory of the United States and Canada. But I do not know how far it would meet the views of the Government, at the present moment. Many circumstances having come to my knowledge upon this subject, I will give you an outline of them now, and more particular when I have more time: considering you the most proper person to give the immediate information to.

It has for some time been well understood, that the British Government has agents among the Indians within the United States; but has been almost impossible to distinguish them.

There is a man here now, who is called Shetoon, who represents himself to be a Wyandot chief from Brownstown. His mother is said to have been a Wyandot squaw, and his father a Frenchman. He appears to be more of a Frenchman than an Indian. He came here last February, and brought a letter of introduction from Mr. Atwater (your secretary) to this agency. He remained near here (with the Little Turtle) till April. The first of my seeing him was at a conference I held with the Indians, soon after I came here, about the 16th or 17th of April. His conduct appeared to me rather suspicious then: and I mentioned my suspicion, in writing to Governor Harrison. Since then he has called a general council of Indians on the Wabash, at Massasinaway, where twelve tribes were represented. They broke up their council at Massasinaway about twelve days ago, to meet here to inform me what they had been doing. When they met here, he took the lead; and it is said he took the lead at Massasinaway; when he returned here, with full evidence, having the confidence of the Miamies and Delawares, my suspicions were much abated. But at length, by the observations of interpreters in my absence, of friendly Indians, and my own observation, the matter is put beyond all doubt with me, that he is an emissary employed by Elliot, although the evidence is not of that kind that would convict him in a court of law.

Whether this business is fully known to his nation or not, does not appear. But it appears from the collected mass of circumstances, that he has been sent by his nation to preach peace to the rest, and that he has been employed by Elliot to preach peace in general, and tell the real views of the British Government to a few. He carries many speeches of war, as well as peace. Black wampum and white wampum. He told to one Indian, where he thought he was safe, that he was employed by the British Indian agent to go and advise all the Indians of this western country to be at peace with the United States: and to form a system, by which they may all be united as one nation. And the agent told him that he was going away off, where a greater agent (or chief) lived, where he should hear from the King, and receive his directions. By the time the agent should return, Shetoon said he was to have all the tribes ready to send each of them one chief, and one war chief, to the agent in Canada, where they

would receive instructions what to do. This was told by Shetoon between here and Detroit, on his way coming here. His conduct has corresponded with this: but I believe he has been cunning enough to conceal his views from nearly all the Indians who are sincere friends to the United States: nor do the white people here suspect him of any improper views. Since he has returned from Massasinaway, he has told in his public speeches, and in public generally, that Tecumseh, the Kickapoos, and Winnebagoes, all acknowledge the peace with Governor Harrison, and were really disposed for peace. But at length he let it out to a Shawanee chief, with whom he was not so well acquainted as he supposed himself to be, that Tecumseh was going home to plant corn himself, and should send his young men again to Canada, to get more powder and lead. (There were twenty four of Tecumseh's men passed here on their way from Canada, the 1st of April, loaded with ammunition.) Shetoon asked the Shawanee if he thought it was likely Tecumseh's men would be permitted to pass unmolested. Shetoon, in all his communications to me, or the Indians, appeared to be anxious to have every thing left loose and uncertain. I had at length to fetch the matter to this point: that as they had told me many fine things, that 'hey meant to try to do, I would give them one moon to give up their murderers, and make the other necessary restitutions. I pledged myself to them, that the army would not strike upon them, to destroy them, in less than a moon; if the restitution was not made within that time, I would not hold myself accountable any longer for what the warriors might do to them. The army was ready and at hand to strike when our Great Father should give the word.

They have dispersed, with the appearance of a full determination to apprehend the murderers, and fetch them to justice.

I have the honor to be, your humble servant,

B. F. STICKNEY, *Indian Agent.*

His Excellency WILLIAM HULL.

P. S. I shall keep Shetoon amused here as long as I can, hoping to obtain more from him.

B. F. S.

12th CONGRESS.]

No. 137.

[2d SESSION.

### DEPREDATIONS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 11, 1813.

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I transmit to the Senate a Report of the Secretary of War, complying with their resolution of the 24th December last.

January 11, 1813.

JAMES MADISON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, January 8, 1813.

SIR:

I have the honor to lay before you copies of the several letters which have passed between the Secretary of War and his Excellency the Governor of Tennessee and Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, agent near the Creek nation, relative to murders committed by the Indians in the State of Tennessee and its vicinity.

With perfect respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

JAS. MONROE.

The PRESIDENT of the United States.

*Extract of a letter from Benjamin Hawkins, Esq. Creek agent, to the Secretary of War, dated*

CREEK AGENCY, 6th April, 1812.

On the 26th ultimo, Thomas Meredith, senior, a respectable old man, travelling, with his family, to the Mississippi territory, was murdered on the post road at Kittome, a creek 150 miles west of this. Sam Macnac, a half-breed, of large property, who keeps entertainment on the road, at whose house Meredith is buried, calls it an 'accident.' Thomas Meredith, son of the deceased, who was an eye witness, says there was murder committed on the body of Thomas Meredith, senior, at Kittome creek, by Maumouth and others, who appeared to be in liquor; that is, Maumouth himself, but none of the others. The company were all on the other side of the creek, except my father and another old man. They fell on him without interruption, and killed him dead, as he was trying to make his escape in a canoe, and sorely wounded the other with knives and sticks, so much that I fear we shall have to bury him on the way. The Speaker of the nation and some of his Executive Council were with me, returning home, at the time I received the communication; which I read to them, and directed, on their return, to convene their chiefs, and cause justice to be done without delay. Maumouth is an old chief, known to all of us. Several travellers have passed and repassed since, and I hear of no further interruption.

CREEK AGENCY, 25th May, 1812.

Amidst the most solemn assurances to me on the part of the chiefs of this nation, that they were friendly to the citizens of the United States, and would exert themselves to keep their young people from doing acts of violence to their persons or property, as well as to the persons or property of the Floridians, (during the unhinged state of Spanish affairs I felt it my duty to watch over the safety of my neighbors in that quarter) I am this day informed by Mr. Cowles, our interpreter for the Upper Creeks, that, on the 23d instant, a white man, William Lott, was murdered, eight miles this way from his house, by four Indians, without the least provocation. The post rider gave him the information; he went immediately, met the travellers with the dead man; one of them accompanied him to the place where the Indians fired; from whence, he tracked them up, until he found one he knew, and three strangers, and ascertained the town and family of the murderers. The chiefs will meet in one week, and we shall see what can be done. We have report also that two families have been killed on the Tennessee. To aid the chiefs to bring the murderers to justice, it is likely a show of force will be necessary within the agency. If it should, I shall apply to the General in this quarter.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

Hon. WILLIAM EUSTIS, *Secretary of War.*



CREEK AGENCY, 9th June, 1812.

Our chiefs have not yet returned from Tuckaubatchee, where they were convened on the demand of satisfaction for the murder of Mr. Lott, on the 23d ultimo. I have sent the assistant agent, accompanied by Ensign Turner, of the army of the United States, with a reiterated demand; the result of which shall be communicated as soon as received. The Indians seem much alarmed; those of the Lower Creeks, particularly, have expressed their fears, as well as determinations, to aid the Upper Creeks in bringing the offenders to justice. The former have recently, on my demand, cropped and whipped two Indians for breaking open and plundering the factory of the United States of furs, to the value of two hundred and sixteen dollars, and requested me to replace the amount out of their stipend for this year.

We experience some inconvenience from loose worthless characters travelling through this agency, and some, pretending to be scientific, misrepresenting every thing they see, either from design, or from associating with persons who have fled from the restraints of civil society. You have a specimen of one of these travellers in the Georgia Journal of the 13th May, who signs himself Francis McHenry, answered in that of the 27th, by Timothy Barnard, public interpreter. This man passes himself sometimes as an Englishman, then a Virginian, and again a Scotchman. I have never seen him; I have a short letter, requesting me to aid in correcting some part of his work, relative to the Indians, which he will send me, and which I would certainly do for any man, in pursuit of truth. I have lately, on complaint being made to me by the chiefs, given orders to the marshal of the agency to apprehend all such characters found in the agency, off the post road, and deliver them to the civil authority, or to whip them out of the agency. When I had Bowles arrested, and sent to answer for his crimes, I was vested, unanimously, by the four nations, with absolute authority over all the white and black people within the agency. Until Congress legislate completely within this agency, I shall execute the authority vested in me by the chiefs. As the rumor of war approaches, and probably will be realized in a month, unless something should arrive from Europe, upon which the Government can count as leading with certainty to peace, I shall soon issue a proclamation against all offenders in the premises, and suited to the approaching crisis.

I am, very respectfully, &amp;c.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

WM. EUSTIS, Esq. *Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 22d June, 1812.

SIR:

Enclosed you will receive a letter from Governor Blount, with the papers which he transmitted to this Department, relative to certain outrages committed by a party of Creek Indians, upon the inhabitants of Tennessee. You will take the necessary measures to have the prisoner, Mrs. Crawley, restored to her friends, and the murderers given up to the laws of the United States.

Very respectfully, &amp;c.

WM. EUSTIS.

BEN. HAWKINS, Esq. *Creek Agency.**Extract of a letter from Benjamin Hawkins, Esq. to the Secretary of War, dated Creek Agency, 13th July, 1812.*

A distinguished chief was sent yesterday to inform me that they had put to death the leader of the banditti who murdered Lott. He fled to the white town of Aobohealth Le Mico, Great Medal chief; sat down on his seat as a sanctuary; the leader of the armed party pursued and shot him on the seat, through the head and body. To-day I have two letters from Tuckaubatchee, of the 11th, from people in public service; they inform me three more are put to death. I have heard also from fort St. Stephen's, that Mrs. Crawley, the prisoner, from Tennessee, is safe there.

*Extract of a letter from Benjamin Hawkins, Esquire, to the Secretary of War, dated*

CREEK AGENCY, 20th July, 1812.

They continue unanimous, in all the old towns, to give satisfaction, in all cases required of them. They request me to inform the Government, they mean to punish the guilty, and look for nothing but friendship. The murderers have been eight, and ten, and some twenty years absent, and are not yet returned.

CREEK AGENCY, 28th July, 1812.

Being on the road, I have just time to inform you, that the Indian who murdered Meredith, at Kittome, was put to death on the 19th; making, in all, five executed on the demand for satisfaction. The runner says, the disposition among the chiefs to give satisfaction, in all cases, is general.

I am, respectfully, &amp;c.

BEN. HAWKINS.

WILLIAM EUSTIS, Esq. *Secretary of War.**Extract of a letter from Benjamin Hawkins, Esquire, to the Secretary of War, dated*

CREEK AGENCY, 24th August, 1812.

The chiefs have had six murderers put to death, for their crimes on the post road, and to the northwest, and seven cropped and whipped, for thefts. Those charged with the murder on Duck river, are not yet come at. The party after them returned on the twentieth, having heard of them. Five-and-twenty men were immediately started after them. We have not had any complaints recently from the travellers, or post-riders, and the Indians appear very friendly.

*Extract of a letter from Benjamin Hawkins, Esquire, to the Secretary of War, dated*

CREEK AGENCY, 3d August, 1812.

By reports, up to this day, the chiefs have executed six of the murderers, and cropped and whipped five for theft.

*Extracts of a letter from Benjamin Hawkins, Esquire, to the Secretary of War, dated*

CREEK AGENCY, 7th September, 1812.

I have received a third report from the Executive Council of the Creeks, of the 29th ultimo. They have executed eight for murder, and seven are cropped and whipped for theft. One of those, Hillaubee Haujo, who was

the leader of the banditti who committed the murders on Duck river, was, after long search after him, decoyed to the old council house, at the Hickory ground, put to death on the 21st ultimo, and thrown into Coosa river. There has been a murder committed, and a boy wounded by Indians on St. Mary's, four miles above Trader's hill, on the 11th ultimo. The Governor of Georgia has demanded the perpetrators to be delivered up for trial where the offence was committed. Our chiefs have not returned from the meeting among the Seminoles; as soon as they do, and I can convene them, I shall take measures to find out and punish the guilty.

*Extracts of a letter from Benjamin Hawkins, Esquire, to the Secretary of War, dated*

CREEK AGENCY, 12th October, 1812.

The chiefs of some of our largest towns of the Lower Creeks have been recently with me, on affairs of their own.—They say they are unanimously determined to preserve the friendship of the United States, and that travelling appears to be quite safe. We have had no complaints on the road, of improper conduct from Indians, since the execution of the murderers.

CREEK AGENCY, 2d November, 1812.

I am so reduced by fevers I can with difficulty sit up to write you a small note. On the 30th ultimo, the Creek chiefs in the National Council unanimously declared to remain in peace with the United States, and that they would not join, or give countenance to, the Aulochawan Indians, (Seminoles, at war in East Florida.) They are very friendly, and have no disputing among themselves.

BEN. HAWKINS.

*Secretary of War.*

*Extract of a letter from Benjamin Hawkins to the Secretary of War, dated*

CREEK AGENCY, 9th November, 1812.

General Hampton passed through here last month, and I requested the favor of him to examine into the conduct of the Creeks, as well as their fulfilment of their promises, in relation to their murderers. He promised to do so. I send a copy of his letter on the subject.

*Extract of a letter from General Hampton to Benjamin Hawkins, Esquire, Creek Agent, dated*

FORT STODDART, 15th October, 1812.

I got through safely and comfortably, and witnessed on my way the most friendly dispositions on the part of the Indians, as well as the most satisfactory convictions of the faithfulness with which their late executions were inflicted on their murderers, which I can regard as the best proof of their future intentions.

MILLEDGEVILLE, 24th November, 1812.

I have this day received reiterated assurances from the Creeks and Cherokees, of their unanimous determination to be in peace and friendship with the United States, and of their unbounded confidence in the justice of their President. Travelling through the Creek Agency is perfectly safe, and the Creeks more friendly than they have been to travellers.

Very respectfully, &c.

BEN. HAWKINS.

*The Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 22d, 1812.

SIR:

Your Excellency's letter, of the 8th instant, has been received, and transmitted to Benjamin Hawkins, Esq. Creek agent, with directions to procure the release of Mrs. Crawley, and to demand the surrender, to the authority of the United States, of the Indians who may have committed the murders.

I have the honor to be, &c.

W. EUSTIS.

His Excellency WILLIE BLOUNT, *Governor of Tennessee.*

KNOXVILLE, June 25, 1812.

SIR: I feel it to be my duty to say, that I believe that the spirit of the people in this State is so roused, by the conduct of those Creek Indians who recently massacred some of our citizens, near the mouth of Duck river, and who took Mrs. Crawley prisoner, whom I have, in a former letter, requested that the President would, without delay, demand to be given up, that they, probably, cannot be restrained if satisfaction is not given in reasonable time, from taking it. It is said that those Creeks take that poor woman from town to town, in their nation, naked, and exulting dance around her as their captive. I have said, in a former letter to you, that if Government would order a campaign to be carried into the Creek nation, there to punish them for their crimes, that quiet would follow; I now repeat it, and recommend it as the best way of keeping peace, already violated; I repeat it, under the fullest conviction that it would be the most effectual way, permanently, to preserve peace with them, and I believe that nothing short of it will.

Your obedient servant,

WILLIE BLOUNT.

Hon. W. EUSTIS, *Secretary of War.*

*Extracts of a letter from his Excellency the Governor of Tennessee to the Secretary of War, dated*

KNOXVILLE, July 26, 1812.

I have the honor to forward an extract of a letter from Mr. Henry to his friend, informing of the escape of Mrs. Crawley from the Creek Indians. She certainly is under no obligation to the Creeks for her liberty, but the reverse is the fact. Since the receipt of yours, of the 22d of June, respecting the demand, made of the Creek nation, for a surrender of the party of Creeks who committed the massacre at the mouth of Duck river, I have not heard from Colonel Hawkins; neither has he acknowledged the receipt of mine, of the 8th of June, on the same subject. His delay creates much surprise, and, indeed, it savors strongly of neglect. If the murderers are not given up shortly, (and, indeed, they ought to have been surrendered before this) it will be fair to presume that that nation does not intend to comply with the demand made by Government; in which case, I do not permit myself to doubt, but that Government will enforce the demand with a strong hand.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. William Henry to John J. Henry, Esq. of William county, Tennessee, dated*

ST. STEPHEN'S, MOBILE, 26th June, 1812.

I have this day seen Mrs. Crawley, who was carried off by the Creeks from the mouth of Duck river, Tennessee; she is at Mr. Gainiss's of this place. It would chill the blood of any human being to hear her tell her lamentable story. She says she was in her own house, and her husband absent, when eleven of those monsters attacked her early in the morning; she saw them coming, heard their hellish screams, and immediately shut the door, and placed herself against it, and resisted their attempts to force it open as long as she was able. Another woman, Mrs. Manley, who had come to her house, Mrs. Crawley's, to lie in, and whose babe was only seven days old, told her it was useless to hold the door, for they would get in at last; at length, quite overcome, the door was burst open upon her, and flung round so as to hide her behind it. The Indians immediately rushed in, and the poor woman and her babe were the first victims. Still standing behind the door, Mrs. Crawley saw them kill one of her own children in the house, shoot another in the yard, and two others of Mrs. Manley's. A young man, of the name of Hays, she also saw killed. Another little child, her own, she saw hide itself in the cellar. When she was discovered, she sprang forward and caught hold of one of the Indians, and begged her life of him; they then plundered the house and brought her off to a village on the Black Warrior river, where they prepared to kill her, and dug a grave for her; but the squaw, who had charge of her, gave her information, and she made her escape the night before she was to be put to death. The chief man of the village was disposed to be peaceable, and bought her, after her escape, and sent out several of his young men to hunt for me, by whom she was found, after two or three days, half starved and half naked, and brought by them to this place. The citizens are vying with each other to make her situation comfortable, and to have her conveyed to her friends. She seems to be a modest well disposed woman.

The foregoing is copied from a Nashville paper, and transmitted for your information.

WILLIE BLOUNT.

WAR DEPARTMENT, August 7, 1812.

SIR:

Your Excellency's letter, of the 26th of July, is received, in answer to which, I take the liberty of enclosing a copy of a letter from Colonel Hawkins.

It is hoped the prompt manner in which the Indians have administered justice on the offenders, will supersede the necessity of making a campaign against them.

I have the honor to be, &c.

W. EUSTIS.

His Excellency WILLIE BLOUNT, *Governor of Tennessee.*

NASHVILLE, October 14, 1812.

SIR:

I have received your several letters, covering copies and extracts of letters from Colonel Hawkins, informing you that the Creek council had informed him that the Creeks would kill all murderers and thieves in their land, meaning to include those who had killed a number of our citizens, near the mouth of Duck river; and one, expressive of your opinion, that that round about way of giving satisfaction, or reporting about its being done, and about to be done, in that way, would be considered such a prompt execution of justice, on the part of the Creeks, in compliance with the demand made by the Government, that the Creek nation should give those offenders up to the laws of the United States, that the necessity of a campaign, to be carried against them, would be, or was thereby, superseded. I beg leave, respectfully, to remark, that our opinions, as to what amounts to a ready compliance with the demand made in that case, widely differ, and have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIE BLOUNT.

The Honorable WILLIAM EUSTIS, *Secretary of War.*

[13th CONGRESS.]

No. 138.

[1st SESSION.]

### CESSIONS OF LAND.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, MAY 26, 1813.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 24th, 1813.

SIR:

Conformably to a resolution of the honorable the Senate of the United States, dated December 30th, 1812, I have the honor to transmit the enclosed statements, marked A, B, C, and D, referring to "all the treaties held with the Indian tribes, respectively, since the fourth of March, 1789, relative to the purchase of lands, the amount of purchases and annuities, with the amount in goods and money expended in carrying such treaties into effect;" together with an index to the several laws relating to treaties, trade, and intercourse, between the United States and the Indians.

With perfect respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

The PRESIDENT of the Senate of the United States.

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**INDEX TO THE TABLES RELATIVE TO INDIAN TREATIES, &c.**

Statement A comprises Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws.

Statement B comprises Six Nations, Wyandots, Delawares.

Statement C comprises Shawanese, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, Miamies, Eel Rivers.

Statement D comprises Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, Kaskaskias, Sacs and Foxes, Osages, (Great and Little.)

NOTE. The references in the following tables to the Laws of the United States, for acts, treaties, &c., are made to the edition of Bioren, Duane, and Weightman, of 1815.

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**A.—STATEMENT of all the Treaties held with the Indian tribes, respectively, in which they have ceded lands**  
*Vide resolution of the Senate of the United States,*

PRINTED COLLECTION OF LAWS OF THE U. S.			Nation or tribe.	Titles, &c. &c. of Treaties or Appropriation Acts.	Names of Commissioners.	Place where held.	Date of signature.	Date of ratification, &c.
Number of acts or treaties.	vol.	page						
12	1	359	Creeks	A treaty of peace and friendship	H. Knox, Sec. War	City N. York	Aug. 7, 1790	- - -
25	1	363	do	Ditto	B Hawkins, Geo. Clymer, A Pickens.	Coleraine	June 29, 1796	Mar. 18, 1797
28	3	125	do	An act making appropriations for defraying expenses, carrying into effect certain treaties, &c.	- - -	- - -	Feb. 25, 1799	- - -
40	1	370	do	A treaty of limits between the United States and the Creek nation of Indians	J. Wilkinson, B. Hawkins, A. Pickens	Near fort Wilkinson, on the Oconee river	June 16, 1802	Jan. 11, 1803
58	1	373	Creek ch'fs	Same treaty	do	do	do	do
54	4	71	Creeks	A convention between the U. States and the Creek nation of Indians, &c.	H. Dearborn, Sec. of War	Washington city	Nov. 14, 1805	June 2, 1806
15	1	325	do	An act making appropriations for carrying into effect certain Indian treaties	- - -	- - -	April 21, 1806	- - -
16	1	330	Cherokees	Treaty of peace and friendship between the President of the United States of America and the chiefs and warriors of the Cherokee nation of Indians	Wm. Blount	Bank of the Holston, near the mouth of the French Broad	July 2, 1791	- - -
30	1	331	do	Articles of a treaty between the United States of America and the Cherokee Indians	Henry Knox, Sec. of War	Philadelphia	June 26, 1794	- - -
30	3	125	do	Articles of a treaty between the United States of America and the Cherokee Indians	Thomas Butler and George Walton	Council house near Tellico	Oct. 2, 1798	- - -
57	1	335	do	An act making appropriations, &c.	- - -	- - -	Feb. 25, 1799	- - -
54	4	71	do	Articles of a treaty agreed upon, &c.	Return J. Meigs and Dan. Smith	Tellico	Oct. 25, 1805	April 24, 1806
59	1	337	do	An act making appropriations for carrying into effect certain Indian treaties	- - -	- - -	April 21, 1806	- - -
64	1	338	do	Articles of a treaty between, &c.	Return J. Meigs and Dan. Smith	Tellico	Oct. 27, 1805	June 10, 1806
61	4	116	Black Fox	Articles of a convention, &c.	H Dearborn, S. War do	Washington do	Jan. 7, 1806	May 23, 1807
68	1	340	do	Same treaty	- - -	- - -	do	do
28	3	125	Chickasaws	An act making appropriations, &c.	- - -	- - -	March 3, 1807	- - -
38	1	354	Cherokees	Supplementary convention between, &c.	James Robertson and R. J. Meigs	Chickasaw Old Fields	Sept. 11, 1807	April 22, 1808
38	1	354	do	An act making appropriations for defraying the expenses, &c. Recognizes "an agreement made and entered into with the chiefs of the Chickasaw nation," at	- - -	- - -	Feb. 25, 1799	- - -
63	1	356	do	A treaty of reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience between the United States of America and the Chickasaws	James Robertson and Silas Dinsmoor	Philadelphia	July 15, 1794	- - -
63	1	356	do	Articles of arrangement made and concluded, &c.	James Wilkinson, brig. gen. &c.	Chickasaw Bluffs	Oct. 24, 1801	May 1, 1802
60	4	111	do G. Colbert	Do.	do	do	do	do
60	4	111	do O'Koy	Do.	do	do	do	do
60	4	111	do Chinnubee Mingo	Do.	do	do	do	do
39	1	344	Choctaws	An act making appropriations for carrying into effect a treaty between the United States and the Chickasaw tribe of Indians, &c.	- - -	- - -	March 3, 1807	- - -
42	1	347	do	A treaty of friendship, limits, and accommodation, between the United States of America and the Choctaw nation of Indians	James Wilkinson, brig. gen. B. Hawkins, and A. Pickens	Fort Adams, on the Mississippi	Dec. 17, 1801	April 30, 1802
48	1	348	do	A provisional convention between, &c.	James Wilkinson, brig. gen.	On the Tombigby	Oct. 17, 1802	Jan. 20, 1803
66	1	349	do	Treaty between the United States of America and the Choctaw nation of Indians	James Wilkinson	Hae-buckintoo-pa	Aug. 31, 1803	Nov. 25, 1803
66	1	349	do	A treaty between the United States of America and the Choctaw nation of Indians	James Robertson and Silas Dinsmoor	Mount Dexter	Nov. 16, 1805	Jan. 27, 1808
			do	Do.	do	do	do	do
			Pukshunubee Mingo	Do.	do	do	do	do
			Pooshamat-taha Mingo	Do.	do	do	do	do
			Hoomastubee Mingo	Do.	do	do	do	do

a. "From Currahee mountain to source of the south branch of Oconee river." b. The 4th sec. of this act makes a specific appropriation of the amount stated in the preceding treaty. c. The 3d sec. of this act makes a specific appropriation of 15,600 dollars, to carry the two preceding treaties into effect; and likewise the sum of 3,000 dollars for the perpetual annuity. d. 1,000 dollars in money, or useful merchandise, at the option of the said Cherokee Indian.

to the United States, since the 4th day of March, 1789; the amount of purchase, with the annuities, &c. &c. addressed to the Secretary of War, December 30, 1812.

CESSIONS OF TERRITORY AND CONSIDERATIONS THEREFOR.						REMARKS.
General Description.	Expense of treating and carrying into effect.	Gratuities, or purchase money.		Annuities.		
		merchan'se	money	merchan'se	money	
Georgia bd'ry, NE. of Apalachy & Altamaha See note a.	-	indefinite	-	-	1,500	Perpetual; confirmed by the treaty of Coleraine.
-	-	6,000	-	-	-	Confirming preceding. 2 blacksmiths, with strikers, with the necessary tools, art. 8.
-	Indefinite	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	10,000	15,000	-	3,000	Perpetual, together with two sets of blacksmith's tools, and men to work them, for three years.
Bet'n the rivers Oconee and Oakmulgee See note b.	-	-	-	12,000	1,000	During ten years.
-	-	-	-	11,000	in goods implements, or money	Annually during eight years.
-	-	-	-	-	-	Do do the ten years thereafter.
For boundaries, vide art. 4, of said treaty	-	indefinite	-	-	-	N. B. The choice of articles rests with the Indians. Two blacksmiths and two strikers to be furnished to the Creeks, at the expense United States, during eight years.
Boundaries in the preceding treaty confirmed, art. 4	-	-	-	5,000	-	Perpetual, but merged in the subsequent treaty, where goods to the value of \$5,000 is engaged in perpetuity.
Boundaries varied a little from former treaty	-	5,000	-	1,000	-	Perpetual.
New boundaries stipulated, vide art. 2 See note c.	-	3,000	11,000	-	3,000	Perpetual. N. B. A portion of the 11,000 dollars gratuity may be paid in useful articles, machines, &c. at the option of the Indians.
S. W. Point, &c. seat of Gov't for Tennessee See note e.	see note d.	-	2,000	-	2,000	} During four years, (ceased 1810) and, } 5 } moreover, a grist mill and cotton gin.
See note f.	-	-	-	during life	100	
Country between Tennessee river and ridge.	-	-	2,000	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	3,000	Perpetual.
Road through the Mero district	-	700	-	-	-	-
Boundaries stipulated in the 1st article	-	-	20,000	-	-	-
-	-	-	1,000	-	-	-
-	-	-	1,000	-	-	-
See note g.	-	-	-	-	100	During his life.
Line parallel with the Miss'pi east'n bound'ry; lat. 31° south'n bound'ry; river Yazoo, northern do.	-	2,000	-	-	-	Also three sets of blacksmith's tools. The goods at the nett cost in Philadelphia.
Art. 1st, alteration of boundaries	-	-	1	-	-	Upper Choctaws empowered to make other alterations.
A new line of demarcation	-	indefinite	-	-	-	Sundry articles of merchandise, no value affixed.
A new cession, and, of course, new boundaries	-	-	48,000	3,000	at nett cost of Philadelphia	Perpetual—one year's notice to be given of the articles.
-	-	-	2,500	-	-	To John Pitchlynn.
-	-	-	500	-	150	During continuance in office.
-	-	-	500	-	150	Do.
-	-	-	500	-	150	Do. Dead. Vide S. Dinsmoor's letter, July 14, 1809.

c. Two tracts, described in 1st art. of the treaty. f. The 1st sec. of this act makes a specific appropriation of 10,000 dolls.; and of 100 per annum to the chief called the Black Fox, during life; to fulfil the engagements in the preceding treaty. N. B. Black Fox died July 16th, 1811. g. The 1st sec. of this act makes a specific appropriation of 20,000 ds. to carry the preceding treaty into effect, and likewise the annuity, 100 ds. to Chinnubbee Mingo, during life.

**B.**—STATEMENT of all the Treaties held with the Indian tribes, respectively, in which they have ceded lands of the Senate of the United States, addressed

PRINTED COLLECTION OF LAWS U. S.			Nation or tribe.	General title of Treaties or Appropriation Acts.	Names of Commissioners.	Places where held.	Date of Signature.	Ratification.
No. of acts or treaties.	Vol.	Page.						
65	4	143	Choctaws	An act making appropriations for carrying into effect certain Indian treaties	- - -	- -	Feb. 19, 1808	- -
17	1	311	Six Nations	A treaty between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called the Six Nations. N. B. This title comprises the Oneidas, the Onondagoes, the Cayugas, the Senecas, the Tuscaroras, and the Mohawks	Tim'y Pickering	Canandaigua	Nov. 11, 1794	- -
28	3	125	Ditto.	An act making appropriations, &c.	- - -	- -	Feb. 25, 1799	- -
18	1	424	Ditto.	A treaty between the United States and the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Indians	Tim'y Pickering	Oneida	Dec. 2, 1794	- -
19	1	398	Wyandots	A treaty of peace between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, Miamies, Eel-river, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias	Major General Anthony Wayne	Greenville	Aug. 3, 1795	- -
22	2	527	Ditto.	An act making appropriations for defraying the expenses which may arise in carrying into effect a treaty made between the United States and, &c.	- - -	- -	May 6, 1796	- -
55	1	409	Ditto.	A treaty between the United States of America and the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the Wyandot, Ottawa, Chippewa, Munsee, Delaware, Shawanee, and Pattawatamy nations	Charles Jouett	Fort Industry	July 4, 1805	April 24, 1806
54	4	70	Ditto.	An act making appropriations, &c.	- - -	- -	April 21, 1806	- -
67	1	414	Ditto.	A treaty between the United States of America and the Ottawa, Chippewa, Wyandot, and Pattawatamy nations of Indians	Wm. Hull, Gov. &c.	Detroit	Nov. 17, 1807	Jan. 27, 1808
19	1	393	Delawares	Act of appropriation A treaty of peace between the United States of America and, &c. vide Wyandots	- - - Major General Anthony Wayne	- - - Greenville	Feb. 19, 1808 Aug. 3, 1795	- -
47	2	527		Together with the "Act making appropriations"	- - -	- -	May 6, 1796	
	1	406	Ditto.	A treaty between the United States and the Delawares, Shawanese, Pattawatamies, Miamies, Eel river, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskia nations of Indians	Wm. H. Harrison	Fort Wayne	June 7, 1803	Nov. 25, 1803
51	1	305	Ditto.	A treaty between the United States of America and the Delaware tribe of Indians	Wm. H. Harrison	Vincennes	Aug. 18, 1804	Jan. 21, 1805
"	"	"	Ditto.	Do.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
49	3	663	Ditto.	An act making appropriations, &c.	- - -	- -	March 3, 1805	
55	1	409	Ditto.	A treaty between the United States of America and the sachems, chiefs, &c.—Vide. Wyandots	Charles Jouett	Fort Industry	July 4, 1805	- -
54	4	70	Ditto.	An act making appropriations, &c.	- - -	- -	April 21, 1806	
73	1	420	Ditto.	A treaty between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called the Delawares, Pattawatamies, Miamies, and Eel river Miamies.	Wm. H. Harrison	Fort Wayne	Sep. 30, 1809	Jan'y. 2, 1810
72	4	308	Ditto.	An act making appropriations, &c.	- - -	- -	May 1, 1810	

a. The 1st section of this act makes a specific appropriation of \$50,000 to the Choctaw nation, besides the annuity of \$3,000, together with \$500 to each of the three great medal chiefs, and \$150 per annum to each, during continuance in office. b. This act recapitulates many treaties with the Indian tribes, and pledges, generally, so much of the national revenues, as may be necessary to fulfil the stipulations entered into on the part of the United States.



to the United States, since the 4th of March, 1789; the amount of purchase, with the annuities, &c.—Vide resolution to the Secretary of War, December 30th, 1812.

CESSIONS OF TERRITORY AND CONSIDERATIONS THEREFOR.						REMARKS.
General Description.	Expense of treating or of carrying treaties into effect	Gratuities or Purchase Money.		Annuities.		
		Merchan'se	Money.	Merchan'se	Money.	
See note a.	\$50,500	- -	- -	\$3,000	\$500	
The 3d art. states the boundaries of the Seneca lands; and the 4th is a general quit claim, on the part of the Six Nations, to all other lands in the U. States See note b.	- -	\$10,000	- -	4,500	- -	Perpetual. To be applied to the benefit of such of the Six Nations, and of their Indian friends united with them, as do, or shall reside within the boundaries of the United States.
This is a treaty granting gratuities to Indians for former services, and likewise stipulates a general quit claim on their part. The 3d art. establishes a general boundary of the lands ceded, besides specifying several particular tracts	- -	- -	\$5,000 1,000 to build a church at Oneida	- -	- -	The United States to cause mills to be erected for the use of these Indians, and to provide millers, &c. to manage them.
This act appropriates (besides the annuity of \$1000) the further sum of \$1,500, for contingencies under the treaty of Greenville	- -	20,000	- -	1,000	- -	Perpetual.
A meridian line established by art. 2, as the western boundary of ceded lands	- -	- -	- -	- -	825	Perpetual. To be divided between them, the Munsees, and Delawares, and those of the Shawanee and Seneca nations, who reside with the Wyandots, "in such proportions as said nations, with the approbation of the President, shall agree."
Also, amount secured to be paid by the Connecticut land company, &c.	- -	- -	- -	- -	175	
The 2d section appropriates \$825 annually to carry into effect the preceding treaty	- -	1,666 66 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>3</sub>	- -	- -	400	Perpetual.
Boundaries extended, art. 1	- -	- -	- -	1,000	- -	Perpetual.
Alteration of boundaries; a tract about Post St. Vincennes, described, art. 1st, & the salt springs on the Saline creek	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	A certain quantity of salt (not exceeding 150 bushels) to be furnished the said Indians annually, and divided among the several tribes in such manner as the general council of the chiefs may determine.
Tract between the Ohio & Wabash, &c.	- -	800	- -	- -	300	For ten years.
- - - -	- -	400 in cattle, hogs,	horses for	- -	300	For five years. (Expired March, 1810.)
See note c.	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	
- - - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	A proportion of the sum of \$1,000 annuity, stipulated to be divided, as stated above at the head "Wyandots."
See note d.	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	
The 1st art. describes the boundary, & the 3d art. stipulates to the Delawares	- -	5,300 granted by the 6th art.	- -	- -	500	Perpetual. The 6th art. stipulates the amount given to the said tribes collectively, as full consideration (with the annuities) for the cession they make in the 1st article.
See note e.	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	

c This act appropriates amount of the two annuities stipulated in the treaty of Vincennes, immediately preceding. d The 2d section appropriates \$825 annually, to carry into effect the preceding treaty; vide Wyandots. e. This act appropriates amount \$300, stipulated to be paid to the Delawares annually, conformably to the preceding treaty.

**C.—STATEMENT of all the Treaties held with the Indian Tribes, respectively, in which they have ceded Lands Resolution of the Senate of the United States, ad-**

PRINTED COLLECTION OF THE LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES.			NATION OR TRIBE OF INDIANS.	GENERAL TITLES OF TREATIES OR APPROPRIATION ACTS.	NAMES OF		DATE OF	
No. of Acts or Treaties.	Vol.	Page.			Commissioners.	Places where held.	Signature.	Ratifications, &c.
19	1	398	Shawanese	A treaty of Peace between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, &c.	Maj. Gn. Anthony Wayne.	Greenville -	Aug. 3, 1795	- -
22	2	527	do	An act making appropriations, &c.	- -	- -	May 6, 1796	- -
19	1	398	Ottawas	A treaty, &c. (the same treaty stated above.)	Anthony Wayne	Greenville -	Aug. 3, 1795	- -
22	2	527	do	An act making appropriations, &c.	- -	- -	May 6, 1796	- -
67	1	414	do	A treaty, &c.—vide Wyandots, statement B.	Gov'r Wm. Hull	Detroit -	Nov. 17, 1807	Jan. 27, 1808
	4	143	-	Act of appropriations	- -	- -	Feb. 19, 1808	- -
19	1	398	Chippewas	A treaty, &c.—vide Wyandots, B.	Maj. Gn. Anthony Wayne.	Greenville -	Aug. 3, 1795	- -
22	2	527	do	An act making appropriations, &c.	- -	- -	May 6, 1796	- -
67	1	414	do	A treaty, &c.—vide Wyandots, B.	William Hull -	Detroit -	Nov. 17, 1807	Jan. 27, 1808
65	4	143	do	An act making appropriations, &c.	- -	- -	Feb. 19, 1808	- -
19	1	398	Pattawatamies.	A treaty, &c.—vide Wyandots, B.	Anthony Wayne	Greenville -	Aug. 3, 1795	- -
22	2	527	do	An act making appropriations, &c.	- -	- -	May 6, 1796	- -
67	1	414	do	A treaty, &c.—vide Wyandots, B.	William Hull -	Detroit -	Nov. 17, 1807	- -
65	4	143	do	An act making appropriations, &c.	- -	- -	Feb. 19, 1808	- -
56	1	411	do	A treaty between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called the Delawares, Pattawatamies, Miamies, Eel River, and Weas.	Wm. H. Harrison	Grouseland, near Vincennes.	Aug. 21, 1805	Apr. 24, 1806
54	4	70	do	An act making appropriations, &c.	- -	- -	Apr. 21, 1806	- -
73	1	419	do	A treaty between the United States of America and the Delawares, Pattawatamies, &c.—vide Delawares, B.	Wm. H. Harrison	Fort Wayne	Sep. 30, 1809	Jan. 2, 1810
72	4	308	do	An act making appropriations, &c.	- -	- -	May 1, 1810	- -
19	1	398	Miamies	A treaty, &c.—vide Wyandots, B.	Anthony Wayne	Greenville -	Aug. 3, 1795	- -
22	2	527	do	An act making appropriations, &c.	- -	- -	May 6, 1796	- -
56	1	411	do	A treaty between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians, &c.—vide Pattawatamies.	Wm. H. Harrison	Grouseland	Aug. 21, 1805	Apr. 24, 1806
54	4	70	do	An act making appropriations, &c.	- -	- -	Apr. 21, 1806	- -
73	1	419	do	A treaty between the United States of America and the Delawares, &c.—vide Delawares, B.	Wm. H. Harrison	Fort Wayne	Sep. 30, 1809	Jan. 2, 1810
72	4	308	do	An act making appropriations, &c.	- -	- -	May 1, 1810	- -
19	1	398	Eel Rivers	A treaty, &c.—vide Wyandots, B.	Anthony Wayne	Greenville -	Aug. 3, 1795	- -
22	2	527	do	An act making appropriations, &c.	- -	- -	May 6, 1796	- -
56	1	411	do	A treaty between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called, &c.—vide Pattawatamies.	Wm. H. Harrison	Grouseland, &c.	Aug. 21, 1805	Apr. 24, 1806
54	4	70	do	An act making appropriations, &c.	- -	- -	Apr. 21, 1806	- -
73	1	419	do	A treaty between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called, &c.—vide Delawares, B.	Wm. H. Harrison	Fort Wayne	Sep. 30, 1809	Jan. 2, 1810
72	4	308	do	Separate article	do	do	do	do
			do	An act making appropriations, &c.	- -	- -	May 1, 1810	- -

to the United States, since the 5th day of March, 1789, the Amount of Purchase, with the Annuities, &c.—Vide dressed to the Secretary of War, December 30, 1812.

CESSIONS OF TERRITORY, AND CONSIDERATIONS STIPULATED THEREFOR.						REMARKS.
General Description.	Expense of treating, or of carrying Treaties into effect.	Gratuities, or Purchase-money.		Annuities.		
		Merchandise.	Money.	Merchandise.	Money.	
Vide B, preceding, under the head Wyandots.	-	-	-	\$1,000 00	-	Perpetual. N. B. Such of the Shawanese as reside with the Wyandots, are entitled to a proportion of \$ 1,000 annuity, under the treaty of Fort Industry.—Vide B, preceding, under the head Wyandots.
- - -	-	-	-	\$1,000 00	-	Perpetual. N. B. In the 5th article of the treaty of Fort Industry, (4th July, 1805,) negotiated by Charles Jouett, the United States become guarantee to the Ottawas for purchase money or premium, agreed between them and the Connecticut Land Company, &c. viz: a proportion of \$12,000, payable in six annual instalments of \$2,000 each.
B, under the head Wyandots.	-	\$3,333 33 $\frac{1}{3}$	-	-	\$800 00	Perpetual.
do do	-	-	-	\$1,000 00	-	Perpetual. N. B. The same remark relative to the treaty of Fort Industry, here abovementioned, (the 5th article) is applicable to the Chippewas.
B, under the head Wyandots.	-	-	-	-	\$800 00	Perpetual.
do do	-	-	-	\$1,000 00	-	Perpetual.
B, under the head Wyandots.	-	\$1,666 66 $\frac{2}{3}$	-	-	\$400 00	Perpetual, "to such of the Pattawatamies as now reside on the river Huron of Lake Erie, the river Raisin, and in the vicinity of said rivers." N. B. The remark here above, under the head Ottawas, relative to the 5th article of the treaty of Fort Industry, (4th July, 1805,) is applicable "to such of the Pattawatamy nation as reside on the river Huron of Lake Erie, and in the neighborhood thereof."
Article 2 describes the boundaries.	-	-	-	-	\$500 00	For ten years.
Article 1, for the boundaries.	-	-	-	-	\$500 00	Perpetual.
B, under the head Wyandots. Vide do.	-	-	-	\$1,000 00	-	Perpetual.
Article 2, boundaries	-	-	\$4,000 00	-	\$600 00	Perpetual.
Article 1, boundaries; Art. 3 and 6, compensation.	-	-	-	-	\$500 00	Perpetual.
By a separate article of same date.	-	\$1,500	in domestic animals, and	-	\$200 00	Perpetual. N. B. In the separate article it is stipulated that the United States shall maintain an armory "at Fort Wayne, for the use of the Indians, as heretofore.
B, under the head Wyandots.	-	-	-	\$500 00	-	Perpetual.
Article 2 for boundaries; Article 3 for compensation.	-	-	-	-	\$250 00	Perpetual.
Article 1, boundaries; Art. 3 and 6, compensation.	-	-	-	-	\$250 00	Perpetual.
- - -	-	-	-	-	\$100 00	Perpetual.

**D.—STATEMENT of all the Treaties held with the Indian tribes, respectively, in which they have ceded lands resolution of the Senate of the United States, addressed**

PRINTED COLLECTION OF THE LAWS U. S.			NATION OR TRIBE OF INDIANS.	GENERAL TITLES OF TREATIES OR APPROPRIATION ACTS.	NAMES OF		DATE OF	
Number of acts or treaties.	Vol.	Page.			COMMISSIONERS.	PLACES WHERE HELD.	SIGNATURE.	RATIFICATION, &c.
19	1	398	Weas.	A treaty, &c.—vide Wyandots, statement B.	Maj. Gen'l. Anthony Wayne.	Greenville.	Aug. 3, 1795.	- - -
22	2	527	Ditto.	An act making appropriations, &c.	- - -	- - -	May 6, 1796.	- - -
56	1	411	Ditto.	A treaty between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called, &c. vide Pattawatamies, C.	W. H. Harrison.	Grouseland.	Aug 21, 1805.	April 24, 1806
54	4	70	Ditto.	An act making appropriations, &c.	- - -	- - -	April 21, 1806	- - -
73	1	421	Ditto.	Separate article of a treaty, &c.	Ditto.	Fort Wayne.	Sept 30, 1809.	Jan. 2, 1810.
75	1	422	Ditto.	A convention entered into at Vincennes, in the Indiana territory, between the U. States of America and the Wea tribe of Indians.	Ditto.	Vincennes.	Oct. 26, 1809.	Ditto.
72	4	308	Ditto.	An act making appropriations, &c.	- - -	- - -	May 1, 1810.	- - -
19	1	398	Kickapoos.	A treaty, &c.—vide Wyandots, B.	Gen. A. Wayne.	Greenville.	Aug. 3, 1795.	- - -
22	2	527	Ditto.	An act making appropriations, &c.	- - -	- - -	May 6, 1796.	- - -
76	1	423	Ditto.	A treaty between the United States of America and the Kickapoo tribe of Indians.	W. H. Harrison.	Vincennes.	Dec. 9, 1809.	March 5, 1810
72	4	308	Ditto.	An act making appropriations, &c.	- - -	- - -	May 1, 1810.	- - -
19	1	398	Piankeshaw	A treaty, &c.—vide Wyandots, B.	Gen. A. Wayne.	Greenville.	Aug. 3, 1795.	- - -
22	2	537	Ditto.	An act making appropriations, &c.	- - -	- - -	May 6, 1796.	- - -
50	1	388	Ditto.	A treaty between the United States of America and the Piankeshaw tribe of Indians.	W. H. Harrison.	Vincennes.	Aug. 27, 1804	Jan. 21, 1805.
49	3	663	Ditto.	An act making appropriations, &c.	- - -	- - -	March 3, 1805.	- - -
61	1	389	Ditto.	A treaty between the United States of America and the Piankeshaw tribe of Indians.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Dec. 30, 1805.	May 22, 1807.
61	4	116	Ditto.	An act making appropriations, &c.	- - -	- - -	March 3, 1807	- - -
19	1	398	Kaskaskias.	A treaty, &c.—vide Wyandots, B.	Anthony Wayne.	Greenville.	Aug. 3, 1795.	- - -
22	2	527	Ditto.	An act making appropriations, &c.	- - -	- - -	May 6, 1796.	- - -
45	1	385	Ditto.	A treaty between the United States of America and the Kaskaskia tribe of Indians.	W. H. Harrison.	Vincennes.	Aug. 13, 1803	Nov. 24, 1803
52	1	426	Ditto. Sacs, alias Saukes and Foxes.	Ditto. A treaty between the United States of America and the united tribes of Sac and Fox Indians.	Ditto. Ditto.	Ditto. St. Louis.	Ditto. Nov. 3, 1804.	Ditto. - - -
				An additional article, which also comprises a recognition of the preceding treaty; signed by the President of the United States and by the Secretary of the United States.	- - -	Washington City.	Feb. 1, 1805.	- - -
49	3	663	Ditto.	An act making appropriations, &c.	- - -	- - -	March 3, 1805.	- - -
77	1	429	Great and Little Osages.	A treaty between the United States and the Great and Little Osage nations of Indians.	Peter Choteau, commissioner, by Meriwether Lewis, Gov. &c.	Fort Clark.	Nov. 10, 1808.	April 23, 1810
79	4	352	Ditto.	An act making appropriations, &c.	- - -	- - -	March 3, 1811.	- - -

to the United States, since the 4th day of March, 1789; the amount of purchase, with the annuities, &c. &c.—Vide to the Secretary of War, December 30, 1812.

CESSIONS OF TERRITORY AND CONSIDERATIONS STIPULATED THEREFOR.						REMARKS.
GENERAL DESCRIPTION.	EXPENSE OF TREATING OR OF CARRYING THE TREATIES INTO EFFECT	GRATUITIES OR PURCHASE MONEY.		ANNUITIES.		
		Merchandise.	Money.	Merchandise.	Money.	
Vide B, under the head Wyandots.	- -	- -	- -	\$500 00	- -	Perpetual.
The 2d Art. describes the boundaries.	- -	- -	- -	- -	250 00	Perpetual.
- - - -	- -	- -	1,500 00	- -	100 00	Perpetual.
- - - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	300 00	Perpetual.
Vide B, under the head Wyandots.	- -	- -	- -	500 00	- -	Perpetual.
Vide 9th art. treaty of Fort Wayne, Sep. 30, 1809, and 2d art. of this treaty.	- -	{ 800 00 700 00	- -	- -	400 00 100 00	} Perpetual.
Vide B, under the head Wyandots.	- -	- -	- -	500 00	- -	Perpetual.
Vide art. 1st, between the Ohio & Wabash, &c. Vide Sect. 1.	- -	700 00	- -	- -	200 00	For ten years. N. B. "In money, merchandise, provisions, or domestic animals, and implements of husbandry, at the option of the said tribe."
Vide art. 1st, between the Wabash and the tract ceded by the Kaskaskia tribe, 1803, &c.	- -	1,100 00	- -	- -	300 00	Perpetual.
- - - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	N. B. Sec. 2d of this act appropriates a sum of \$1,000, "in addition to former appropriations," besides the further annual sum of \$300, &c.
Vide B, head Wyandots.	- -	- -	- -	500 00	- -	Perpetual.
"All the lands in the Illinois country which the said tribe has heretofore possessed."—Vide particular boundaries, stated at art. 5.	- -	- -	580 00	- -	500 00	Perpetual. N. B. "To be paid to them either in money, merchandise, provisions, or domestic animals, at the option of the said tribe," &c. A house to be built for the chief of said tribe, and 100 acres of land enclosed with good fence. There does not appear to be any specific appropriation for the execution of the preceding treaty.
To assist in the erection of a church, towards the support of Boundaries described, sec. 2d.	- -	- -	300 00	Church, -	- 100 00	For seven years.
	- -	2,234 50	- -	600 00	- -	Sacs, perpetual.
	- -	- -	- -	400 00	- -	Foxes, perpetual.
	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	N. B. "And if the said tribes shall, hereafter, at any annual delivery of the goods aforesaid, desire that a part of their annuity should be furnished in domestic animals, implements of husbandry, &c. the same shall, at the subsequent annual delivery, be furnished accordingly."
Boundaries described, art. 6.	{ - -	{ 800 00 400 00	- -	1,000 00 500 00	- -	Great Osages, } Perpetual. Little Osages, }
						N. B. In the 3d art. it is stipulated that the U. States shall furnish, for the use of the Osage nation, a blacksmith and tools, to mend their arms, &c.; also, to build them a horse-mill or water-mill; to furnish them with ploughs; and to build sundry block houses. Art. 4 stipulates that the United States will pay certain indemnities to their own citizens, not to exceed the sum of \$5,000.

*Index to the Laws of the United States relative to Indian Affairs, and to the several Treaties entered into between the said States and any of the Indian Nations, in the order in which they occur in the printed collection of the Laws of the United States of America.*

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2. Expired.	An act providing for holding a treaty, or treaties, to establish peace with certain tribes.—22d July, 1790,	2	121
3. Repealed.	An act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes.—22d July, 1790,	2	121
4. Repealed.	An act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes.—1st March, 1793,	2	360
5. Expired.	An act making an appropriation to defray the expense of a treaty with the Indians Northwest of the Ohio.—2d March, 1793,	2	365
6.	Treaty between the United States of America, and the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations.—October 22d, 1784,	1	307
7.	Treaty between the United States of America, and the sachems and warriors of the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, and Ottawa nations.—January 21st, 1785,	1	390
8.	Treaty between the United States of America, and the head-men and warriors of the Cherokees.—28th November, 1785,	1	322
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10.	Treaty between the United States of America and the Chickasaws.—10th Jan'y 1786,	1	352
11.	Treaty between the United States of America, and the chiefs and warriors of the Shawanee nation.—31st January, 1786,	1	358
12.	A treaty of peace and friendship between the United States of America, and the kings, chiefs, and warriors, of the Creek nation of Indians.—7th August, 1790,	1	359
13.	Articles of agreement, and confederation, between the United States of North America and the Delaware nation.—17th September, 1778,	1	302
14.	Articles of a treaty between the United States of America and the sachems and warriors of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, Chippewa, Pattawatamy, and Sac nations.—9th January, 1789,	1	393
15.	A treaty of peace and friendship between the President of the United States of America and the chiefs and warriors of the Cherokee nation of Indians.—2d July, 1791,	1	325
16.	Articles of a treaty between the United States of America and the Cherokee Indians.—20th June, 1794,	1	329
17.	Treaty between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called the Six Nations.—11th November, 1794,	1	309
18.	A treaty between the United States and the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Indians, dwelling in the country of the Oneidas.—2d December, 1794,	1	424
19.	A treaty of peace between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, Miamies, Eel River, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias.—3d August, 1795,	1	398
20.	An act making provision for the purposes of trade with the Indians.—3d March, 1795,	2	505
21.	An act for establishing trading houses with the Indian tribes.—18th April, 1796,	2	517
22.	An act making appropriations for defraying the expenses which may arise in carrying into effect a treaty made between the United States and certain Indian tribes Northwest of the river Ohio.—6th May, 1796,	2	527
23.	An act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers.—19th May, 1796,	2	538
24.	A treaty held at the city of New York, with the nations or tribes of Indians denominating themselves "the Seven Nations of Canada."—31st May, 1796,	1	375
25.	A treaty of peace and friendship, made and concluded between the President of the United States of America, on the one part, and behalf of the said States, and the undersigned kings, chiefs, and warriors, of the Creek nation of Indians, on the part of the said nation.—29th June, 1796,	1	363
26.	An act appropriating a certain sum of money to defray the expense of holding a treaty, or treaties, with the Indians.—27th February, 1798,	3	27
27.	An act appropriating a certain sum of money to defray the expense of holding a treaty, or treaties, with the Indians.—19th February, 1799,	3	124
28.	An act making appropriations for defraying the expenses which may arise in carrying into effect certain treaties between the United States and several tribes, or nations, of Indians.—25th February, 1799,	3	125
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[13th CONGRESS.]

No. 139.

[3d SESSION.]

## THE CREEKS, WYANDOTS, AND OTHERS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, NOVEMBER 18, 1814.

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I lay before the Senate, for their consideration whether they will advise and consent to the ratification thereof, a treaty concluded on the twenty-second day of July last, with the tribes of Indians called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Senecas, and Miamies.

I lay before the Senate, also, for the like purpose, an instrument, entitled articles of agreement and capitulation, made and concluded on the ninth day of August last, between Major General Jackson and the chiefs, deputies, and warriors, of the Creek nation of Indians.

These communications are accompanied by documents having relation to them.

JAMES MADISON.

November 18th, 1814.

*A Treaty of peace and friendship between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Senecas, and Miamies.*

The said United States of America, by William Henry Harrison, late a Major General in the army of the United States, and Lewis Cass, Governor of the Michigan territory, duly authorized and appointed commissioners for the purpose, and the said tribes, by their head-men, chiefs, and warriors, assembled at Greenville, in the State of Ohio, have agreed to the following articles; which, when ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, shall be binding upon them and the said tribes:

ARTICLE 1. The United States and the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, and Senecas, give peace to the Miami nation of Indians, formerly designated as the Miami, Eel river, and Wea tribes; they extend this indulgence, also, to the bands of the Pattawatamies, which adhere to the grand sachem Tobinpee, and to the chief Onoxa; to the Ottawas, of Blanchard's creek, who have attached themselves to the Shawanese tribe, and to such of the said tribe as adhere to the chief called the Wing, in the neighborhood of Detroit, and to the Kickapoos under the direction of the chiefs who sign this treaty.

ARTICLE 2. The tribes and bands abovementioned, engage to give their aid to the United States, in prosecuting the war against Great Britain, and such of the Indian tribes as still continue hostile, and to make no peace with either, without the consent of the United States.

The assistance herein stipulated for, is to consist of such a number of their warriors, from each tribe, as the President of the United States, or any officer having his authority therefor, may require.

ARTICLE 3. The Wyandot tribe, and the Senecas of Sandusky and Stony creek, the Delaware and Shawanese tribes, who have preserved their fidelity to the United States, throughout the war, again acknowledge themselves under the protection of the said States, and of no other Power whatever, and agree to aid the United States in the manner stipulated for in the former article, and to make no peace but with the consent of the said States.

ARTICLE 4. In the event of a faithful performance of the conditions of this treaty, the United States will confirm and establish all the boundaries between their lands, and those of the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, and Miamies, as they existed previously to the commencement of the war.

In testimony whereof, the said commissioners, and the said head-men, chiefs, and warriors, of the before-mentioned tribes of Indians, have herunto set their hands, and affixed their seals.

Done at Greenville, in the State of Ohio, this twenty-second day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fourteen, and of the independence of the United States the thirty-ninth.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,  
LEWIS CASS.

[Signed, also, by a number of chiefs and warriors of the tribes enumerated in the title.]

*Articles of agreement and capitulation, made and concluded this ninth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen, between Major General Andrew Jackson, on behalf of the President of the United States of America, and the chiefs, deputies, and warriors, of the Creek nation.*

Whereas an unprovoked, inhuman, and sanguinary war, waged by the hostile Creeks against the United States, hath been repelled, prosecuted, and determined, successfully on the part of the said States, in conformity with principles of national justice and honorable warfare: And whereas consideration is due to the rectitude of proceeding, dictated by instructions relating to the re-establishment of peace: Be it remembered, that, prior to the conquest of that part of the Creek nation, hostile to the United States, numberless aggressions had been committed against the peace, the property, and the lives, of citizens of the United States, and those of the Creek nation in amity with her, at the mouth of Duck river, fort Mimms, and elsewhere, contrary to the national faith, and the regard due to an article of the treaty concluded at New York, in the year 1790, between the two nations; that the United States, previous to the perpetration of such outrages, did, in order to ensure future amity and concord between the Creek nation and the said States, in conformity with the stipulations of former treaties, fulfil, with punctuality and good faith, her engagements to the said nation; that more than two thirds of the whole number of chiefs and warriors of the Creek nation, disregarding the genuine spirit of existing treaties, suffered themselves to be instigated to violations of their national honor, and the respect due to a part of their own nation, faithful to the United States and the principles of humanity, by impostors denominating themselves prophets, and by the duplicity and misrepresentation of foreign emissaries, whose governments are at war, open or understood, with the United States:

Wherefore, 1st. The United States demand an equivalent for all expenses incurred in prosecuting the war to its termination, by a cession of all the territory belonging to the Creek nation, within the territories of the United States, lying west, south, and southeastwardly, of a line to be run and described by persons duly authorized and appointed by the President of the United States: Beginning at a point on the eastern bank of the Coosa river, where the south boundary line of the Cherokee nation crosses the same; running from thence, down the said Coosa river, with its eastern bank, according to its various meanders, to a point one mile above the mouth of Cedar creek, at fort Williams; thence, east two miles, thence south two miles, thence west to the eastern bank of the said Coosa river; thence, down the eastern bank thereof, according to its various meanders, to a point opposite the upper end of the great falls, (called by the natives Woetumka;) thence, east from a true meridian line, to a point due north of the Oakfuskee; thence, south by a like meridian line, to the mouth of Oakfuskee, on the south side of the Tallapoosa river; thence, up the same, according to its various meanders, to a point where a direct course will cross the same, at the distance of ten miles from the mouth thereof; thence, a direct line to the mouth of Summochoico creek, which empties into the Chatahoochee river, on the east side thereof, below the Eufaulau town; thence, east from a true meridian line, to a point which shall intersect the line now dividing the lands claimed by the said Creek nation from those claimed and owned by the State of Georgia: *Provided, nevertheless, That, where any possession of any chief*

or warrior of the Creek nation, who shall have been friendly to the United States during the war, and taken an active part therein, shall be within the territory ceded by these articles to the United States, every such person shall be entitled to a reservation of land within the said territory, of one mile square, to include his improvements, as near the centre thereof as may be, which shall inure to the said chief, or warrior, and his descendants, so long as he, or they, shall continue to occupy the same; who shall be protected by, and subject to, the laws of the United States; but, upon the voluntary abandonment thereof, by such possessor or his descendants, the right of occupancy, or possession of said lands, shall devolve to the United States, and be identified with the right of property ceded hereby.

ART. 2. The United States will guaranty to the Creek nation, the integrity of all their territory, eastwardly and northwardly of the said line, to be run and described as mentioned in the first article.

ART. 3. The United States demand that the Creek nation abandon all communication, and cease to hold any intercourse, with any British or Spanish post, garrison, or town; and that they shall not admit among them any agent, or trader, who shall not derive authority to hold commercial or other intercourse with them, by licence from the President, or authorized agent of the United States.

ART. 4. The United States demand an acknowledgment of the right to establish military posts and trading houses, and to open roads within the territory, guarantied to the Creek nation by the second article, and a right to the free navigation of all its waters.

ART. 5. The United States demand that a surrender be immediately made, of all the persons and property taken from the citizens of the United States, the friendly part of the Creek nation, the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw nations, to the respective owners; and the United States will cause to be immediately restored to the formerly hostile Creeks, all the property taken from them since their submission, either by the United States, or by any Indian nation in amity with the United States, together with all the prisoners taken from them during the war.

ART. 6. The United States demand the caption and surrender of all the prophets and instigators of the war, whether foreigners or natives, who have not submitted to the arms of the United States, and become parties to these articles of capitulation, if ever they shall be found within the territory guarantied to the Creek nation by the second article.

ART. 7. The Creek nation being reduced to extreme want, and not at present having the means of subsistence, the United States, from motives of humanity, will continue to furnish, gratuitously, the necessaries of life, until the crops of corn can be considered competent to yield the nation a supply, and will establish trading houses in the nation, at the discretion of the President of the United States, and at such places as he shall direct, to enable the nation, by industry and economy, to procure clothing.

ART. 8. A permanent peace shall ensue from the date of these presents, forever, between the Creek nation and the United States, and between the Creek nation and the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw nations.

ART. 9. If, in running east from the mouth of Summochoico creek, it shall so happen, that the settlement of the Kinnards falls within the lines of the territory hereby ceded, then, and in that case, the line shall be run east, in a true meridian, to Kitchofoonee creek, thence, down the middle of said creek, to its junction with Flint river, immediately below the Oakmulgee town; thence, up the middle of Flint river, to a point due east of that at which the above line struck the Kitchofoonee creek; thence, east to the old line, hereinbefore mentioned: to wit, the line dividing the lands claimed by the Creek nation from those claimed and owned by the State of Georgia.

The parties to these presents, after due consideration, for themselves and their constituents, agree to ratify and confirm the preceding articles, and constitute them the basis of a permanent peace between the two nations; and they do hereby solemnly bind themselves, and all the parties concerned and interested, to a faithful performance of every stipulation contained therein.

In testimony whereof, they have hereunto, interchangeably, set their hands and affixed their seals, the day and date above written.

ANDREW JACKSON,

*Major General Commanding the 7th Military District.*

[Signed, also, by a number of Creek chiefs, deputies, and warriors.]

*Copy of Instructions to treat with the Indians at Greenville, Ohio, in 1814.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 11, 1814.

SIR:

The President of the United States has been pleased to appoint you commissioner to confer with the Indian nations of the west and north, and to conclude with them a treaty of peace and alliance. The treaty will be held at Greenville, in the State of Ohio, and at such time as may have been fixed in the invitation given to the Indians by General Harrison. The objects to be attained will be indicated under the following heads, viz:

1st. A peace, sincere and lasting, between the contracting parties.

2d. An alliance between the said parties, in prosecuting the present war against Great Britain; and,

3d. An arrangement for the extinction of the Indian title to the tract of land lying between the Michigan territory, on the north, the western limits of the State of Ohio on the west, the Indian boundary line, as settled by Gen. Wayne, on the south, and the line by the treaty of the 4th July, 1805, on the east.

In the 1st of these objects, the parties have a common and obvious interest.

To engage the Indians in the second, their warriors will be taken into the service of the United States, and will receive the monthly pay and subsistence of soldiers of our army. Such as bring good and sufficient arms will be entitled to a reasonable compensation for their use. Such as have not arms of this description to bring, will be supplied with muskets. To those serving faithfully, certain articles of clothing will be furnished, viz: Blankets, and cloth for leggins and breech-clouts. They will be specially commanded by their own chiefs, (who will be subject to the orders of the general officer, and officers of the United States' army, assigned to the command of the division or brigade with which they may act, &c.) who will be commissioned by medals, presented to them by order of the President.

The arrangement with regard to the exchange of lands is deemed important by some of the inhabitants of the State of Ohio. If the suggestion can be made, and the arrangement effected, without exciting in the Indians any disagreeable sensations, this object may be prosecuted, otherwise, it is not to be touched.

The land proposed to be given in exchange is a tract of equal dimensions, lying between lake Michigan and the Mississippi.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

P. S. On more mature deliberation, two alterations in these instructions have been adopted, viz:

1st. That, instead of an article stipulating alliance and subsidy by pay, &c. one shall be substituted, simply obligatory on the Indians to assist in prosecuting the war against Great Britain, if so required to do by the United States; and,

2d. That nothing be said or stipulated with regard to exchange of lands or opening roads.

Under these modifications, the treaty, if concluded, will consist of two articles: one, stipulating peace and friendship; the other, military aid to the United States, on the part of the Indians, if required.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

To His Exc<sup>y</sup> ISAAC SHELBY, *Commissioner, &c.*

A similar letter to General Harrison and Governor L. Cass.

*Brothers of the Wyandots, Shawanese, and Delaware tribes:*

**BROTHERS:** Your Father, the President, has heard of the courage and fidelity with which you have adhered to the United States during the present war.

He instructs me to make known to you his approbation of your past, and confidence in your future conduct.

You will go forth with your white brothers to battle, and share with them in the glory of conquering your common enemy.

[L. S.] Given under my hand, and the seal of the War Department, this 15th June, 1814.

JOHN ARMSTRONG, *Sec'y of War.*

*Journal of the proceedings of the commissioners plenipotentiary, appointed on behalf of the United States of America, to treat with the Northwestern tribes of Indians.*

FRIDAY, July 1st, 1814.

Major General William Henry Harrison, having been appointed by the President of the United States, jointly and severally with Governor Shelby, of Kentucky, and Governor Cass, of the Michigan territory, as commissioners plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty with the Northwestern tribes of Indians, left Cincinnati about one o'clock on Friday, the 1st day of July, 1814, (accompanied by James Dill, as secretary to the said commissioners) for Greenville, where it had previously been appointed to hold the said treaty; at which place he arrived on Sunday, the 3d of July, about four o'clock, P. M. and found about 3,000 Indians had already collected, and that the chiefs of the Wyandot, Seneca, Delaware, Miami, Eel river, and Wea tribes of Indians were assembled in council: upon which the General informed them, by their interpreters, that he would (after taking some refreshment) meet them in council. Accordingly, about five o'clock, the General repaired to the council house, where, after the mutual congratulations had passed, (which appeared to have been delivered by many of the chiefs with great cordiality and friendship) he addressed them as follows:

**FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:** I have been informed by Mr. Stickney, that it had been agreed upon between Mr. Johnston and himself, on the recommendation of the Wyandot and Delaware chiefs, to send off runners, again to invite the attendance of the tribes west of the Wabash. I am not much pleased with this plan: those tribes have already had sufficient notice of the council, and have been invited to attend it; we will not again ask them to come; they must take the consequences of their neglect or refusal of the terms offered to them by the Seventeen Fires.

The principal of the Wyandots and Delaware tribes, Crane and Anderson, then replied to the General: That they had been informed a number of the Pattawatamies and Kickapoos were afraid to come in, as it had been impressed upon their minds, by the British and their agents, that this council was only intended as a snare, to entice them into our country, for the purpose of destroying them; but that, were they to receive a message from the chiefs now assembled here, that they had been received with cordiality and friendship by their fathers, the Seventeen Fires, and that there was no danger in coming here, they would certainly attend.

Upon which the General agreed that runners should be despatched to those tribes who had failed to attend, with a message to the foregoing effect; and also to inform them, if they came in at any time before the council broke up, they would be received and treated as friends.

And the council then adjourned until Monday.

MONDAY, July 4, 1814.

It commenced raining about 8 o'clock in the morning, and rained incessantly until about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. No business was, therefore, attempted.

TUESDAY, July 5, 1814.

The council house, or rather the bowery erected for that purpose, having been placed about thirty rods southwest of where the council house formerly stood, in which the justly celebrated treaty of Greenville was made and signed by General Wayne, on behalf of the United States, with the Northwestern tribes of Indians, in 1795, General Harrison gave instructions for its removal to the same spot where General Wayne's council house formerly stood; and the work commenced this morning, accordingly.

WEDNESDAY, July 6, 1814.

The council house being unfinished, and several of the Indians not having yet arrived, no business was attempted. Governor Lewis Cass, one of the commissioners plenipotentiary, arrived this day, about 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

THURSDAY, 7th July, 1814.

The council house being nearly complete, the commissioners notified the chiefs of the different tribes present that they would meet them in council to-morrow, at 10 o'clock.

The Shawanee tribe of Indians arrived this day, about 12 o'clock, and saluted the commissioners and troops as they passed, which salute was returned by some of the troops in camp.

FRIDAY, 8th July, 1814.

This day the commissioners, to wit: General Harrison and Governor Cass, proceeded to the council house, where were assembled the chiefs of the Wyandot, Seneca, Delaware, Shawanee, Miami, Eel River, Wea, Pattawatamy, Ottawa, and a few of the Kickapoo, tribes of Indians, together with a number of their young men and warriors.

The council commenced by the commissioners smoking, and presenting, to the different chiefs, the pipe of peace; after which, the commission, appointing General William Henry Harrison, Governor Isaac Shelby, and Governor Lewis Cass, jointly and severally, commissioners plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty with the Northwestern tribes of Indians, was produced, read, and explained to them, when General Harrison addressed them as follows:

**MY BROTHERS:**

Before we proceed to the business for which we have now assembled, I will communicate to you a message from our Great Father, the President of the United States, directed specially to those of our red brethren who have faithfully and honestly supported the interests of the United States during the present war.

[He then read and explained to them, a message from the President of the United States, directed to the Wyandot, Seneca, Delaware, and Shawanee tribes of Indians, acknowledging their faithful services, and assuring them of the high estimation in which those services were held by their Father, the President of the United States; after which, he presented to the Wyandot, Delaware, and Shawanee tribes, each, a large silver pipe, elegantly ornamented, and engraved with devices emblematic of the protection and friendship of the United States; and, after explaining to them the meaning of those devices, and the reasons why the United States had conferred on those tribes so distinguished a mark of favor, he addressed them as follows:

*BROTHERS of the Wyandot, Seneca, Delaware, Shawanee, Miami, Eel River, Wea, Pattawatamy, Ottawa, and Kickapoos:*

The performance of the act of justice which I have just now finished, is not the sole cause which induced us to kindle the council fire on this spot. This place has long been looked on with veneration, not only by our red brethren, but by the whites, also, because this is the very spot where that great chain was first formed which has so long been the bond of union between you and the Seventeen Fires.

It is said, my children, that there are, in the other world, evil spirits, who are ever employed in endeavoring to counteract the mercies and beneficent intentions of the Great and Good Spirit towards his creatures here below; so,

on this earth, there is a nation, in sowing dissensions, and kindling wars and discord amongst their neighbors; their efforts have been but too successful in breaking the chain which had hitherto bound in friendship the Seventeen Fires with their red brethren; but we are now met to connect those broken links, once more, and, we may hope, with the assistance of the Good Spirit, we shall be able to cement them so strong, that neither the devil, nor his friends, the British, will again be able to interrupt that harmony and friendship which ought to subsist between the United States and their brethren of the forest.

It is well known, that the first manifestation of dissatisfaction from the red brethren towards the citizens of the United States, originated at this place; it was here that the combination against the Seventeen Fires was first formed, which was afterwards brought to maturity at Tippecanoe.

So just and generous, however, had been the conduct of the Seventeen Fires towards their red brethren and children, that much time was required to create bad impressions against them, and to obliterate the direful effects of British perfidy, which they had experienced in the war that was terminated by General Wayne's treaty.

The treaty made at fort Wayne, in the year 1809, furnished, at length, a subject for the Prophet, and other British emissaries, upon which to impeach the good intentions of the United States towards the Indians.

It was alleged, that the tribes who were parties to that treaty, had been defrauded. The two tribes who were most interested, and who were the proprietors of the lands then sold, are now present, and, is there one of them, Delaware or Miami, who will not bear witness to the falsehood of these assertions?

After the treaty was made, the Prophet, and his brother, who had no right to participate in it, began to propagate the principle, that the whole of the lands on this continent were the common property of all the tribes, and that no sale could take place, or would be valid, unless all the tribes were parties to it. This idea is so absurd, and so new, too, that it could never be admitted by the Seventeen Fires, either on their own account, or on that of the tribes who live near to them, and whose rights they have guaranteed; and you all know, for you were present at the discussion between Tecumseh and myself, on the subject of those lands, that this was the only claim he was able, or ever attempted to set up.

The Delawares and Miamies, who are now here present, can not only testify to the fairness with which the treaty of fort Wayne was conducted, but, they can also witness the pains which were taken by me, to prevent a recurrence to arms, even after the perpetration of innumerable murders and aggressions, by the Prophet and his party.

It was not until every hope of obtaining the delivery of the murderers was extinguished, and after the Miamies, who were the proprietors of the lands on the Wabash, and who were bound, by the treaty of Greenville, to deliver up those murderers, had declared their inability to do so, that the army under my command, commenced its march up the Wabash. Pacific overtures were not, even then, suspended; the army halted within our own boundary, and I permitted the Delawares and Miamies once more to go on a mission of peace; some of your wisest and best men were selected to carry the terms; these were so reasonable that they met the entire approbation of those who carried them. They were instructed to say, that, upon the delivery of the murderers, and an arrangement being entered into to send off the Winnebagoes, and other savages from the lakes, whose presence upon the Wabash had alarmed the Miamies, as well as the white people, the army would immediately return.

Upon the return of those chiefs, several of whom are now present, I was informed there was no hope of effecting the desired arrangement; that they had been received and treated with insult and scorn, and that, in order to put an end to the negotiation, the Prophet had despatched a war party to take scalps. This party was met by the Delaware chiefs, to whom they boasted that they had effected their great object, by firing at and wounding one of our sentinels, although they had not been able to scalp him. Thus was the first blood drawn, not by us, who had every provocation to commence hostilities, but by those, of whom we were asking redress for the innumerable injuries they had already heaped upon us, and which redress they had bound themselves, by the treaty of Greenville, to give.

I should have been unworthy the command of an army, if, after this outrage, I had longer hesitated. I ordered it to march; but, even then, I permitted the whole body of the Miami chiefs to go ahead of me, and make one more effort to bring the deluded followers of the Prophet to listen to reason. It was not, however, until my arrival with the army, in front of their village, that they manifested the least disposition to do so. Some chiefs were then sent out to me with peaceable professions in their mouths, but villany and treachery in their hearts. You all know the result. The Great Spirit, who always punishes perfidy, specially interposed in our favor; a bloody battle was terminated by the loss of their best warriors, and the destruction of their whole establishment.

You, my children, are equally well acquainted with the events which followed the battle of Tippecanoe. You know that the impostor and his followers pretended to have repented of their conduct towards the Seventeen Fires; that they sent to me and sued for peace; that peace was granted to them, and the tomahawk solemnly buried at Vincennes, about five months after the battle. You know, also, that these faithless and perfidious men again took up the tomahawk in the succeeding summer, upon the first invitation from the British.

I must now, my children, say something on the subject of our war with the British nation.

You have been told, that the Seventeen Fires declared war against the British. Such is the fact; but, it was done in consequence of a long succession of injuries, which were no longer to be borne. My children, the Seventeen Fires love peace; but they are not afraid of war. Look at the bird which they have chosen as their emblem; he holds in his right talon the olive branch, the emblem of peace, which he presents first, to all; but, in his left talon, he grasps the bunch of arrows, to shew, that (although he wishes peace) he is able and willing to fight, when his pacific overtures are rejected. With the quarrel between the Seventeen Fires and the British, the red people had nothing to do, and it was the wish of the President, your Great Father, that they would take no part in it. This sentiment of his was communicated to every tribe; unfortunately, however, our enemies pursued a different course, and many of the tribes who had been cherished by the United States, as their children, took up the tomahawk against them. It was not till some time after your Father, the President, discovered that your young men were determined to take one side or the other, in the war, that he permitted any of the red warriors to join our army; and not even then, until he had received from the Wyandots, Senecas, Delawares, and Shawanese, repeated solicitations to that effect.

I have thus given you a true history of the commencement of the war. If untrue, there are hundreds of you here present, who can detect its falsity. There are many of you present, my children, who recollect me since I was a boy, sitting on this spot, alongside of General Wayne; most of you know me, however, only as Governor of the Indiana territory; and if, in all my transactions with you, or any of you, you can say I have ever deceived you, or told you a falsehood, come now forward and boldly declare it; it shall be put on this paper, and faithfully transmitted to our Great Father, the President of the United States.

No, my children, I have never deceived you, and I now tell you that Great Britain never can conquer the Seventeen Fires. I will not say the Seventeen Fires can conquer Great Britain; but, I do say, we can and will, at least, take all Upper Canada, and the country occupied by the tribes of Indians who now adhere to the British. Some disaster may, however, again, as heretofore, happen to our armies; we may lose a battle, or an important post may be given up, as Hull gave up Detroit; but, it is not more certain that the sun, which is now enveloped in clouds, will again recover its splendor, than that the arms of the United States will, in this Western country, ultimately prevail. My children, the object of this council is to bury the hatchet with such of the tribes as have lately borne arms against us, and who have accepted the invitation to come here, upon condition of receiving that which we shall offer them, to make war upon the British. Those who accept this proposition will be cherished by their Father, the President of the United States, as they were before the war.

And the council then adjourned, to meet to-morrow morning, 10 o'clock.

SATURDAY, 9th July, 1814.

The commissioners again met the Indians in council, and notified all the tribes present, that they could now speak, if they thought proper. After some time had elapsed, and none of the Indians appearing inclined to speak,

the Miamies, Pattawatamies, and Kickapoos, present, were particularly notified, that, if they had an inclination to speak, they would now be heard in their justification.

After some consultation together, Charley, a principal war chief amongst the Miamies, got up and observed to the commissioners, that they were rather taken at a non plus; they were not yet prepared, as they had not yet consulted together, what answer to make, owing to one of their principal chiefs being lame, and unable to attend; but they would hold a consultation, and return an answer to-morrow.

SUNDAY, 10th July, 1814.

The council was opened by General Harrison addressing the various tribes present, and observing to them, that the Miamies, Pattawatamies, and Kickapoos, had expressed a desire to bury the hatchet, and again embrace the friendship of the United States, and they had now met to listen to what these nations had to say; and that, if they had a sincere wish to bury the hatchet, it could now be done.

Captain Charley, an Eel River Miami chief, then spake as follows, to wit:

*Listen Big Knife, my Father:* You have requested to hear us, and you shall now hear. Listen, Father: I want you to listen attentively, and let none go away till you hear all I have to say.

**BIG KNIFE FATHER:** You have told the truth in all you have said; when I heard you at fort Wayne, you then said a great deal which was for the benefit of the Indians; again, father, when you were going on to Tippecanoe, for fear any interruptions should take place, I thought I would go and meet you there, in order to prevent any quarrel or misunderstanding. You then sent us on ahead of the army, to the red brethren at Tippecanoe, and told us to return with an answer. I went to Tippecanoe as you directed, and left that place to return you their answer, accompanied by two Pattawatamies, one Miami, and one Delaware chief; I did not see you, because you had crossed the Wabash, and taken another road from that I expected, and we did not overtake you, until the night of the battle of Tippecanoe; we got near you, before the battle began, but finding the battle had begun, we scattered. The not meeting you before that battle, father, was the cause of the confusion which followed; we then concluded the Great Spirit had given us up, and we all scattered. As you mentioned these things, I thought it best to mention them too, and to recapitulate the circumstances which happened, but we will now talk of other matters.

**FATHER:** At fort Wayne, when I again heard you speak, when our grandfather, the Delawares, were there, our brothers, the Shawanese and Pattawatamies, together with the Miamies, were invited to take a seat with you. It was at fort Wayne, when I heard you point out the lands where our younger brothers, the Weas, were settled, saying you wished to purchase those lands. I again consulted my grandfather, the Delawares, who answered, that whatever their grandchildren, the Pattawatamies, agreed to, they would acquiesce in. When you spoke at that treaty, of the lands you wanted, we told you those lands belonged to our younger brother, the Weas, and to consult them, for the lands you wanted belonged to them, and if they were willing to sell it, we would agree to the sale. After the treaty, they pointed out to you the way home, through those lands. When the treaty commenced, you and us consulted the Weas, for, had they disagreed to it, it was to be no treaty. As you recapitulated what had passed, and stated facts, we thought it right to do so too. After our council chiefs and war chiefs had consulted on these things, we held a council with Mr. Stickney, at fort Wayne. We there mentioned to him, that our elder brother, the Wyandots, had recommended it to the whole of us eleven tribes, that it was best to be quiet and remain peaceable, and not to go to war by any means. After we had heard our elder brother, the Wyandots, we told them they gave good advice, and we would follow it; that we agreed to all they had said, for they had said the things that were good, about our women and children, and as to those who thought proper not to listen to this good advice, they might act for themselves, but we would adhere to it. We, the Miamies, are determined to fulfil all our engagements with you and the Pattawatamies. After we had concluded on this, we looked aside and saw the tomahawk a-waving in the air; we looked around for the cause, but could see none. After these things, we settled our chiefs and tied them fast together at Massasinaway. Again, after we had collected our families, our women and children, together at the Little Turtle's town, we found our property destroyed, and our young men and warriors wounded, but could not tell who done those things. After all this, we even then concluded we would bear our loss, and put up with what had happened. After that, when we were all together, you endeavored to pull us one way, and the others endeavored to pull us another way. After we had heard the voice of our red brethren, who endeavored to draw us into the war, we abandoned them, and determined we would not be drawn in by them. After those red people had sent us their speeches, and found we did not attend to them, they murdered some of our young men, and even killed some of our grandfathers, the Delawares, before our eyes.

**AGAIN, FATHER:** I was at a loss to know which way to move, after these depredations. I thought, if our red brethren acted in this way, while we were away from them, it would be worse for us, if we went amongst them. We have, therefore, concluded it best, to stay where we were. One morning, when we looked up where the Munsees lived, we saw our grandfathers, the Delawares, packing up their property, as if they intended to run away. It was when our grandfathers, the Munsees, told us they had unloosed their warriors to hunt; we then heard the firing of a gun, and found war had already begun; we tried, but could no longer restrain our young men from joining in the fight.

**THEN, BIG KNIFE,** I thought you were wrong; I still heard you speak of peace, and finding you acted in this way, I thought you acted wrong; for these reasons, I concluded we were in a precarious situation; it resembled a wild horse, surrounded on every side by people, endeavoring to catch him, and at last, all fall on him and kill him. When we saw you coming, and found you made the stroke on us, we concluded we were no longer at liberty to choose. After mature deliberation on these things, we could find no other cause for your conduct, but, that we had not come to you, when you asked us. You had told us to remain at home, and we had done so. After that, we took into consideration our women and children; we looked with compassion on them, and concluded we were no longer at liberty to choose; we were no longer our own men; that the Great Author of nature had placed us in this situation, and not we ourselves. After viewing our young men, women, and children, and perceiving all our red brethren flocking towards the British, we looked around also, and concluded we were unable to stand against you, and, therefore, we determined to follow those others of our red brethren who took their course towards the British.

**N. B.** As it must appear, that there are a great many contradictions and repetitions in the foregoing speech, it may be proper to observe, that it was substantially taken down as delivered or rendered by the interpreters, and, indeed, almost word for word.

After Charley had concluded his speech, General Harrison addressed the Indians, in substance, as follows, viz:

That, in his speech to them, he had purposely avoided saying any thing which might wound the feelings of his children, the Miamies, Pattawatamies, and Kickapoos; that he was sorry to find they had pursued a different course; that they well knew, while he was Governor of the Indiana territory, he had treated them with every mark of friendship and attachment; that he treated them as if they were his own children; and, such was their intimacy with them, that he could call every man, woman, and child, in the nation, almost, by name; that, even after they had discovered symptoms of disaffection towards the United States, he had invited them to the council at Piqua, and informed them, if they attended that council, and listened to the voice of the Seventeen Fires, it would be considered as an evidence of their friendship, and their having a wish to take shelter under the protection of the United States; but even this they refused; that when the voice of his country and Government had called him to the command of the Northwestern army, and he marched to the relief of fort Wayne, which was besieged, he was at a loss for words to express his astonishment, at finding his own children, the Miamies, amongst the besiegers of the place, from whence they had, for many years, drawn all their supplies, nourishment, and clothing; that the destruction of their town, which followed the siege of fort Wayne, was the necessary consequence of that event; and that, had the Miamies even been friendly disposed towards the United States; had they been whites, and in the strictest alliance with the United States, good policy required that their corn should be destroyed, to prevent its supplying the hostile tribes with food; that, after all these things had taken place, and when they sent in their principal chiefs to him, he informed them the door of reconciliation was still open to them, and that peace would still be granted them,

whenever they shewed, by their conduct, a sincere desire for that event; that their brothers, the Wyandots, Senecas, Delawares, and Shawanese, could inform them, that, by listening to his voice and following his council, they had received and secured to themselves, the protection and friendship of the United States, and were now in a prosperous and flourishing condition; that, even after the United States had, with the assistance of their red brethren, thrown their enemies, the British, on their backs, and had put down that notorious impostor, the Prophet and his party, he still held out to his red children the hand of friendship, which ought, certainly, to be conclusive evidence to them, of the regard which the United States had for their red children.

That, as it regarded the treaty of fort Wayne, there were hundreds of the Indians, now present, who could testify to the fairness with which it was conducted, and how cheerfully the Miamies had entered into that treaty.

That it was painful for him to mention these circumstances, but justice required it of him, more especially, as the Miamies and Pattawatamies appeared to have forgotten who they were addressing; that they appeared to have dreamt themselves into a belief, they were speaking to a British commander, instead of the representatives of the American nation; that duty, not inclination, compelled him to remind them of all these things, but he would now drop the subject; that, as they had now come forward on an invitation to make peace, the Seventeen Fires, generous as they were just, were still willing to bury the past in oblivion, and extend their friendship and protection to their women and children, provided they become convinced of the sincerity of the red people.

And the council then adjourned till to-morrow morning.

MONDAY, 11th July, 1814.

The council again convened, when Picon, the principal chief of the Miami tribe, addressed the commissioners as follows, to wit:

FATHER: You who are now seated before me, listen; I am glad and happy that you have invited us, the Miamies, to meet you here; I expect it is the same with you, father, and that, as you have invited us, our women, and children, to meet you here, you are equally glad to see us.

FATHER: I rejoice to see you here; I expect it is the voice of our Great Father, the President of the Seventeen Fires, we shall hear, and we reciprocate or acquiesce with him in his sentiments and views.

LISTEN, FATHER: We are glad to hear your voice; we are glad to hear the voice of our Father, the President; we expect you want to hear what your red children has to say, and, for this reason, have we come here.

LISTEN, FATHER: When we came here, we expected to hear something good from our Father at this time, and to join with him in whatever he may say or do.

After a considerable time had elapsed, and no other Indian showing any disposition to speak, Governor Cass addressed the Miamies, Pattawatamies, and Kickapoos, as follows, to-wit:

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS of the Miamies, Pattawatamies, and Kickapoos:

At the commencement of the present war between the United States and Great Britain, it was the wish of your Father, the President of the Seventeen Fires, that you should remain neutral; the war did not concern you, it concerned us alone; messages were, therefore, sent to the different tribes, as you all know, requesting them to remain quiet at home, and take no part in the war; instead of listening to us, however, your ears were open to the lies of the British, and you took up the tomahawk in their behalf, and you fought on their side until we had thrown them on their backs.

Your Great Father, the President of the United States, has found that you cannot remain neutral; that you cannot or will not, remain at peace, but must fight on one side or the other; and that, if you were not for us, you would be against us.

Your Father, the President, is anxious for your happiness and prosperity; and if the British had been equally so, and equally friendly disposed towards you, there would have been no necessity for calling on you at this time, to take up the tomahawk.

The Americans are strong enough to fight their own battles; but the British, knowing their weakness, were compelled to call on you for assistance. You have now come forward to take us by the hand; we are equally anxious and willing to take you by the hand, but you must take up the tomahawk, and with us, strike our enemies; then your Great Father, the President, will forgive the past.

By this means, the blood which has been spilt between us will be covered, and you will have an opportunity of revenging yourselves on your enemies and ours. We shall expect your answer to-morrow, and from that answer we shall know what is hereafter to take place between us.

The Miamies, Pattawatamies, and Kickapoos, were then informed, that the foregoing were not only the sentiments of the Seventeen Fires, but that they were also the sentiments and wishes of the Wyandots, Senecas, Delawares, and Shawanese.

And the council then adjourned to meet to-morrow.

TUESDAY, July 12th, 1814.

The council convened, and, after sitting a considerable time, and none of the Pattawatamies, Miamies, or Kickapoos, evincing a disposition to speak or reply to the speech of yesterday, Crane, the head chief of the Wyandot tribe, came forward, and commenced as follows:

MY FRIENDS AND BROTHERS of the Shawanese, Pattawatamies, Delawares, Senecas, Ottawas, and Kickapoos:

I return thanks to you all; it appears that this was the day appointed by the Great Spirit, for us to meet in council here; it appears that this is the day appointed by our Great Creator, for us to meet; and I am happy that he has brought so many of different tongues, face to face, together. My friends and brothers, I wish you to listen to what I am now going to say; it is the voice of the four nations, here present in friendship with me, and it is the voice of our Great Father, the President of the Seventeen Fires; my friends and brothers, as I before told you, I wish you to listen. We have kindled a council fire three days ago, and yet there is nothing done; it is time we should proceed to the business, for which we have met together in council; my opinion is, you are very backward in speaking your sentiments; and there is an urgent necessity you should make them known at once, but I think and believe, the reason of your backwardness is, that you have some things lie in your hearts, which you are afraid to let out.

Here Crane was interrupted by Five Medals, a chief of the Pattawatamy tribe, who arose and spoke as follows, viz:

FRIEND AND BROTHER: You appear very impatient; I wish you to sit down; I was just going to speak when you commenced. Do you think your younger brother wishes to hide any thing from his Father? Sit down, and we will speak for ourselves.

Crane then sat down; when Picon, principal chief of the Miami tribe, commenced as follows, to wit:

MY FATHER, and all the tribes present, listen to me, I wish to speak to you. My father, you ask the reason why your children will not speak, and we know not what you wish us to say; but let us know what you have to propose, and then we will answer.

Well, my father; when you came to Detroit, you saw me there; I was there with my women and children; the British gave me the tomahawk, and I took it from them; but still I withheld my young men and warriors from doing mischief. My father, when I went to the British, it was one thing, when I came here, it was one thing; still the same; I found myself between two fires; both pointed to me the same road; I wished to do the best for my women and children; I looked to my red brethren, but could see no safety there. I took the hatchet from the British, it is true, but it remained in my hands unused.

MY FATHER, when I looked this way, I dreaded; I was between two fires; when I looked the other way, I dreaded also; I went to seek relief, and when I arrived there, they put the hatchet in my hands, and I took it up. My Father, you have frequently told us you loved us, we have also loved you, but you have deceived us, as has also the



people on the other side; when we moved away, however, we found our elder brothers, the Wyandots, were following us.

FATHER: After we had removed to Brownstown, we saw you coming; we then moved to one side to let you pass; we moved to one side of our own accord, no one solicited us to do this.

Again, FATHER: As soon as I had moved from the place, and you passed by, you called to your red children to come to you, and they came; you held the tomahawk in your hand, and gave it to them, and they took it up.

Again, FATHER: At Detroit, when we heard you there, we expected when we heard you again here now, you would do the same; we then concluded, we had received the tomahawk from your hands, and we now expect to receive it.

Again, FATHER: I heard from you at Dayton; Mr. Johnston spoke to us there, but I did not explain any thing to him at that time; but as he returned home, I explained to him a few things of my mind. I there stated to Mr. Johnston, not to be in too great a hurry to force the tomahawk into our hands; that we had appointed a time for all the red brethren to meet together; and that I was a warrior, and would then take it up.

FATHER: Since we have come together here, you have not come to the point with us; you too, seem not to speak plain to us; but since I have been at Detroit, I have lost a number of my family, and I am displeased at the cause of my going there; and now, father, I have told you the minds of our warriors; the Kickapoos and Pattawatamy warriors are of the same mind as the Miamies; this was their voice to Mr. Johnston. I have spoke what I have to say at this time.

General Harrison then called upon Picon, to declare how, in what manner, at what time, and by whom, he had been deceived. He replied, if he had been understood to say he was deceived, it was a mistake; he neither said nor meant to say, the Seventeen Fires had deceived him; and if he had said so, it was a mistake, he was misunderstood.

Five Medals, or Onocksey, a chief of the Pattawatamy tribe, then came forward, and spoke as follows:

FATHER, listen! You want to hear from your children the Pattawatamies, the voice of their warriors. I never, when I have any thing to say, tell it as stories; I speak seriously, and hide nothing; I speak plain, and direct to the point. Father, we know the situation we were in, when the British left us at Detroit, and you took us by the hand; it is this has brought us together at this time. Our younger brothers, the Miamies, have been mistaken in saying they kept their warriors and people together; it was me, Father, who kept them all together. Father, the Great Spirit hears me; he knows I tell the truth; he knows I do not hide what I have to say, but I speak right out. I have found great difficulty in speaking about the things which have passed during the war; it would be better to drop that subject at once, and speak of it no more. Last fall, father, when we took you by the hand at Detroit, many of the Kickapoos, Miamies, and Pattawatamies, were afraid to speak to you; they asked me to speak to you, and beg you to have pity on their women and children, and I did so. Father, I remember well what I said to you; it is fresh in my mind; you then presented the hatchet to us, and we took it up.

FATHER: I then told you we were not afraid to receive the hatchet and war mallet; we looked at our organs of generation, and found we were men; we told you we were men and warriors; we know not why our brethren, the Miamies, are trying to hide these things, and do not speak out boldly. Father, the time we met at Dayton, I advised Mr. Johnston not to present the tomahawk then, as there would be more of your red children collected here; it would be better to present the hatchet here, and that the Pattawatamies and Miamies would receive it here. Now is the time, father; if you raise the hatchet and present it to us, we will take fast hold of it. If you now present the hatchet, none of your red children will refuse it; I am certain your views will meet with general approbation. I speak plain. I thank the Great Spirit I hide nothing.

Feendoo, one of the chiefs of the Wyandots, who had joined the British, then arose and spoke as follows, viz:

FATHER: I am now going to speak; I now return thanks to you and all these; we congratulate you, and we thank the Great Spirit, that we have been permitted to live, to meet together this good day, and see each other face to face.

FATHER: I shall not take the same steps my brothers the Pattawatamies did; I shall be short, and speak out plain at once. He has said too much; I shall not do so.

FATHER: I tell you, our chiefs, at the commencement of the war, made every exertion they could to keep peace; they failed in this. Our chiefs adhered faithfully to the Seventeen Fires, and to all they had engaged to do; but they could not restrain their young men; their attempts to do so were unsuccessful.

FATHER: We were taken prisoners by the British; we were actually in their power; they forced the tomahawk into our hands, and we were compelled to take it up, or our situation would have been much worse. We will now, father, tell you the minds of our people, as we suppose you wish to know it. Father, as to our having hold of the British tomahawk, it is true, we had hold of it; but we have let it go, and will hold it no longer; some evil spirit brought us into that situation; but I will venture to say it shall never be the case again.

FATHER: Here is a number of the Wyandots from Brownstown; we thank the Great Spirit for bringing so many of us together here. Father, we, the Wyandots, are happy to meet you; we take fast hold of your hand as your children; now father you have heard the sentiments of your children the Wyandots; it is from their hearts, from their souls, and do not suppose it to be merely lip deep; this is all I have to say at present. As to examining our organs of generation, to see if we are men, we have not done so.

The council then adjourned until Thursday, to allow time to prepare the necessary war belt, &c.

THURSDAY, 14th July, 1814.

The emblematical war belt not being yet prepared, the council met, but as only a few of the chiefs attended, the council, without proceeding to any business, adjourned.

FRIDAY, 15th July, 1814.

The council met about 12 o'clock: Present, nearly all the chiefs of the Wyandots, Senecas, Delawares, Shawanese, Miamies, Pattawatamies, Kickapoos, and Ottawas. Charley, a Miami chief, advanced to the centre of the council house, and commenced, as follows:

LISTEN, BIG-KNIFE FATHER, to the voice of our council chiefs, our war chiefs, and young men. I heard your voice, Big Knife. You pointed out to me the voice of the Seventeen Fires. You told me it was their counsel for us to sit still, and be neutral; we heard your voice pointing out to us to be quiet at home, and remain neutral. When we heard your voice to us, you told us, Brothers, be quiet; the war concerns you not; remain at peace, be neutral; we call you children, but we are all the work of the same Creator; therefore sit still, be peaceable. This was your counsel to us.

It was a great while ago, at this place, when the great council sat here, and when we were all sitting here, that you gave us this advice. You then told us the way we should go, and how we should act; from that time, and from that situation, until lately, you kept drawing us this way. You had seated us at home, and you kept drawing us away from it; our council chiefs, and our war chiefs, were at a loss to know the reason of this; after some time elapsed, perhaps you took us into consideration; you came towards us; you made several encampments, and never considered until you came to us.

You came on until you reached where our grandfathers were seated; our young men were there a-sleep; they heard the firing of a gun, they awoke suddenly, seized their guns, and fired at random. You were the first shedders of blood, and not us. Listen! my warriors never crossed your line, or your boundary, to kill your people.

Here, Charley was interrupted by Mr. Johnston, Indian agent; who observed to him, he could prove what he had asserted, to be false; that before a single Miami Indian was molested by the whites, the Miamies had killed his (Johnston's) brother, at fort Wayne, and that he could prove, by a number of Indians, now present, that the Miamies had assisted in the siege of fort Wayne.

General Harrison then addressed the Miamies, and called upon the chiefs of that nation to avow or disavow the speech of Charley; that his intention was, evidently, to interrupt the harmony which now exists between the United States and the friendly tribes present, and to prevent the conclusion of a treaty; as every word he said was



calculated to rouse the passions and prejudices of the friendly tribes, against the United States. He therefore called on them explicitly to declare, whether they intended to join the United States or not; that if they thought proper not to join, they had come here in peace, under the sanction of a treaty, and might depart in peace, but that they must now explicitly declare, what course they meant to pursue.

The General then addressed all the Indians present, and observed to them that it must be evident to all, that the Miamies were endeavoring to excite in the breasts of the friendly tribes, sentiments unfavorable to the United States. He then proceeded to explain to them, that Colonel Campbell's expedition was intended solely against Tecumseh, supposed to be at Massasinaway, and such of the Miamies as adhered to him; and that Campbell was particularly enjoined, not to molest Silver Heels, but to shew him every mark of attention and kindness in his power, because he was known to be our friend; that Colonel Campbell, unable to discriminate between those who were our friends and enemies, had unfortunately and inadvertently struck some of our friends, when the blow was only intended against our enemies; that the way to avoid disasters of this kind, in future, is, and must be, for the friendly Indians to separate from those who were unfriendly to the United States, and have no communication with them; that by this means the Seventeen Fires would be able to discriminate, and would be enabled to afford to our friends that protection which they felt so willing and anxious to do. That the Miamies ought to have pursued this course, if they were so averse to war, as they now pretend; but that he was extremely sorry to find the Miamies appeared determined to harrow up every past transaction, which was calculated to excite impressions and sentiments unfavorable to the United States, when he had hoped these things would be buried in oblivion, and a permanent peace and friendship established between them; that if they thought proper to pursue this course he had no objection, but there were a number of Indians now present, who could prove the falsehood of Charley's assertions; and that he would now prove the Miamies were the aggressors; that he wished no more altercation or prevarication, but wished them explicitly to declare whether they intended to take the United States by the hand or not.

Charley then again proceeded.

FATHER: You have said I told falsehoods; my council chiefs and war chiefs have told me to come forward again and speak.

Listen to me, father Big Knife! I, Miami, am white all over, there is no spot in me; as I before told you, I tell you again, I cannot take hold of any thing bad and fix it on myself. You know, father, that he who has created bad, or been the cause of bad, it will follow him, his works will show it; I tell you again, father, we Miamies have not scattered; we hold ourselves all together. Again, father, our conduct has proved to you, that our intentions are not bad; we have brought our women and children with us, which will prove our intentions are not bad.

I again repeat that I love you; I do not intend to take hold of the tip of your finger, but to take fast hold of your whole hand, the hand nearest the heart; but I now tell you, I wish to remain at peace; I wish to remain neutral. Again, father, you told us to go away; I do not wish to do this; I wish to remain neutral alongside of you. I have told you our sincere wishes and desires; if you do not approve of it, I cannot help it; we wish to claim the ancient promise of remaining neutral. I have nothing more to say, father; I have told you all.

General Cass then observed to the Miamies, in substance, that their propositions of neutrality could not be accepted, nor were such propositions expected by the Government, especially as the Miamies had evinced, by their conduct at the commencement of the war, that they could not remain neutral. That, as it regarded their conduct, he knew nothing personally, but had every reason to believe they were the aggressors, and not the Americans; that he well knew propositions had been made to them to remain at home at peace, and to follow their ordinary occupations; that they had rejected those propositions, and had taken up the tomahawk on the side of the British; and continued to do the Americans all the injury in their power, until the British were thrown on their backs.

That when they came to Detroit, last fall, they were in a deplorable situation; their friends the British had left them to their fate; had left them to perish. That, even then, miserable as their condition was, and much as they had injured the Americans, the Seventeen Fires had generously taken them by the hand, and relieved their wants; that the Miamies then voluntarily offered their services, and promised to take up the tomahawk and strike our enemies. That the United States had since fed and clothed them, and that at Dayton, last spring, they had again renewed their promises to Mr. Johnston; that they must now be sensible it was them, and not the Seventeen Fires had used deception. That as to their having forgotten these things, it was impossible; their promises were voluntarily and solemnly given at Detroit, and he was witness to it.

That notwithstanding these solemn promises, thus voluntarily made, if they now felt a reluctance in complying with them, they were at liberty to recede; that the United States wished no assistance from them but such as should be voluntary. That they (the United States) had, thirty years ago, when in a state of infancy, put the British on their backs; that they were now a powerful nation, had attained to manhood, and could, without assistance, and with ease, throw them again on their backs. That the Miamies were not asked to take up the tomahawk in behalf of the Seventeen Fires, because we needed their assistance, but that, knowing their restless dispositions, that they could not remain neutral, that their young men and warriors could not be restrained, and if not for us, would be against us.

That the anxiety of the Seventeen Fires, for the happiness of their red brethren, was real and sincere, and not like the British, who resided three thousand miles from them, and who only pretended to care for them when they wanted to make use of them. The Seventeen Fires, on the contrary, wished to establish with them a solid and lasting friendship. That the Government of the United States had authorized General Harrison and him (Governor Cass) to conclude a firm and lasting treaty; that the propositions for a treaty had come from themselves, and had been forwarded to the President, who believed them sincere; that the United States wished for none of their lands; they merely wished to be in friendship with them; but that, if, after their own free offer and solicitations, they thought proper to treat on the terms proposed by themselves, which was, to take up the tomahawk and strike our enemies, we would give them the friendship and protection of the United States; it was well; but, if these were rejected, they (the commissioners) had no other terms to offer.

He conjured them, whatever their decision might be, to give it freely: for that, if they were determined on neutrality, or even on becoming enemies to us, they were safe here; they had come here under the sanction of a treaty, and might depart in peace; and concluded by hoping the Great Spirit, who directed all things, would direct them for the best.

General Harrison then addressed himself to the Wyandots, Delawares, Senecas, Shawanese, and the Pattawatamies, Kickapoos, and Ottawas, present, in substance as follows:

That he had hoped, this day, to have encircled in one strong chain of friendship with the Seventeen Fires, all those tribes present. That it was not so much a wish to gain their services as to secure their lasting friendship and permanent happiness, that the Seventeen Fires were anxious to cement this bond of union with their red brethren. That the United States were sufficiently strong to fight their own battles against Great Britain, without the aid of their red children, but that, knowing the restless disposition of their red brethren, and that, if not for us, they would be against us, they had a wish to secure their friendship. That the United States recollects with gratitude, the services rendered by the friendly tribes, at a time when, by treachery or cowardice, her affairs were reduced to a very low ebb, and a gloomy aspect; and even after the loss of some important battles, these tribes had faithfully adhered to the Seventeen Fires. That it was not because he doubted the sincerity or feared the defection of those tribes, that he should, at this time, again put the tomahawk in their hands, but in order again to renew those symbols of friendship, between the Seventeen Fires and their red children, which had heretofore been productive of so many benefits to both sides. That when the war belt was presented to the Wyandots, Senecas, Delawares, Shawanese, and those of the Pattawatamies, Kickapoos, and Ottawas, present, any individual or number of Miamies, present, who thought proper to take hold of the belt, would be received into the friendship and protection of the United States.

It being now too late in the afternoon to go through the usual ceremonies of presenting the war belt, &c. the council adjourned till to-morrow.

SATURDAY, 16th July, 1814.

The council met. Present, the chiefs of all the tribes.

Ronioness, one of the chiefs of the Brownstown band of Wyandots, addressed the commissioners as follows:

FATHER: Listen to what I am going to say to you. We thank the Great Spirit that we are met together in council this day; but, we believe, under great difficulties, as none of our principal civil chiefs are here now. However, father, a day or two ago, we Wyandots, of Brownstown, let you know our minds. We are of the same mind now. Father, listen. It is probable you know the situation we were in at Brownstown. You know we were forced by the British to act as we did, and that it was far from our wish or intention to join the British; but we were compelled to do so.

FATHER, Listen! We have now got clear of the scrape; we have let go the British tomahawk, and we never intend to take it up again.

FATHER: We from Brownstown have talked together; we are determined to adhere to the Seventeen Fires, and take part with them; we are determined to take hold of their tomahawk, and support their cause.

FATHER, listen! It would be extraordinary, if we from Brownstown should act otherwise than our brothers do. Here is our principal chief (Crane) has taken your tomahawk; we will do so too.

FATHER, listen! When you offered the tomahawk to the four nations who fought on your side, you offered it as is usual to do on such occasions. They took it voluntarily; we will do so too. Father, listen! When the British offered their tomahawks, it was different from your method. They told us if we did not take it up, to beware of the consequences. They even forced cripples, and aged men, who were not able to fight, to take up their tomahawk; but, you leave it to our own free choice. We therefore more voluntarily come forward, and take up the tomahawk with the Seventeen Fires, and with them we will strike their enemies.

FATHER, listen! I come forward voluntarily, and take your hand with my whole heart, and nothing shall again part us.

FATHER: This is the speech sent to us by Walk-in-the-Water, our principal chief. He is too sick to come here; but this is his speech, and his sentiments, and they are ours too. [He then presented a string of wampum from Walk-in-the-Water.]

General Harrison then addressed the Wyandots, Senecas, Delawares, Shawanese, Miamies, Pattawatamies, Kickapoos, and Ottawas, as friends, brothers, and children, and observed to them, that his friend who was joined with him in commission, had agreed that they should explain to the Miamies why their neutrality could not be accepted. He then observed to them, that, was their neutrality even to be accepted of by the United States, it would be unsafe for the Miamies, and be the eventual means of their destruction. That people who were wise, always take example by the past, to regulate their future conduct; that their own experience of late events, must have taught them there was no safety in neutrality on the frontiers; and their brothers, the Delawares, could also attest this fact. That, if their neutrality was agreed to, the enemy would take immediate measures to defeat it, by sending parties of depredators on the frontiers, and after plundering and murdering the defenceless inhabitants, returning home in a direction so as to fix the blame on the neutrals; that, suppose the intentions of the Miamies to remain neutral were sincere, and that they were to settle down quietly and peaceably on their lands near fort Wayne, or elsewhere, how easy would it be for the hostile Indians to send their plundering parties on our frontier, and after devastating and murdering our inhabitants, to return in a direction to the Miami camps; our people would of course follow, and pursuing the trace no longer than the first Indians they met with, and being unable to discriminate between friends and foes, the Miamies would of course not only be suspected, but fallen upon, and treated as the murderers and depredators. Nothing could save them from slaughter; and that this was the case, the Delawares would attest; and that their (the Miamies) adopting a neutral course, as they themselves must well know, from experience, would be the certain means of their destruction. That the Miami chief who spoke yesterday, (Charley) seemed to possess a wonderful faculty of forgetting the depredations committed by the Miamies, but took care to recollect every thing, and more than every thing, that was committed by us against them. That he was well convinced of the goodness of the chief's heart, and how much he wished to remain neutral, and prevent his young people from mischief; but that this could not be done, and the consequence would be, the first aggressions would be punished by our people following the aggressors; and not being able to distinguish between guilty and innocent, indiscriminate slaughter would be the consequence.

He therefore observed to them, that their propositions of neutrality could not be accepted, because he believed it would be the sure means of their own destruction, and because he thought, also, that, should the British but for a moment gain the upper hand, as was possible, all those who now pretended a wish to remain neutral, would instantly join them, and that, as the Miamies had rejected the propositions made to them by the United States, (a proposition which originally came from the Miamies themselves, too) of taking up the hatchet, and striking our enemies, we have no further propositions to make to them.

Crane, principal chief of the Wyandots, then got up, and commenced as follows:

FATHER, the President of the United States, and you fathers now sitting before me, listen! Brothers Shawanese, Delawares, Senecas, and all our ancient brothers, listen to the few words I have to say. It is a long time since I determined to abandon the British Government and their interest, and to join the United States. Here is this British silver I hold in my hand; (holding in his hand two British medals) I kept it, not because I thought it afforded me protection. I will now cut it to pieces, (striking the medals with a large knife) and give it up to my father the President. I have long been in friendship with the United States, and here (pointing to a large medal with the United States' coat of arms, which hung on his breast) is what I shall hold to in future. [He then handed to the commissioners, with every mark of contempt for the British medals, two valuable ones he had received from that Government.]

General Harrison then informed the Crane, that the commissioners were highly pleased with his conduct on this occasion; that it was the conduct of a sincere friend; that it had ever been the policy of the British Government to divide the citizens of those countries they had determined to conquer and oppress, and to instigate one tribe to the destruction of another; that they had pursued this policy in the East Indies, to the destruction of millions of the unsuspecting and inoffensive inhabitants; that whole principalities, districts, and kingdoms, were there laid waste by their rapacity and avarice, and that all history could attest this fact.

Picon, the principal chief of the Miamies, then spoke as follows:

FATHER BIG KNIFE, grand fathers the Delawares, brothers Wyandots, Shawanese, Senecas, Pattawatamies, and Ottawas, listen! Through the kind providence of him who made all things, we are permitted to meet together in peace. Listen, brothers: when I see you all lay fast hold of our father's hand with one consent, I join with you against our enemies the British. Listen, father Big Knife: You wish to be acquainted with me; you wish to know me. From what we have heard, all must be agreed with you. I now, father, together with all my brothers the Wyandots, Senecas, Delawares, Shawanese, Pattawatamies, Kickapoos, and Ottawas, join with you and them. I see you all joined together in one. I now come in and join with you. I embrace your measures, and what you may do, I will do also. I am glad to see you all take fast hold of each other's hands, and I take fast hold with you, to strengthen that chain which binds you all together in one common band.

I now petition the great spirit to strengthen those bands, and to keep us firmly together for the future. You have now heard my sentiments; you shall hear the sentiments of the others.

Chief of the *Wea* band of Miamies. FATHER, listen! My elder brother Wyandots, grand father Delawares, brother Senecas, Pattawatamies, and Kickapoos, listen! Our brother has laid down these medals he received from the British Government; I have none to lay down. Our father, here, knows I never had any of their medals. For this cause, elder brother Wyandots, when you were speaking to us to-day, and stating that our fathers the British had run away, and left us at the Rapids, then I lost confidence in them, and was glad to hear you say you no longer placed confidence in the British, and I join with you in this sentiment. And now, elder brothers, the Wyandots, when

we saw you lay down those medals, those instruments of deception, then did your younger brother the Weas really believe you, and that you had determined to cast off and expose the deception which they had practised on you. Now, elder brother Wyandots, you have long known me, and I know you. You called to me to come to Detroit. I have now come forward, and we see one another face to face. Your voice was extended to us; you called us together at Detroit, and then you deceived us, and led us astray.

Now, Father Big Knife, listen! When I heard your voice, I wondered at the cause. You appeared to look on us as if we were British; or perhaps you had forgot us. I heard you speak first, father; you told us of the British. You told us if the tomahawk was presented from any quarter, not to receive it; to look to you, to confide in you, and to listen to none but you. Again, father, it was at Detroit, where I had lost my own flesh, it was there I thought of the advice you had before given me. When we got to Detroit, and was sitting there, the British pointed at us, and called us Americans, and now we have come here to you, you call us British. Again, father: When I see you hold up the tomahawk to me, you tell me, if I take it, our blood shall be no more spilt by the Americans; that, if I do this, and look to you, and confide in you, all will be well with me. I therefore take hold of your tomahawk now, father, and I look to you to fulfil your words. Now, father, when I come forward to take hold of your tomahawk, you see me, and are acquainted with me. I am not the beginner, I am a younger brother, and for this reason I come in amongst the last.

Now, listen! I particularly address the Kentucky militia, and all the people who plant. I take hold of your hands for this cause; when the Kentucky militia spoke to me, I listened to what they said: I take fast hold of your hands.

And now, my elder brothers Kentucky militia, and Pattawatamies, I want you to listen to me. You are seated where I was once seated. You are now in the place, and on the lands I once occupied. And now, elder brothers Kentucky militia, I do not speak to you alone, I speak to the Pattawatamies also. I wish you to listen to me. I hope you will attend better to what I say than they do: for they never grant what I ask. What I have heretofore said, was more for amusement than any thing else.

Now, FATHER, listen: You have pointed out every thing which was good—and, in the middle of all, you have raised up the tomahawk. When I laid aside the tomahawk of the British, I never expected to take up a tomahawk again; but I now take fast hold of your tomahawk. I do not know what the result may be; it may be the destruction of all us red people, but the Great Spirit knows best, and he will direct. I understand you have been sent by our Great Father, the President, and that you expected to meet all your red children here; but, as many have not attended, I suppose you will be disappointed.

Now, FATHERS, listen: We have come here together; you are acquainted with we Weas. I am one of the younger brothers; I am not the beginner; I have come in at the last, and cast my lot in with yours.

Wabachecky, or White Fish, an Ottawa chief, then spoke as follows:

FATHERS: It is ordered by the Great Spirit that we meet here to-day, and talk together. You would have heard our voice long ago, but we waited to hear the voice of our elder brothers, the Shawanese, and they tell us to speak for ourselves. I remember what I told you on board the vessel at Erie; I then took hold of your hand. I remember I then begged you to have pity on us—to have pity on your red children; and all you see here now are friends. When you first spoke of the hatchet, we were ready to take it up; we want nothing said on the subject now. Here is a Chippewa chief, too, who is ready to take it up. We are all ready and willing to take up your tomahawk; we want nothing more said on the subject. Here is also a chief from the heads of Grand river come to this council, and has brought a speech, and a belt of wampum from his people; they are ready to join with you. The Pattawatamies, who are here, are all of the same mind as we are; they are all ready to take hold of your tomahawk.

FATHER: The reason you see our young men, and not our chief, here, is, that our chief is sick; we left him very sick, and not able to ride. These papers (handing some papers) belong to the Ottawas; these will show they are friends of yours; they have not changed their minds, and have kept these papers as an evidence of their friendship for you.

Toonqui-ish, an Ottawa, then came forward, and said:

FATHER: I do not like to hold this piece of property (holding in his hand a British medal) which I received from the Red Coats. I see my brothers, the Wyandots, have thrown theirs away; and I now throw mine away, or give it to you.

Little Otter, a Kickapoo chief, then came forward and proceeded:

Now FATHER: Seated at this place with your red children, you have heard all their voices.

FATHER: When I hear you all, when I see you all agree on one thing, and with one voice speak one thing, why should I turn aside when I see you all agree on one thing, and take measures to make the bonds of friendship more strong between you? I cast in my lot with yours.

Listen, FATHER: I discovered myself in a pitiful situation. When I saw all my red brethren flocking towards Detroit, I thought to get relief there, and I followed hindmost of all.

And now, FATHER HARRISON, listen: I often thought of the words you had spoken to me at Vincennes, but it was too late. After I had got seated at Detroit, I saw the British move off from there; I thought it would not do to follow them. I saw you coming, Father, and I remained there. And now, you have heard all I have to say, I salute you all; and I bow with reverence to the Great Spirit.

General Harrison then, after some introductory observations, presented the war belt, &c. which was accepted with great enthusiasm by the Wyandots, Senecas, Delawares, Shawanese, Pattawatamies, Kickapoos, Ottawas, and a part of the Miamies present; and was carried round by the chiefs of each of the tribes in their turn, singing the war song, and dancing the war dance. And the council adjourned, after giving instructions to the agents to furnish the Indians with whiskey, to whet their hatchets, &c.

SUNDAY, 17th July, 1814.

Despatches on various subjects relative to the mission, and to Indian affairs, generally, were this day made out by the commissioners, and forwarded, by express, to Chillicothe, from thence to be conveyed by mail to Washington city, directed to the Secretary of War.

MONDAY, 18th July, 1814.

The Indians having received a quantity of whiskey, in order to sharpen their hatchets, as they expressed it, were unfit for any business this day.

TUESDAY, 19th July, 1814.

This day the council house was cleared out, and a war post erected therein, round which the Indians, at their own request, had a great war dance, which continued the greater part of the day.

WEDNESDAY, 20th July, 1814.

An invitation came from the Crane, head chief of the Wyandots, to the commissioners, asking them to attend a religious dance which their red children were to perform early in the afternoon, and no other business was attempted.

THURSDAY, 21st July, 1814.

The council met. Present: The chiefs of the Wyandots, Senecas, Delawares, Shawanese, Pattawatamies, Miamies, Kickapoos, and Ottawas.

General Harrison then addressed all the nations present; and, informing them that he had understood the British were spreading the information amongst them, that they had been at war with France for a number of years, and had finally subdued that nation, and succeeded in placing on the throne of France the brother of the former King, who

was the friend of the British, and who would join them in the war against America; as, also, that several other of the Powers, on the continent of Europe, would assist them in the war against this country, and that the Americans must be beaten in the contest; the greater part of which was fabricated by them, to answer their usual purposes of deception,—he then went on to explain to them the situation of affairs on the continent of Europe, and that the present King of France was not only our friend, but that all the great Powers engaged in his cause, (the British excepted) were friendly to us; that they would take no part in the war between us and Great Britain, but would leave them and us to fight our own battles; that many of the Powers of Europe had the same jealousy of British usurpations as we had; but that, admitting they could send against us all the force of the kingdoms in friendship with them, they would be unable to conquer the United States. That the truth was, the French people themselves got tired of Bonaparte, because they found, under him, their taxes increased, their young men sacrificed to his ambition, and that, so long as he governed them, there was little probability of their ever being restored to peace. That the great council of the nation seeing this, and being joined by the people, they, with one voice, agreed to throw Bonaparte off, and to reinstate their former line of Kings; and that, so far from the British bringing all these things about, by their armies, they never were able, but in one instance, to penetrate France with their army; and that, even then, this army of theirs was several hundred miles distant from where those transactions above mentioned took place, and had no act or part in them. That our people, and the red people, were the only nations on earth who were really free, and governed by men of their own choice, and that this ought to induce them to be on terms of friendship with each other; because, when we fight, we fight to protect our rights, our women, and children, but, when the British fight, they feel no interest in the contest; they were compelled to fight as their King directed, and had no choice; they were, in fact, slaves, and obliged to obey the commands of their master; and the vast number of soldiers who deserted from the British, whenever opportunity offered, would go to prove how unwillingly they served, and how glad they were to escape. He then explained to them an affair which lately took place, on, or near, the river Thames, in Upper Canada, where thirty of our militia had surprised and beaten sixty British militia; had killed their officer, and taken all their baggage, horses, &c.

He also informed them that a runner had just arrived from Walk-in-the-Water, with a speech, expressive of his abhorrence of the British cause, and his determination to adhere, in future, to the United States; that sickness had rendered him unable to attend, but that he would be governed by any agreement Crane might enter into; and would, in all events, support the cause of the United States, and embark his all with them; and that no circumstances whatever should induce him, in future, to join the British.

He then informed all the tribes that a treaty would be prepared, expressive of the friendship of the United States and their red children towards each other, and all who thought proper, might come forward and sign it; that it would be ready by to-morrow, and would then be explained to them.

After which, Picon, head chief of the Miami nation, spoke as follows:

FATHER Big Knife, listen! Grandfather, Delawares; brothers Wyandots, Senecas, Shawanese, and all present, listen to what I have to say. You wish me, Miami, to make reply—listen. Father, when I heard you present the tomahawk to me, I took hold of it with all my might, and I join you, with my grandfather, the Delawares; brothers, Wyandots, Senecas, Shawanese, Pattawatamies, Kickapoos, and Ottawas, and will strike with you and them.

FATHER: You said you wished to hear us, and to know whether we Miamies should be included in the treaty. Why should we not be included? Father, our young men are all agreed with us. When you spoke of our lands last year, at Detroit, we laid fast hold of the tomahawk with you; we do the same now.

Now, FATHER: I was glad to hear you speak of including us in the treaty, and that our lands should be secured to us so long as the sun shone on them. All our people are glad with me, Father, that you confirm to us our lands, and that you will not deduct from us our victualling.

And now, FATHER: It is unnecessary for me to multiply words. I will do my best to comply with every thing I have engaged to do. The Great Spirit sees what we are doing, and he will be the judge of our actions, and see if we fulfil our engagements.

And the council adjourned until to-morrow.

FRIDAY, 22d July, 1814.

The council met. The treaty was submitted, and explained, particularly, sentence by sentence. The interpreters were each sworn to explain it faithfully and correctly, and, after being so explained, was signed by a number of chiefs of each nation, therein named, and by most of them with great apparent willingness and satisfaction.

After which, the council adjourned till to-morrow.

I certify that the foregoing is a correct and impartial journal of the proceedings of the commissioners, in the late negotiation with the Northwestern Indian tribes, and that, when the speeches are given at full length, they are nearly verbatim as delivered by the speaker, or, as rendered by the interpreter; and that, where the substance merely is given, the ideas of the speaker are preserved, as near as may be, allowing for the difference of style.

JAMES DILL, *Secretary to the Commissioners.*

GREENVILLE, 23d July, 1814.

*Extract of a letter from General Harrison and Governor Cass to the Secretary of War.*

GREENVILLE, 23d July, 1814.

We have the honor to enclose you a treaty, which was yesterday concluded with the several tribes of Indians assembled at this place. We flatter ourselves that both the matter and manner of the instrument will be satisfactory; two or three Miami chiefs only, refuse to sign, of all that were present. One is a half Frenchman, whom we know to have been in British pay, with the rank of Captain in the Indian Department. His objection was, that he wished to remain neutral. We gave them all distinctly to understand, that no neutrals would be permitted unless they would remain within the settlements. If they object to this, it is our decided opinion that they ought to be seized and taken to a place where they can do no injury.

*The Secretary of War to Major General Pinckney.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, March 17, 1814.

SIR:

The policy dictated, as well by the unprovoked, and unjustifiable conduct of the hostile Creeks, as by a due regard to the future safety of the Southwestern frontier, may be brought under the following heads, viz.

1st. An indemnification (for expenses incurred by the United States in prosecuting the war) by such cession or cessions of land, as may be deemed an equivalent for said expenses.

2d. A stipulation, on their part, that they will cease all intercourse with any Spanish post, garrison, or town, and that they will not admit among them, any agent or trader, who does not derive his authority or licence from the United States.

3d. An acknowledgment of a right in the United States to open roads through their territory; to navigate all waters and streams within the same, and also to establish therein, such military posts and trading houses as may be deemed necessary and proper. And,

4th. A surrender of the prophets and other instigators of the war, who will be held subject to the orders of the President.

With these outlines as your guide, you are authorized, in conjunction with Colonel Hawkins, to open and conclude a treaty of peace with the hostile Creeks, so soon as they shall express a desire to put an end to the war.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Major General PINCKNEY.

WAR DEPARTMENT, March 20, 1814.

Sir:

Since the date of my last letter, it has occurred to me, that the proposed treaty with the Creeks should take a form altogether military, and be in the nature of a capitulation; in which case the whole authority of making and concluding the terms will rest with you, exclusively, as commanding General. In this transaction, should it take place, Colonel Hawkins, as agent, may be usefully employed.

I am, &c.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Major General PINCKNEY.

August 8, 1814.

The chiefs of the Creek nation assembled at their square, and sent for General Jackson and Colonel Hawkins, to visit them. On arriving there, the Speaker, Tustunnuggee Thluccho, likewise said he wished to confer with the General on some points relative to the boundary up Coosa river, particularly to accommodate Au-ba-coo-che, at the solicitation of Is-ho-loh-tee, by giving back some lands west of Coosa. The General objected to the accommodation, as the people in that quarter had been already sufficiently provided for, and the ground asked for had been the thoroughfare of the murderers.

*The Speaker then addressed the General:*

The points now about boundary are pretty well settled, and we shall sign it; but, before we do it, and yield it up, we have something to say to you. We are a poor distressed people, involved in ruin, which we have brought on ourselves. It is not caused by any foreign people among us, but of our own color, of our own land, and who speak our tongue. They rose against us to destroy us, and we could not help ourselves. We called on three brothers, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, to help, but they did not come. We then called on Colonel Hawkins for our white friends and brothers to help, and you came. You have seen our red and white brothers mix their blood in battle; you have risked your own life for us, and came here; and here we meet. You have saved my life, and I am thankful for it. We have put our heads together and counselled on it, and have come to one opinion about it, and what we should do. We, the Creek nation, give you three miles square of land, to be chosen where you like, from that we are going to give up. We wish you to take it where you like, and as near us as you can, as, if we have need of you, you will be near to aid and advise us. We give you this in remembrance of the important services you have done us, and our token of the gratitude of the nation.

There is a man near you, Colonel Hawkins, the same, we give him three miles square. He has long been among us, helping of us, and doing good for our nation, and is their friend. He and I met at Coleraine, and were young men, and are now old; his children are born in our land. He is to select his land we give, where he chooses, on the land we are about to give up, and to sit down on it; and, if he dies, his children will have a place to live on. We do this as a token of the gratitude of the nation.

There is standing by you, George Mayfield, a white man, raised in our land, a good and true man, an interpreter; we give him one mile square of land, near you, that you may have an interpreter at hand, if we have need of you to talk with you.

Here is an old interpreter, thirty years in our service, Alexander Cornells; we give him one mile square of land to sit down on, where he selects, and near Colonel Hawkins, that he may continue his usefulness to us.

General Jackson replied, he should accept of this national mark of their regard for him, if approved of by the President, and he, the President, would appropriate its value to aid in clothing their naked women and children. He was well pleased they had noticed their old friend Colonel Hawkins, and his children born among them; and their conduct on this head, towards him and them, was much to the credit of the nation.

Colonel Hawkins replied, I have been long among you, and grown gray in your service. I shall not much longer be your agent. You all know me, that, when applied to by red, white, or black, I looked not to color, but to the justice of the claim. I shall continue to be friendly and useful to you while I live, and my children, born among you, will be so brought up as to do the same. I accept your present, and esteem it the more highly by the manner of bestowing it, as it resulted from the impulse of your own minds, and not from any intimation from the General or me.

Interpreted by

ALEXANDER CORNELLS.  
GEORGE LEVETT.

I certify the preceding to be the substance of what passed on the subjects embraced therein, between the parties named in my presence.

CHARLES CASSEDY, *Acting Secretary.*

*Eight P. M.* This morning the chiefs expressed to Colonel Hawkins they did not give to General Jackson the land to day to give it back to them in clothing, and other things; they want him to live on it, and when he is gone (dead) his family may have it, and that it may always be known what the nation gave it to him for. They say in the instrument to convey their intentions, expressed this day, it must be plainly expressed which are the towns, masters of the land; that they have been uniformly friendly to the United States, and faithful to their engagements in peace and war; that they consider the extending the line through their lands in the Lower Creeks as taking from them more than the equivalent offered, and they have claims which should be attended to. But as the General has no power about them, they will sign the line with him, it being demanded by him, and advised by their friend Colonel Hawkins, and there being no Red Club chiefs, masters of land, to do business with him. Mrs. Hawkins must be put in, with her children, as she has had much trouble to teach the Indians to spin and weave. The instrument of conveyance was drawn accordingly, under the interpretation of Mr. Cornells and Major McIntosh.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS, *Agent for Indian Affairs.*

We, the undersigned, chiefs of the Creek nation, now assembled at the treaty held between the friendly and hostile Indians, on the one part, and Major General Andrew Jackson, for the United States, of the other part, make known to all whom it may concern: That Cussetah and Coweta are the head towns of the Creeks, and, with Tuckaubatchee and Ooseoche, the owners of the Creek lands; and call ourselves, as we are, masters of the land. We have adhered faithfully, in peace and war, to our treaty stipulations with the United States. Finding that General Jackson, in drawing the lines around our country, to retain as much of that conquered from the hostile Indians as he deemed just, found it necessary, for political motives and purposes, to run a line from Oakfuskee, through our lands, which commences on the dividing ridge between the waters of the Upper and Lower Creeks, to Chattahoochee, and thence, eastwardly to the boundary of Georgia, within which there is a great quantity of lands actually our property, for which, he, as an equivalent, leaves to the conquered Indians lands between Coosa and Tallapoosa, we do not deem the exchange an equivalent. It shall not, however, interfere with the running the line, as we rely on the justice of the United States to cause justice to be done us, and on these conditions:

We request that General Pinckney's letter of the 23d April to Colonel Hawkins, and the answer thereto, of the 25th, be sent on with the treaty, which we will sign after delivering this instrument.

1st. Wishing to give a national mark of gratitude to Major General Andrew Jackson, for his distinguished services rendered at the head of the army from Tennessee, we give and grant to him, and his heirs, forever, three miles square of land, at such place as he may select, out of the retained lands.

2d. Our nation feel under obligations to Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, our agent, and to Mrs. Lavinia Hawkins, his wife, for the unwearied pains they have taken, both of them, for a long time, to introduce the plan of civilization among us, and to be useful to us; and as their children are born in our land, we, as a token of gratitude, give and grant to Colonel Hawkins, for himself, his wife, and children, three miles square of land, to him, and his heirs, forever, to be located in such part of the retained land as Colonel Hawkins may select, in one tract, or surveys of one mile square each.

3d. We give and grant to George Mayfield, our interpreter with General Jackson, a white man, raised in our land, one mile square of land, to him and his heirs, forever, where he may select, as a mark of our respect for his honesty and usefulness to us as interpreter.

4thly and lastly. We give and grant to Alexander Cornells, a half-breed, our old and faithful interpreter, who has long been in the public service, one mile square of land, at his option, in the retained land or lands of the Creeks, at his option to be located by him. We finally request, that the Government of the United States will ratify the foregoing acts of national gratitude, and by suitable deeds of conveyance to enable the parties to receive and hold the said lands, agreeable to our intentions, as herein expressed.

Given under our hands and seals, at the treaty ground, fort Jackson, 9th August, 1814.

[Signed by Tustunnuggee Thlucco, Speaker of the nation, Upper Creeks, and a number of other chiefs.]

*Extract of a letter from Major General Jackson to the Secretary of War, dated*

FORT JACKSON, 10th August, 1814.

SIR:

On yesterday evening my negotiations with the Creek nation were closed, by a cession to the United States of a territory, which will be considered an ample indemnification for all expenses incurred in prosecuting the war on this frontier. Considerations, interesting to the United States, relative to the Spanish dominions immediately south of us, induced me to procure the cession of all the Creek lands of consequence, bounding on foreign claims of territory, in order to prevent future connexions, injurious to our tranquillity. The documents which are evidence of this cession, I do not think proper to trust to ordinary means of conveyance, and therefore transmit them by Mr. Cassidy, from whom every explanatory information can be had, who will, as soon as practicable, hand them to the War Department.

CREEK AGENCY, 11th January, 1813.

I have not heard of the arrival of the annuity of the Creeks for the last year, and it should have been paid them by the end of the year. General Mason informed me of his having sent on that part called for in iron, steel, and cotton cards, by inland navigation. I have written to him to day; I have not heard of its arrival, and that I know of no inland navigation from Washington city to Georgia.

Travelling continues safe through the agency. I have had only one complaint for the last quarter; from a man robbed of small things on the public road, to the amount of nineteen dollars and a half, which, on application, I have paid, and charged to their stipend. Our chiefs are perfectly willing, and I am determined, that such complaints shall be satisfied in like manner.

General Hampton left here yesterday for the West, accompanied by Mr. Brown, the Senator from Louisiana, and his lady. The Senator on his way to Congress.

I am, very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

CREEK AGENCY, 18th January, 1813.

I have not heard from you on my communication of the 7th ult. I received from an Indian of note, low down on Flint river, the following information, which I have communicated to General Flournoy: "Paine is dead of his wounds; the warring Indians have quit this settlement, and gone down to Tellaugre Chapcopopeau, a creek which enters the ocean south of Moscheto river, at a place called the Fishery. Such of their stock as they could command had been driven in that direction, and he believed the negroes were going the same way. The lands beyond the creek towards Florida point, were, for a considerable distance, open savannas, with ponds; and, still beyond the land, stony, to the point." I have been kept too much in the dark relative to occurrences in East Florida. The political error of General Mathews embarrassed every thing. I attribute the darkness here to your being pretty much so yourselves, owing to your knowledge that something should be done, and not being authorized to act with effect.

On the 20th September, I recommended the report from the deputation to the Seminoles, in which the Spanish commandant at St. Marks was explicit as to the expected arrival of British troops. Some Indians below and near the forks of this river have received like information from Providence, and a British force is expected some where to the South and West. Our chiefs are, at times, much alarmed, from foolish reports circulated among them by idle worthless white people. Mr. Cornells, our assistant agent and interpreter for the Upper Creeks, and one of our most distinguished chiefs, writes me on the 16th: "I never saw nor heard so many lies as white people bring from Georgia: they disturb our chiefs very much. If there could be a stop put to these white liars, it would be a good thing, but I am afraid it will be our ruin." This dreadful mania seems to pervade our country, and is a serious alarming evil.

Travelling through the agency is perfectly safe, and the mails regular. The contractors are going on to complete the bridges. Captain Moore, with his command, was one hundred and seventy miles in advance on the 16th, and Captain Nix at fort Hawkins, waiting for the contract.

I am, with great personal regard, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

Colonel MONROE, acting as Secretary of War.

CREEK AGENCY, 1st March, 1813.

I have been much afflicted of late, with a cough and rheumatism. Our winter has been very severe, and of long duration. Here, in lat. 32° 39', every thing has still a wintery appearance, except our wheat fields. Mr. Barnard, the assistant agent and interpreter for the Lower Creeks, has just returned, after accompanying the troops to the Upper towns, and visiting the executive council of the nation. He has seen and conversed with most of our distinguished chiefs, who expressed to him a unanimous determination to be and remain with us, if they can. They complain "that the current of misrepresentation against them, from their white neighbors, seems to be generating hostility towards them, which is to jeopardise their peace and safety, unless it can be checked by the President of the United States: That their nation is not only charged with what their wicked young people do, although they, with-



out delay, give satisfaction for it; but with whatever every idle worthless vagabond chooses to invent and circulate against them."

Travelling, and the passage of the mail, is perfectly safe through the agency. We have three mails due from the city of Washington, which leaves us in the dark as to occurrences there. We have heard nothing of the stipend for the last year.

I am, respectfully, and with great personal regard, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG, *Secretary of War.*

CREEK AGENCY, 25th March, 1813.

I have sent Mr. Doyell up to you with a talk for the chiefs of the Creek nation. The subject is a serious one. Let me know the name of the Tuskegee warrior, whose name I cannot find out from the spelling of General Robertson. If your chiefs cannot fulfil their engagements, we shall be involved in ruin. We must do more than talk and promise. The killing, in a most barbarous manner, seven families, in a time of peace, and by chiefs, and their associates, sent on the business of the nation, makes this an act of the nation; and the nation must clear themselves of the guilt, by delivering up the culprits to the laws of the United States. Last year we solemnly promised to do justice to the white people, if they would give us a little time, and we executed eight for murder. There remains some yet alive, but they had fled our country. This year commences with the murder of seven families of our white friends, and war talks from the Northern nations to the four nations, to join in the war against the United States. The war talk comes with beads and hair, and our party kill seven families to hurry on the war. The Northern nations have a back country to go to, we have none. What do we want to do with war? Do we expect to drive the United States and take their country? This is impossible. Have the United States taken any land, or threatened to take any from us? They have not. Have they done us any injury for sixteen years that I have been among you? They have not. They have secured our lands so that it can only be purchased fairly from us; they have, at great expense, taught us to clothe and feed ourselves; all who have listened to my talks, can make their clothing, have hogs, cattle, farms, and money, and many of you have peaches, and might have other fruits, such as is common to white people. You have a public road through the country, on which the travellers leave a great deal of money every year. If you have any thing for sale, you can get money for it; and you now know what money is; all this is to be exchanged for war; and what will war bring us? An army, who will destroy our towns, kill our warriors, drive our women and children into the swamps to perish, and take our whole country to pay the expenses. The United States are great, powerful, and just. If we are friends, we have nothing to fear; their justice will preserve all our rights. If we make ourselves their enemies, their power will destroy us. All our old chiefs remember the last war with the British, when the Indians helped their friends, the British. The United States were then young, few in number, and unable to make their arms and other munitions of war; they have now more than doubled their numbers, can make their clothing, and every thing necessary in war. If the British and Indians could do nothing with them then, what can we do with them now? Our country is an open one; armies can come among us, any season of the year. They can bring their cattle and hogs for food with them; can find a great many cattle among us; will establish their forts at all suitable places, and keep the country; and what are we to do? We are brave men, and can die in battle; but is it not better to live, and enjoy our own property and the fine prospects before us, arising out of the plan of civilization? Is it not better to take murderers and thieves, and deliver them up to the laws of the United States, to answer for their own crimes, than for us to die in battle for them, to lose our country, and bring destruction on our women and children?

I have sent a talk to the chiefs of the Lower Creeks to help you if they can. I have stated your difficulties, and some which they are under themselves. I do not know what they can do. The love of rum has almost destroyed Cussetah and Uchee: whole families live by stealing from me. They even kill my cattle, to get the skins to buy whiskey. I have mentioned these things to the chiefs, and shall wait a little to see what they will do. I am here ready to help, but what can I do if the chiefs will not do their duty? How can I say one word in favor of a people, who, for want of doing their duty, encourage murderers to kill our friends, and the thieves to steal property from those who are placed here to save the nation? Are a few thieves to destroy the character of our nation? You are one of the great chiefs of this nation, and an officer of the United States. It is through you, principally, all my talks have gone to the nation. You have labored with me for their good; we know each other well. I have had no secrets in the affairs of your nation, or tricks to play off against you; all was public, fair, open, and above board. After all we have done, notwithstanding the murders of the last year, and the enmity manifested against us by some white people, hostile to our rights, I had confidence in the promises of the chiefs; I had confidence in their good sense, and boldly came forward in the defence of their transactions. You must exert yourself on the present trying occasion. You must cause justice to be done as it is demanded, and you must, as soon as you can, come down to see us.

Your cards and iron is come to fort Hawkins. I have hired a man to wagon it up to your house, and he will be there as soon as the road gets a little firm. I write you as one of your chiefs.

I am, your friend,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

MR. ALEXANDER CORNELLS, *Assistant Agent and Interpreter, Upper Creeks.*

*Colonel Hawkins, Agent for Indian Affairs, to Tustunnuggee Thlucco, Oche Haujo, and every chief of the Upper Creeks.*

CREEK AGENCY, 29th March, 1813.

I have received a communication from General Robertson, Agent of the Chickasaws, of the 5th of this month, from which I send you the following: "Seven families have been murdered near the mouth of Ohio, and most cruelly mangled, shewing all the savage barbarity that could be invented. One woman cut open, a child taken out and stuck on a stake. The Chickasaws were charged with the murder; but it has since so happened, that the Creeks were seen passing near Bear creek settlement, on their way home, and acknowledged they had committed the murder; that they had been with the Shawanee prophet, and had hairs and beads, with talks, from the Prophet and the Northern tribes, to these four Southern nations, to take up the hatchet against the United States. Two of the principal men of the Creek nation were along, leaders of the party, one named Tustunnuggee Ooche, of Wewocau, who lives at the Black Warrior; the other, Oosetenaule Keich Tustkey, living in Tuskegee. These are the people who brought the invitation to the Chickasaws to attend the grand council at Tuckaubatchee, after the Creeks had reported they had killed the party who murdered the people at the mouth of Duck river."

The name of the Tuskegee warrior is not spelt right, but you know him. Of all the murderous acts committed by savages against the people of the United States, this is the most outrageous. It is not done by thoughtless, wild young men, but deliberately, by a party under the command of two chiefs: and, what makes it still worse, by chiefs sent by the Creek nation on a public mission of peace and friendship to the Chickasaws, with the nation's talks, and a letter from the assistant agent and the Creeks—a great nation, in peace and friendship with the United States, and daily giving assurances to me of their determination to remain so. It now becomes my duty to inform you, this murderous outrage must be settled immediately, and in a friendly way. You must get together, one and all; turn out your warriors; apprehend the two chiefs and their associates, and deliver them to me, or some officer of the United States commanding on the frontiers, to be punished according to the laws of the United States. This you are bound to do, by the eighth article of the treaty of New York. Nothing less than this will satisfy the Government of the United States. Let me hear from you, as soon as you get together. This affair will not admit delay. The guilty must suffer for their crimes, or your nation will be involved in their guilt.



CREEK AGENCY, 25th March, 1813.

The enclosed communication will exhibit a recent complaint against the Creeks, as well as the course I have taken, in relation to it, to cause justice to be done. I have taken for granted the statement of General Robertson is true, although we have no instance, in the recollection of the oldest men among us, of chiefs, sent on a public pacific mission, ever having acted in so outrageous a manner. I received, to-day, a letter from Mr. Cornells, the interpreter for the Upper Creeks, and one of our most distinguished chiefs, of the 26th. He says, "I returned yesterday evening from a council of the chiefs: the Little Warrior, (one of the chiefs who led the party charged with the murders) who made a visit last winter to the tribes on the Northern lakes, returned home a few days since, and reported to our people that he had brought on talks from the Shawanese and from the British. The council held yesterday was in consequence of the reports, and to investigate the nature of the talks brought from the northward: but, on finding the purport of these several talks was to engage this tribe in a war with the whites, the Little Warrior was severely reprimanded by the rest of the chiefs, and ordered immediately to leave the council house, as a man unworthy to have a seat in it."

I have heard of the arrival of the cards and iron at fort Hawkins. I have delivered five hundred spinning wheels for the last year, and shall distribute the cards in the course of the ensuing week. I have not heard of the arrival of the money for the Creek stipend for the last year; the chiefs express some surprise at its being so long withheld from them.

I am, very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,  
BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

I have made a like communication to General Pinckney.  
GENERAL ARMSTRONG, *Secretary of War.*

FORT HAWKINS, 6th April, 1813.

An express is just arrived from the chiefs of the Upper Creeks, to inform me a white man is murdered, and one wounded, on the post road; about 200 miles from this. I believe, the murder near the mouth of Ohio, will be proved in the nation on the persons charged by General Robertson. The chiefs are to meet on the 9th, and request my advice and direction, as they are determined to be friends with the white people, their friends and neighbors, if they can, and will exert themselves with all their strength to this end. The Lower Creeks have promised to aid them. I have advised them to call out their warriors immediately, and, if not sufficient, to call out the warriors of the Lower Creeks, and, if they are not sufficient, to call on me, and I will assist them. I have directed them to deliver the murderers to me, and punish the mischief makers themselves. It is certain, runners are in the Upper Creeks from the Indians of the lakes, with war talks from them and the British. They are promised arms and ammunition, to be delivered to them at Pensacola, if they will take them against the United States. The chiefs are more alarmed than I have ever known them to be before. The mischief-makers seem determined to try their strength. As soon as I hear from the meeting of the nation, I will give you all I get, in detail, and an opinion founded on it. As the mail is soon to pass, I can only add,

I am, very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,  
BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG, *Secretary of War.*

CREEK AGENCY, 24th April, 1813.

*Estimate of the stipend to the Creeks, for the year 1813, to be furnished in money.*

Treaty of New York,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$1,500
Treaty of fort Wilkinson,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,000
Convention of the City of Washington, eighth instalment,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12,000
									16,500
Secret treaty with Alexander McGillivray, at New York, Great Medal chief, and associates,									
Hoboheithle Micco, of Tallassee,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
Cussetah Micco, of Cussetah,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
									200
									\$16,700

Efau Haujo, of Tuckaubatchee, died last year: these two are all remaining of those provided for by that treaty. Under the Road convention, the Creeks are to receive 500 spinning wheels, and 500 pair cotton cards, for the present year; the contracts for the whole are made to be delivered at the end of the year, at three dollars per wheel, 1,500 dollars.

There are three bridges and one flat to be finished this year, and some iron and steel to be wagoned to the agency and to Tuckaubatchee. This, with the bridges and flats made last year, cards sent on, 500 spinning wheels delivered that year, closes the contracts under that convention.

Cotton cards should be No. 10, or upwards: some numbered 4, 5, 6, sent on last year, are of no account.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS, *Agent for I. A.*

The chiefs are much in want of their annuity for the last year. As I know of no cause why it is suspended, I have none to assign them. They have, as usual, made due bills for the part assigned themselves, which they have negotiated with the U. States' factory. But the remainder is wanted to pay their warriors, and other contingencies of the nation, and to assist their old people in distress.

CREEK AGENCY, 26th April, 1813.

Mr. Halsted has sent me your letter to him of the 6th. You have not had a correct statement before you, of the subject to which it relates. General Hampton had the road opened through the agency, but built no bridges over the large creeks, or flats for the three rivers. By the convention, entered into at Tuckaubatchee, relative to the road, the United States were to build the bridges and flats, to regulate the tolls, and to give one thousand spinning wheels, one thousand pair cotton cards, half in 1812, half in the present year, &c. Your predecessor ordered the convention to be carried into effect. The spinning wheels for the last year have been made, paid for, and mostly delivered. The cards are received at the United States' trading house. Four bridges, over large creeks, and two flats, were made and paid for in that year; the three for which the draught in question was given, were also made. There remains one flat, and three bridges over large creeks, to be made, to complete this part of the convention. Contracts are also entered into for the five hundred spinning wheels, to be made by the end of the year.

As soon as I received orders to carry the convention into effect, I requested Mr. Halsted to advertise for contractors, in the usual form, and, on his report, to close the contracts. This was done. The rule has been, when a bridge was finished, inspected, and received, to raise an account in the usual form, on which a draft was given to Mr. Halsted to pay the same by a draft on you, at ten day's sight. The whole of the bridges and the flats would have been finished last year, but for the general sickness which pervaded all parts of our southern country. This retarded

the work people of our contractors, until the rainy season put a stop to their labor. They were to resume it again the first of May, and finish the three remaining, to complete the number required by the convention.

I am, respectfully, and with great personal regard, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG, *Secretary of War.*

CREEK AGENCY, *April 26, 1813.*

In my communications of the 29th March, 6th and 19th April, you have, in detail, the measures deemed proper by me, in relation to the outrageous conduct of some of the Creeks, mentioned therein. I now send you the result. No. 1, the report of the chiefs assembled in council; No. 2, my reply. I have, in my reply, availed myself of the occasion to present to the view of the Creek chiefs the necessity of viewing the navigation of Coosa river as a common right to all persons within the United States. This is alarming, in a high degree, to the Creeks, as they are fearful the whiskey trade down that river will bring ruin on their nation. But it must be got over some way, as, very soon, Tennessee must be gratified on this point.

Mr. Doyell, the assistant agent who accompanied the warriors, says he saw the four they killed at the Hickory ground: the Tuskegee warrior, one of the leaders of the murderers, was one. They could not take any alive; they fought till they were killed. Mr. Cornells, the assistant agent and interpreter for the Upper Creeks, and who is, in fact, the second chief of the nation, says he thinks the measures taken by the chiefs will apprehend or put to death the whole party. He is of opinion the reply of the chiefs is sincere, and may be relied on as such.

I am, respectfully, and with great personal regard, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJ. HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG.

TUCKAUBATCHEE, *April 26, 1813.*

*We, chiefs, now in council, of the Upper Creeks, to Col. Hawkins:*

You sent me a talk, and I received it. Colonel Hawkins, agent, and friend of the nation: you requested of us Upper towns to collect together, and to put to death our murderers. It is true, we have had people amongst us bringing mischief on us. Those people that committed the murder on the white people do not come in our old towns, but keep out on our frontiers, in the woods, that gives the old chiefs a great deal of trouble; and we were detained a long time, and could not get through it as quick as we wished. You mentioned the treaty of New York, made by Washington. The old chiefs turned out the young warriors; the old chiefs kept in their council; the young warriors found part of them at the Hickory ground, in a house, and they were obliged to attack them like as their enemy; they exchanged fire, and wounded one of our men; they killed four of the murderers. We thought they were all in one house, but the head of them was not, but in another house over the river. One made his escape; that party divided: one part went to the Hoithlewaulee's town; they were joined there by their brothers; and there the young warriors put to death three of the murderers. You told us that we must take them alive, and deliver them up to the laws of the United States; but that party at the Hoithlewaulee could not be taken alive, for they fought until they were killed. This is the case with all of them: for they all fight till they drop. The laws of the white people are, that they can take your people alive; but ours is not so: it is different from ours. The last murder was committed against the white people at or near the mouth of the Ohio. We old chiefs have killed seven of them; the old chiefs turned out their warriors, and punished that number; and that is all of the party that they could lay their hands on. The nation owed one life for last year: the murder that was committed on Duck river. We have been in search of this murderer ever since last Fall, but could not find him: he joined the party that committed the murder, and thought that his aunt was killed by the white people; but, since that, she has come in, and she would not let her nephew be killed; and we found out it was her fault, and we put her to death. The Little Warrior had six fellows, and he made seven, and three joined after they came in; all three we laid alongside of them; that makes seven of them. We heard of the murder that was committed on the big road, near the Wolf Path, but we could not tell, at that time, who had done it—whether it was white or red people of Oakfuskee. As soon as we found out the truth, we sent out our warriors, and had them put to death. There was two of them that committed the murder, and we killed both of them. This day we give you the account of the murderers that we have punished; and we shall make our law stronger concerning the murderers. This day we stated what we have done; and we are going to break up this day. We have been in council seventeen days. You was sent here by the United States to be agent for the Creek nation, and you was to be at the centre of the nation, near where they hold their council; and we were satisfied, when you was with us, that, when any trouble came on us, that we could be close together, and settle the business sooner; but, instead of that, you have settled off in one corner, a long way off, and we look upon you as one of our old chiefs, and you call yourself so. You sent me word that you wanted to send me an agent here; but one agent is enough for this nation. I have now given you an answer on that. Our council considers that you are a distance from us, and that we have got some of our people who have got learning from white people. This man that I want to write for us is not to be made agent of, but to write the talks of the nation.

Now I am going to state to you: You think that the Creek nation, in their mind and heart—you think that we lean to the Shawanee tribes, because you saw Tecumseh and his party dance in our square, around our fire, and some of our foolish people believed their foolish talks. It is true, they have punished white people, and we take their lives to pay, according to law. Our old chiefs and fathers have been fooled by the British. We are not a-going to follow their steps. You need not be jealous that we shall take up arms against the United States: we mean to kill all of our red people that spill the blood of our white friends. If all of the nations was a-going to make war on the white people, we would tell you that we wanted war, and not keep it as a secret; but we don't want war. The young warriors is a making of laws, the more mischief is done the more force to punish. You send a talk to the Lower Towns as well as the Upper Towns. Mr. McIntosh, of Cowetah, he brought warriors with him, and joined the Upper Towns. Mr. McIntosh's nephew was badly wounded; he was wounded at the Hickory Ground; and the other party that went to the Tekeewaulees, one of them was wounded in two places; he belongs to this town. This is all we have done on this affair.

Now, I will state another affair; we ask your opinion on the occasion: We have poor people, some may have cow hides, and some have other things, such as small fur and beeswax, to change for clothing. It appears as if all of the frontiers is blocked up, that is in Tennessee and on Tombigby settlement; some go by water. If you think but to let us know if there is no danger, that we may go to market. The Upper Towns had rather go to Tennessee, and the lower part had rather go to Bigby, by water and land, to trade. They have not got much to carry, only a little to buy some clothing, and a little powder to carry about to kill a little game, even if it is birds, not to consider it to spill blood of no color. When you think there is no danger, and send me word, then I can let the Upper Towns know.

We saw the accounts of Grierson's sons and grandsons. We old chiefs have considered the best to send them down to you, and then you can get the white people and them face to face, and settle their affair; and if they wont go, the chiefs must go and take property to satisfy the debt.

Old chiefs, your friends.

BIG WARRIOR, his + mark,  
*Speaker of the Upper Towns.*

ALEX. CORNELL, his + mark,  
*Ass't Agent and Interpreter.*

WILLIAM McINTOSH,  
*Speaker of the Lower Towns.*

Written by NIMROD DOYELL, *Ass't Agent.*

*Colonel Hawkins, Agent for Indian Affairs, to Tustunnuggee Thlucco, Mr. Cornells, and Mr. McIntosh, chiefs of the Upper and Lower Creeks.*

CREEK AGENCY, April 24, 1813.

I have received your communication of the 21st; your conduct does you great credit, and will give your Father, the President, pleasure. I have been of opinion that the Creek chiefs had too much understanding to meddle in the wars with white people. I never expected they would join the British against the United States; but I have expected, unless they exerted themselves, and put a stop to the murdering of our white neighbors, they would bring war and ruin on themselves. You have taken the right way to prevent this, by punishing immediately every man who violates your laws, by murdering and plundering your white neighbors. I expected you would have been able to take these fellows alive; but, as they made battle, your warriors could not do otherwise than what they have done. You must use all the measures in your power to apprehend and punish those who have escaped. If they can be taken, deliver them to me. It is not an equal number the white people want, it is the guilty; and they want no innocent person to suffer. When people join murderers to defend them, they are guilty, and it is right to punish them also.

Our armies are gathering, and I expect you will hear of a great deal of fighting this summer; take care that none of our people are engaged in it. It has been a fortunate thing that you have found out and punished the two Oakfuskee men who committed the murder and robbery on the post-road. I expect we are now in possession of Mobile, and that the Spaniards are gone off. Mobile is a part of the United States; you can go there to trade, and will be treated kindly. There is nothing to prevent your going to fort Hawkins, and the stores in the neighborhood; and your trading path to Pensacola has no obstructions. The Spaniards are our friends. In the present situation of affairs between you and Tennessee, I would not advise you to let your people go on that frontier. They are exposed on one side to the incursions of Indian war parties from the northwest, and are strongly prejudiced against you, which your people have given cause for; and, when jealousy is once up among one people against another, it requires some time to remove it. The people of Tennessee did not ask you to help them against their enemies; they looked on you as friends, and were willing to assist you to become a great people, by paying a part of the expenses necessary to the plan of civilization. While this was the case, a part of your people murdered their women and children at Duck river; and, before you settled this outrageous act, another party murdered some of their near neighbors. These things puts them to expense to raise and support armies to punish the transgressors. One complaint they have against you is, when you know these things you are slow; you do not apprehend or punish such transgressors, until it is found out among white people, and a demand made on you. As you are, from your situation, the first to know of their murdering, you should not wait to be called on, which gives an opportunity to the guilty to escape, but seize on immediately, and deliver them up to the laws of the country they have violated. As we are now in possession of Mobile, you will soon see people from Tennessee coming down Coosa, with their produce, to market; when you see that, you will see you are friends, and you may go that water path together to trade, either to Tennessee or Mobile. It is a natural right you both have; you both live in the United States; you can use the waters any where, and roads for trade or travelling, and the white people will do the same. You have, both, your land marks: touch not the land of one another, but use your waters and roads as friends. When this is the case you will be friends, and not before. When this is the case, all jealousy will be removed. All water courses were intended for the use, comfort, and accommodation, of those who live on them: those who live at the mouth use them, those who live half way up use them, and those who live on the head use them; all can make use of them, without injury to the waters or to one another. And, when that is the case, and each take care to punish transgressors, the water-path is safe and free. No one has a right to prevent the Alabama people from going to Mobile and New Orleans, through any of the waters of the United States, or the people of the Black Warrior from going the same way. It is time for us to understand these things, and to act on them.

I shall send your talk to General Pinckney, to the Secretary of War, to the Governor of Georgia, and to the Governor of the territory where the murder was committed.

I am your friend, and the friend of your nation.

It is honorable for your warriors to be wounded in obeying the orders of their chiefs.

*Copy of a letter from Benjamin Hawkins to General Armstrong.*

CREEK AGENCY, 3d of May, 1813.

Since my communication of the 26th ult. I have received the enclosed answer of the chiefs to my address to them of the 24th, in which I had introduced the probability of Coosa river soon being used for the purpose of trade. I have received, also, the detailed report of Mr. Doyell. The chiefs expect, as you see, a party of the Shawanese from the northwest, and are alarmed for the consequences. I am informed the Spanish commandant at St. Marks has recently issued out some powder to the Seminoles. O'Kelly, a half breed, of property, recently from Pensacola, says he saw and dined with a British officer there, who informed him he had a ship there, loaded with powder and arms, for the red people, and that, having heard the Americans had surrounded Mobile, he should go immediately and drive them off. O'Kelly had much conversation with the officer about getting drunk; he has not a distinct recollection of any thing further.

An invitation has been sent up to Tallassee, one of the largest of our Upper towns, from the Governor of Pensacola, to the British officer, to come down to Pensacola, and they have gone, about three hundred men. I know not whether this movement has originated from the information detailed by O'Kelly, or in our occupancy of Mobile; it being understood here, our troops were to take it on the 10th ult.

In the measures adopted here, I have in no instance countermanded the idea, that Indians would be employed in our wars with white people. I called on the chiefs of the Lower Creeks to aid their brethren of the Upper Creeks with their warriors, and advised their sending not less than fifty, nor more than one hundred, under their most distinguished leaders. This I was induced to do from an opinion, that, if these murderers were not punished on the first attempt, they and their adherents would gain strength; but, that a respectable force from below, under our greatest leaders, going forth, and acting promptly, and with effect, would stimulate their brethren, intimidate the adherents to war, and, if not effectually crush such abominable doings, at least give time to the chiefs to make ready to oppose with force the evils with which they were threatened.

The packet from the British, and war talks from the Indians of the lakes, were hid out by the murderers who came as runners. The speaker of the nation thinks they can be found, and in the event of their being so, shall be sent on to me. The leader of the party said he had been in one battle against the Americans, probably that against General Winchester, and came immediately thereafter to this country. The fourteen towns of the Lower Creeks, are to convene on the 5th, at Coweta, to ascertain, if they can, the object of the Spaniards in issuing out powder to the Seminoles, and what can be the object of the invitation to Pensacola, and to take measures accordingly.

The chiefs never were in greater need of their funds than at present, to pay their warriors, and contingent expenses of their government. I have told them I know not why it is withheld. It is not presumable that the calumnious reports against the Creeks, or their agent, fabricated in Tennessee and Tombigby, aided by a mite from the frontiers of Georgia, could have had any weight with the Government.

I do not know what we shall do about the stoppage of the mail in this direction. The sub-contractors and riders have been so long without money, they are discouraged, and unable to procure horses or food. I have apprised the postmaster of this on the 29th March, and subsequently.

I am, respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG, Secretary of War.

TUCKAUBATCHEE, 26th April, 1813.

SIR:

You have given your talks to the chiefs of the nation. They considered on it, and they give you an answer, with a runner, to let you know what they had done, and you gave them an answer, and received it. At sunset a runner came to one of the party in pursuit of the Little Warrior, of We-wo-cau; when the meeting broke up, the chiefs ordered three men, appointed to find the Little Warrior; Captain Isaac was one, Ta-lo-see Fix-i-co, Is-poak-oke Haujo, was the party. One of the party discovered where he was, in the swamp, and at last they got him out of the swamp; he was well armed with arrows, gun, and pistols, and he was determined to kill any person that would oppose him. You told us the treaty was to deliver the murderers up to the law of the United States; when we punished the others, he knew that he had to die, and it was out of our power to take him alive, and we had to put him to immediate death. You told us, that he had talks for the nation, and I told you he had no orders for these talks from the nation; what I tell you is the truth. Last night, about 10 o'clock, he was killed by Is-poak-oke Haujo, and his party, on the sunrise side, about one quarter of a mile from the Coosa river; the first and second man's gun snapped at him, but the third man's gun fired and killed; Tallitick Haujo, he is the man that killed him; he is one of the We-wo-cau; four men, that had on pouches, kept them shaking, following after him, so that he could not hear the gun snap; if he had found out that, he would have wounded a good many with his arrows; when they put him to death, they burned his arrows. When the chiefs kept in council, they made strong laws; we have killed eight for the murder at the mouth of the Ohio; two for the murder at the Wolf-path; one for last year, for the murder at Duck river; in all eleven, since the 16th of this month. The Shawanese sent the Little Warrior, as a runner, to inform this nation that they were a-coming; if they should come in this nation, you will distract the nation; I wish you would keep them back. I wish you would inform the agent of the Chickasaws not to let them come in, or through their land; and, likewise, the people of Tennessee; for, if they should come, it will not be for our good, and I leave it to you, for to keep a watch and a look out; this is the notice that I give you; do as you please with it.

There is one thing I am going to mention to you; the talks that we received from you this day, we have considered on it; we have done all we could to punish our murderers; you have told us, that if we did not punish all of them, that we should lose our land to Chattahoochee, and to Coosa waters. The chiefs thought best to save their land, and they did all in their power, and punished all they could: that no nation was to come and cross in our land by land or water, to bring trouble in our rights. Now, you white people have large, and a great many people to surround us; you have told us that there was no enemy to come and disturb us; that if you saw any, you would be able to keep them back; that nothing should fret the nation. Now, Colonel Hawkins, you say you are a friend to the nation, and one of the old chiefs; if any people of any nation should use the waters of the Coosa, it will bring trouble on us, and I hope you will inform the people of Tennessee, and Cherokees, of these talks; that if any thing should happen, I shall tell you I told you of it. I have stated this to you; the nation was obliged to give up the public road, and they knew that would bring trouble on them, and since that, the nation have spilt blood, and we had to give satisfaction. If they have give up the waters of the Coosa, it will hurt the feelings of the Creeks; it will not do. You thought you would mention this waters to them, to bring trouble on them, and destruction at once; you mean to destroy us, on these waters, in trying to make use of it, when we don't allow of it. You have mentioned nothing of the horses that I mentioned to you, and about the native that we want to write for us.

I am, your's,

BIG WARRIOR, + his mark.

ALEXANDER CORNELLS, + his mark, *Assistant and Interpreter.*

Written as interpreted.

NIMROD DOYELL, *Assistant Agent.*

Colonel BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

*Report of Nimrod Doyell, Assistant Agent for Indian Affairs, to Colonel Hawkins, the Agent.*

On the 16th of April, the chiefs of the Creek nation assembled in their council house, at Tuckaubatchee; requested me, with James Cornelns and David Tate, to accompany the warriors, to witness their conduct in executing the orders of the nation, on the demand for satisfaction of the 25th March. The orders to the warriors was strictly in conformity to the demand. The chiefs McIntosh, of Coweta, and Tustunnuggee Hopoie, of Tuckaubatchee, commanded the party sent after the Little Warrior, and his party, who committed the murder near the mouth of Ohio, in February. The warriors marched that day, expecting to find them at the Kahowlaw village. We followed in the morning, to overtake them that day. In the evening, information was received, that the murderers, or a part of them, were at the Hickory ground, and a part gone to Hoithlewaulee; upon which, the warriors divided, marched all night, and, before day, the party going to the Hickory ground surrounded the house they occupied, and attempted to force the door. The murderers having discovered them, fastened the door, gave the war whoop, began their war dance, and fired on the warriors. It was returned, and the firing continued as long as the murderers had any balls. Fire was put to the house; the Tuskegee warrior was wounded, and burnt in the house; two others wounded, who requested to be taken out of the fire; having crawled to the door, were taken out twenty yards from the house, and there put to death with tomahawks. They were brothers of the Tuskegee warrior, and young men. Two broke from the house and run to get off; one was wounded and got off. The other, Hocolen, overtaken and killed at the river side. These two were from Tuckaubatchee, and both young men. During the fight, the Tuskegee warrior said he had killed and eaten white people, and he had killed and cut open the white woman near the mouth of the Ohio. These four we saw after they were dead; some we knew of ourselves, and the one in the house then burning, was reported to us by the warriors, who knew and reported his conversation. The Little Warrior had that night remained the other side of the river, and escaped for the present. Three chiefs, Captain Isaacs, Ta-lo-see Fix-i-co, and Is-poak-oke Haujo, were ordered by the chiefs, each of them, to take a party and pursue him. They found where he was, in a swamp, decoyed him out, and put him to death; he was well armed with pistols, a gun, bow and arrows, and fought till he was killed. Two of the warriors in the affair at the Hickory ground, were wounded; one, a nephew of Mr. McIntosh, had his left arm broke, and the ball entered his side; and Washington, son of Mr. Cornelns, wounded in the hand. The party sent to Hoithlewaulee, was commanded by Enchaw Micco, of Coweta, and Noocose Haujo, of Tuckaubatchee. They found one of the murderers, and his brother, who defended themselves, and made battle until they were killed; the other made his escape. As there were but two guilty in the town, brothers, and one killed helping his brother, the warriors were told by the king, the debt was satisfied. The one who thus escaped could speak English pretty well. This fellow got his gun and set out the morning after, to kill white people. The women hid the canoes. The old Micco Hutkeo of that town communicated this to me, and I to the chiefs. Upon reading to them your communication of the 24th April, I told them you say, "it is not an equal number the white people want, it is the guilty; and they want no innocent person to suffer." Upon reflecting on this, they determined on his execution, and sent Nagomau, of Tuckaubatchee, with warriors to apprehend or put him to death. He made battle, fired at the warriors, and was near killing one; the bullet passed near his ear. He then drew his knife and tomahawk, defended himself, and the warriors shot three balls through him. He fell, retained the power of speech till next day, and died. He said he had been to the Shawanese helping of them, and had got fat eating white people's flesh. Every one, to the very last, called on the Shawanese General Tecumseh. This fellow had been five years with the Northwestern wearing Indians, and after he was wounded, told the town people, the nation would be ruined for killing him, and not taking the Prophet's talk. Here one of the leaders of the warriors, Noocose Haujo, received two wounds; one in the hand, and one in the thigh. This fellow, who spoke English, and his brother, one of the murderers, upon returning to Hoithlewaulee, received a frolic from their town. The morning after, they loaded their rifles and went off, saying we will go on the road, kill some white

people, and give you a frolic. Upon getting to the road, they were met by some of their town acquaintances with arms, coming from Pensacola, and returned with them. They repeated their attempt, and were brought back in like manner. They continued to persist in this intention till they were executed.

The two men who committed the murder on the road near the Wolf warrior's path, did it for property. One of the murderers, upon returning from Pensacola, with a saddle belonging to the murdered man, got a little drunk, and said, the master of this saddle I have left on the road dead, and have a heap of money, hard money and paper; they were both Oakfuskee people. The chiefs sent two parties after them; one they found and killed at Inmookfau, and the other at Kinhijee. Their uncles went with the warriors and pointed them out; one was arrested at Kinhijee, and when tying him, he slipped out a knife to defend himself, when a warrior standing before him with a knife in his hand, cut across his belly, let out his guts, and killed him.

The woman killed was in their way; she had been out with a party hunting, and report came, she and all her party were killed by people of Tennessee. Her nephew, believing the account, went with a party, and was one who did the mischief at Duck river. She afterwards returned, being, in this Indian's way, the cause of the murder, and charged with harboring her nephew; the chiefs ordered her execution. Kendal Lewis, who is a smith for the Upper Creeks, accompanied me, and is knowing to all I know.

CREEK AGENCY, 3d May, 1813.

NIMROD DOYELL, *Assistant Agent.*

*Letter from Benjamin Hawkins to General Armstrong.*

CREEK AGENCY, 10th May, 1813.

The sub-contractor, Mr. Sherley, who accompanied General Flournoy through the agency, returned on the 8th, with two mails, leaving two on the way. He reports, "I did not see one rider who had any fears on account of the murder on the post-road, any more than if it had happened in the white people's country. I am certain the murderers are put to death, and all concerned with me are under the opinion they are so; and as the chiefs have acted with spirit in putting their murderers to death, we think it will have the effect of deterring others from the commission of similar crimes." I have sent his report, accounting for failures in the transportation of the mail, to the Postmaster General.

I am informed by an aid-de-camp of General Wilkinson, our troops took possession of Mobile peaceably, on the 14th ultimo.

I am, respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG.

*Letter from Benjamin Hawkins to General Armstrong.*

CREEK AGENCY, 17th May, 1813.

The invitation to the Tallasees to go to Pensacola, turns out to be a bubble. They have returned without receiving any thing from the commandant there. They saw no British officer with arms and munitions of war for Indians. They say they were informed the Governor of that place was at Havana, and on his arrival would leave presents for the red people.

I have received your commands of the 1st; you will, ere this, have received the proceedings of the chiefs and warriors in relation to my demand of the 25th March, which was in conformity with yours. The lower chiefs have, on the 8th, unanimously determined to conform themselves strictly to the orders of the agent for Indian affairs.

Mr. Fromentin, a Senator of the United States, and lady, are here, having come through the agency, on their way to the seat of Government. Captain Woodruff passed us with his command, (about fifty) going westwardly, a few days past.

I have the honor to be, respectfully, and with great personal regard, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG, *Secretary of War.*

*Letter from Benjamin Hawkins to General Armstrong.*

CREEK AGENCY, 7th June, 1813.

I received a letter of the 24th ultimo, from the Governor of Georgia, introducing a General Harris, a patriot of East Florida, to me. The general came with an associate, Major Sanchez; they said the object of their visit to me was to know the present disposition of the Indians towards them. They could not submit to the present order of things at St. Augustine. The military force there being of that description of people, mostly blacks or mulattoes, abhorrent to them, and from whom they were not to expect justice. They now had friends, money, and supplies, and if the Indians would not interfere, they could do very well for themselves; and as the Indians had made overtures of peace to me, they came for my advice, if I felt free to give it. I replied, "I had not heard from Government, or any officer of it, how our occupancy of East Florida had terminated. I could inform them, the Indians would not renew hostilities, unless provoked thereto by the cow and horse thieves in their neighborhood; pointed out to them how they might ascertain their disposition for peace, and gave them a short note to Mr. Kinnard, and the Wolf warrior, who, upon seeing them, would know what to say to them." They left me, and I received this note from them of 31st of May: "We met the Wolf warrior, Mr. Kinnard, the Cussetah king, and several other chiefs, among which was a deputation from Kinhijee, (king of the Seminoles) quite a providential meeting. We were treated with much respect, and every arrangement agreed on, so that we conclude our journey will be productive of much good. We go home satisfied. I write without a pen, and no more paper, or I would detail further particulars."

Finding the Governor of Georgia had received some information which he required to be explained, relative to hostile appearances among the Indians, and that he had established a scout party on the frontier, I wrote him the 31st ult. "From the present disposition of the Creeks, there is nothing hostile to be apprehended from them. The chiefs are as well convinced as I am, that their existence as a nation depends on their observance of their treaty stipulations with the United States. They have a national, as well as town government, and have found, by the recent experiment, it is efficient to a certain extent. They have put to death eleven between 16th and 26th April, for murder. I have a communication, directly or indirectly, with every town in this extensive agency; a daily intercourse with some of the chiefs, and in the habit of rendering acts of kindness to many. Situated as the agency now is, it is more likely to obtain, and to give correct information, than by any other mode. If I find any symptoms of hostility among them, I shall apprise you of it without delay. If my fellow citizens on the frontiers will withdraw their intrusions on Indian rights, and be honest, they have but little to apprehend. If they will but only lend their confidence to the officers of Government, and co-operate with them for the public peace and happiness, we should go on very well, and ease the timid mind of a frightful load."

Upon a paragraph of a letter from Governor Blount to W. G. Blount, who, on the authority of two volunteers, says, they have found three hundred fresh scalps of men, women, and children, at Aulotchetaw, which proves the hostility of the Indians, I say to the Governor of Georgia, "I believe you will not take upon yourself to say more

than one of these was taken from your frontier during the last year." I have been under some apprehensions that the Creeks would be involved in difficulties by some of their neighbors hostile to their rights; but these apprehensions were removed by the arrangement of military districts, and placing all military force under an officer of the United States. As soon as I saw this, I commenced reporting the situation of Indian affairs to the commandants of No. 6 and No. 7.

I have the honor to be, respectfully, and with great personal regard, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG, *Secretary of War.*

*Colonel Hawkins, Agent for Indian Affairs, to the Big Warrior, Little Prince, and other chiefs of the Creek nation.*

CREEK AGENCY, 16th June, 1814.

I have received your talk relative to the execution of Auttossee Emautla and son, as prophets or instigators of the war. You say the white people at the posts will kill you, if you kill the prophets. There is a mistake in this statement. The officers who take prophets and instigators of the war, will keep them prisoners until they hear from the President of the United States; such as is delivered up to them by the Red Sticks, will be kept in like manner. Those you take, you will try, and if guilty, punish your own way. Women, children, and others, should be forgiven. The white people have forgiven them. I expect Yauholo Chapco, and Hopoie Yauholo, are prisoners of General Graham, and in possession of his guard; if so, let them alone, fill you hear from the President. If they are not delivered up, you can hunt them, and all like them, and put them to death. But they would not be near the Fork unless they were delivered up by their party, or by their own consent; and of course, are prisoners to our army.

As your corn is now planted, we must begin to look about us. If the enemy are not conquered, we must go after them again, and follow them up, until we conquer them. It matters not who comes to help them, British or Spaniards; the United States will help us, and we shall be an over match for them. We fight on our own ground, and they are foreigners, who, if they come, it will be to deprive us of our rights. The British have tried us before, when we were not half so powerful as we are now, within our recollection, and found us strong enough to defend our rights.

You should keep a look out towards the Seminoles, and see what they are about. I expect they are friendly to us; we are so to them, and wish them well. If they are going to war against the people who are trespassing on their rights, at Aulotchewau, let them do so; we have no objection to their claiming and supporting their rights. They are Spanish Indians, and if the Spaniards help them with arms and ammunition, we have nothing to object to it. The Spaniards and the United States are friends. If the Spaniards help the Creeks, who are fighting us, they will break the chain of friendship between us, and we must treat them accordingly. I do not expect the Spaniards will help our enemy. They may, as an act of charity, give them something to eat; and this we will do ourselves, and forgive them their past transgressions, if they will apply to our military posts, and deliver up their prophets and leaders in mischief.

Since writing the foregoing, I received your reports from the Wolf warrior, Tullaupau Haujo, and John Stedam. It appears the British have landed some men on Deer Island, and are in possession of it. Their talk is perfectly in character with their usual mode of deceiving and using Indians, for their own wild projects of ambition. They come to see if any of the hostile Indians were left alive, and to help them. What is their help for? To destroy the old chiefs and friendly Indians. They say so. "They do not help them against the United States; they and the United States are to be friends this summer; and if they war against the United States they will be ruined." They have talks for Cussetah and Coweta, and the four nations: what have they to do with the four nations? The British have no lands here. What did they send Bowles among us for? To shew our women and children how to spin and weave, to plough, to raise hogs, horses and cattle? No! he told you to throw all these things away. Your father, the British king, did not want his red children to work; his white children would work for them.

What did your father, the British, tell the prophets, the beginning of this war? Tecumseh, in the square of Tuckaubatchee, delivered their talk. They told the Creeks not to do any injury to the Americans; to be in peace and friendship with them; not to steal even a bell from any one of any color. Let the white people on this continent manage their affairs their own way. Let the red people manage their affairs their own way, and this, too, in the name of the British. What was the actual meaning of this British talk? Your whole nation can answer this question. Kill the old chiefs, friends to peace; kill the cattle, the hogs, and fowls; do not work, destroy the wheels and looms, throw away your ploughs, and every thing used by the Americans. Sing "the song of the Indians of the northern lakes, and dance their dance." Shake your war clubs, shake yourselves; you will frighten the Americans, their arms will drop from their hands, the ground will become a bog, and mire them, and you may knock them on the head with your war clubs. I will be with you with my Shawanese, as soon as our friends the British are ready for us. Lift up the war club with your right hand, be strong, and I will come and shew you how to use it. Has this proved true? Go to the fields of Talledega, and New-yau-cau, and see them whitened with the bones of the Red Clubs. Look to the towns, not a living thing in them; the inhabitants scattered through the woods, dying with hunger, or fed by the Americans.

When this was done, the Americans destroyed, your stock, and every thing coming from them, destroyed, how were you to live? Were the British people to work and make food for you? No! the buffalo, bear, elk, deer, turkeys, ducks, wild geese, with dumplings growing on the trees; these were to be your food. Is this true? I will explain to you this talk; its meaning is clear. When you have thrown away every thing in your country, and cannot live there, go to the British, if you be but skin and bones; they will fatten you; they will feed you for your blood. They want you like blood-hounds for their purposes. As long as you will fight for them, they will give you arms, ammunition, and food. When they are driven from our country, they get on board their vessels, and leave you to be destroyed by your enemy.

When the American armies, under Washington, drove the British from this country, what did the British King do for his red children? All you old people can answer this question. He did not name you in the treaty of peace, and gave away all the lands of his red children, this side of the Mississippi. What did Washington, at the head of the American people, do for you? Your old people can answer the question. He made the treaty of New York with you, which saved your country, and sent the plan of civilization among you, to feed and clothe you. When the British want war, they are your fathers, and give you arms and ammunition for blood. In time of peace, you are a set of naked, mangy dogs, not worth their notice.

You have done right in keeping to Coweta, as the head quarters of the nation; it is so; and all public business must be done there, till the nation meets and appoints some other place. Invite the Seminole chiefs to come there, and attend to them. They are one people with us. Let the chiefs of Tuttalasee, and Okete Yocanne come, also, and treat them kindly. They have left us, we did not drive them away. If they have done no mischief, they have nothing to fear; if they have, they must give up the guilty. And, whether guilty or not, they must be safe in coming to see and talk with us.

*Report of Alexander Cornells, interpreter, Upper Creeks, to Colonel Hawkins.*

CREEK AGENCY, 22d June, 1813.

Tustunnuggee Thlucco, (speaker for the nation) and two other chiefs, came to accompany me to meet you on the 16th, as we had appointed. We met at my house. The visit was by order of the Upper Creek chiefs. We had heard of nothing hostile, from any quarter. Yauholo Chapco, and his prophets, kept, as usual, their fooleries; and



some idle young people repeated what they had heard. Just as we were ready to set out, we heard that Peter McQueen, and the old Hoboheithle Micco had given an ear to these idle tales, and we sent a distinguished messenger to them, Tustunnuggee Hopoie, of Tuckaubatchee, to know the truth. They denied any knowledge of them. However, the report coming from other quarters, the speaker returned to Tuckaubatchee, called the chiefs together, and sent a runner to the prophets, notifying them, that, in twelve days, a number of chiefs would be with you, and sent this message: "You are but a few Alabama people. You say that the Great Spirit visits you frequently; that he comes in the sun, and speaks to you; that the sun comes down just above your heads. Now, we want to see and hear what you say you have seen and heard. Let us have the same proof you have had, and we will believe what we see and hear. You have nothing to fear; the people who committed murders have suffered for their crimes, and there is an end of it." The messenger sent was one of the warriors who aided in executing the murderers. They instantly put him to death, and scalped him; and sent his scalp up to the forks of the river, where there was a small collection of followers of the Prophet. They went over to the house of Captain Isaacs, plundered, and burnt it. They executed two of his warriors who aided him to punish the murderers. After this, they gave out they would destroy Tuckaubatchee and Coveta, with every person in them; then kill Mr. Cornells, Tustunnuggee Thlucco, Mr. Hawkins, and the old chiefs who had taken his talks; after this war among themselves, they would be ready for the white people. They had power to destroy them by an earthquake, or rendering the ground soft and miry, and thunder. The chiefs of Tuckaubatchee called in all their people, and sent for the neighboring towns. Seven of the nearest refused to oppose the prophets. I was then ordered off to the Lower towns, and to you. I called on the Little Prince, who marched next day with fifty of his people, leaving orders for others to follow after him, as they arrived. On coming to Cussetah, I found them consulting in the woods; and, instead of aiding to suppress the prophets, seemed willing to apologize for their conduct. The prophets denied to them they had killed the men charged on them, and said they made circles, into one of which, reserved for their prophet, they entered without leave, and were immediately seized with madness, and died. Hoboheithle Micco, the old medal chief, he sent the denial of the murder by the prophets to Cussetah, and directed the Cussetah Micco to send it to all the towns below him, which he had done.

The chiefs are much surprised that the plan of the prophets should have been so long kept a secret from them. They looked on it as a sort of madness and amusement for idle people. But, during this period, it was secretly gaining strength and converts, and where least expected, burst forth in acts of murder, confident of its strength; and this, too, just after the chiefs had called out their warriors, exhibited the strength and ability of the nation to punish, and had executed eleven for murder.

The plan, whatever it is, must have come from the Lake Indians. We have not yet been able to find the talks brought from the Prophet of the lakes. The party who accompanied the Little Warrior of Wowocau, (executed as a leader of the murderers at Ohio) went to the Northern lakes; was carried over them to a British officer, who, in his public talks, which all heard, expressed friendship for the Creeks, and their settled mode of living; regretted his being surrounded with a bad sort of wandering Indians, some of them "man eaters." Said he used them in war, but they were so wild, he could not govern them. They warred with every body, as well the British, at times, as the Americans. They would sometimes refuse to go to war; he was afraid of them. Had to find and give them presents. The officer advised them to go home, gave them arms and clothing, and ammunition, and put them over the lakes back again. After this, Tecumseh, the Prophet, took the Little Warrior aside, and had much conversation with him, which he never communicated to the two lads, the survivors of the party.

We now believe the public talk was to deceive the old chiefs, always opposed to war, and that the talk of Tecumseh was the plan for the prophets. It was well known the Creeks were a settled people, and their chiefs occupied in peaceful pursuits; of course, the chiefs were enemies to war. Hence a determination to keep the whole plan secret from them, and let it mature itself among the opposers of civilization and the young people. From the confidence with which the prophets speak of their power, and the source of it, their ability to punish all who reveal their secret, which they have ways of knowing, prevents the young people from even communicating any thing to their own families. The prophets are, for the present, confined to the Alabamas, who, although of the Creek confederacy, are not Creeks. The towns of the Creeks who are said to have taken their talks, have not done it actively; their people are dancing their dances, but no man has moved to assist them. The prophets are enemies to the plan of civilization, and advocates for the wild Indian mode of living. It appears they are first to put to death every chief and warrior who aided to execute the murderers, then the old chiefs, friends to peace, who had taken the talks of Col. Hawkins, from whom the orders for punishing the murderers came, then Mr. Cornells, because he was the interpreter, and if they could, at the same time, to put Colonel Hawkins to death. But having killed all the others, if he escaped, it would be of no consequence, as then none would be left alive to receive and communicate his talks; and the nation could fix their affairs their own way. After this they would be ready for the white people, who could do them no injury, if they came among them, as the prophets would draw circles around their abode, and render the earth quaggy and impassable. If any Indian towns refused their aid to the prophets, they should be sunk with earthquakes, or hills should be turned over them. They had also the aid of the lightning whenever they wanted.

The chiefs sent a guard with me from Tuckaubatchee, being apprehensive for my personal safety; and ordered me to travel by night, till I saw and reported to you. Since they have begun to murder, they give out, Tecumseh is to be here this fall. Having done what I was ordered to do, your judgment will direct for the future. I have directed runners to be sent after us, to let us know what is doing. As I came on receiving information from you that General Wilkinson was on the road, with a guard, coming through, I sent after the Little Prince, to send notice to him immediately, if he heard of any hostility against white people on the road. I have done the same to the Cussetahs.

his  
ALEXANDER + CORNELLS, *Public Interpreter.*  
mark.

June 23.—Two runners arrived; one to inform us, Tuskeenohau of Cussetah had reprimanded the Micco for his pusillanimous conduct, and gone on with his warriors to help the chiefs; the other, Talmas Haujo, from the old chiefs, at Tuckaubatchee. "The prophets have put to death two more of our warriors; we have about 190 here, and expect more. We are of opinion, if the prophets cannot be crushed, they will bring ruin on us, and war against the white people. We have need of assistance, and we wish you, Colonel Hawkins, to assist us, by joining the white warriors with ours. Yours can come the post road opposite to us; we will then join them, go with our forces united, march on both sides of Alabama, and put an end to these hatchers of war and mischief. By showing them they are both feeble and ignorant, they will be crushed; as neither thunder, quagmire, or the sun, will come to their aid. They can soon be conquered, and those who support them at the lakes, be disappointed in their hopes of war. If your troops are so situated you cannot send them, write to our friend the Governor of Georgia. We hope he will help us, and then we shall have peace. Making peace here in this way, is making peace for our white neighbors as well as for ourselves."

Talmas Haujo, the runner, said, in discussing among the chiefs, the singular and sudden embarrassment of their affairs, "they were satisfied, to a man, its source was among the British beyond the lakes." Captain Snake, one of the prophets, being present when a part of the above was communicated to Colonel Hawkins, and believing, from what he heard, that the plan was discovered, observed, with warmth, "the prophets of Alabama had begun prematurely. They were to go on with their magic until Tecumseh arrived, who was to put the plan in motion, and he would come when his friends the British were ready for him."

24th.—Communicated the foregoing to the Governor of Georgia.



CAPT. CARR'S, near FORT HAWKINS, 22d June, 1818.

I, by express from Mr. Cornells, have received this information: "The divisions among the Indians of the Upper Creeks are coming fast to a crisis. The opposition have attacked Captain Isaacs, one of the chiefs who led the warriors against the murderers of the white families on Ohio. They have killed him, his nephew, and three more of his party. Mr. Cornells says their numbers are accumulating; and he is of opinion they will destroy all his property. He is on his way to see me; expected to be at the agency yesterday, and probably will be here to-day."

I expected a meeting of the chiefs at the agency on the 16th, on their own appointment, and on difficulties and embarrassments among themselves. I waited for them till the 19th. Some of the Lower chiefs informed me, they had appointed some chiefs to go to St. Mary's, to aid the patriots to settle their misunderstandings with the Aulotche-wau Indians. The other chiefs did not attend. It is not improbable but the opposition will be strengthened by the friends of those executed last year for their crimes, as well as those in April, as their attack has commenced on the chiefs and warriors who executed the orders of the Executive council. As soon as Mr. Cornells arrives, I will ascertain how far the divisions among themselves are likely to affect us, and if it cannot be directed to our advantage, and should it prove hostile, a military corrective must be applied. I write this, for the mail is expected momentarily to pass.

I am, respectfully, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

Gen. ARMSTRONG, *Secretary of War.*

Near FORT HAWKINS, 27th June, 1813.

The enclosed communication will exhibit to you a scene of embarrassment which has developed itself suddenly among the Creek chiefs. You see pretty plainly the source and object of this fanaticism. If it could confine itself to a contest among the chiefs for power, and not interfere with the friendly relations between the Creek nation and the United States, it might be policy in us to look on, and let it be settled among themselves; but, as there seems to be another object coupled with it, and that of hostility to us eventually, we must be ready to apply a military corrective in due time.

Mr. Cornells was very desirous of obtaining some aid from us, and has gone on to Milledgeville to visit the Governor of Georgia. I did not object to his going, as it might be agreeable to the Governor to see and converse with him on the communication I made him. I am on my way to the agency, and probably towards the scene of confusion. I have just received a letter from General Wilkinson, of the 22d, coming through with his family; he was near McNair's, 157 miles from fort Hawkins. He had received a message from the speaker of the nation, requesting assistance from him. He has some ladies with him, who will be alarmed, and render his situation unpleasant.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

Gen. ARMSTRONG.

CREEK AGENCY, 28th June, 1813.

I give you some more information from the prophetic source. "The rising of all the Indians was not to have commenced at all sooner than the beginning of autumn, nor then, unless the British were ready. But it is probable an order had come on, from Tecumseh, the Prophet of the lakes, to put to death the persons who executed the murderers, to prevent the party being dispirited. They were not to disturb the travellers on the road, as it might give alarm to the white people too soon." The Alabamas have a pretty good supply of powder. The other Indians badly armed and supplied with ammunition. The Alabamas were the most industrious and best behaved of all our Indians. Their fields were the granary of the upper towns, and furnished considerable supplies, by water, to Mobile. But this fanaticism has rendered them quite the reverse.

Some of the Shawanese are soon to arrive from the lakes. The Auttossees, lately converted, have driven off their chiefs. They lately said to a half-breed: You think the white people strong and numerous; we shall soon try their strength. Two sons of the late Speaker of the nation apprehended an Alabama lad, and were taking him to Tuckaubatchee, who told them he had seen some of the Shawanese lately coming on. A party of the fanatics saw them, fired on them, killed one, and released the lad. Such is the degree of frenzy to which some of these people have arrived, that the brother, brother in marriage, and son, of some maniac, actually burnt his houses and destroyed much of his property. I keep the Governor of Georgia correctly informed of occurrences here, as it may probably be prudent to aid the well-disposed to punish the fanatics without delay, and before their plans are matured, as we now know them.

I am, respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG.

*Talosee Fixico, a runner from Tuckaubatchee, to Colonel Hawkins.*

CREEK AGENCY, 5th July, 1813.

The chiefs have sent me to state to you that their difficulties continue to increase. Their opponents have killed, in all, nine of their people; one of them a woman. Foosechajuo, of Auttossee, is missing; supposed to be murdered, as blood was seen in one of his houses. He was a good man, and opposed to mischief-makers. The chiefs sent two of their great men, Tuskeenhau, of Cussetah, and Atchau Haujo, of Coweta, to Hohoheithle Micco, of Talassee, to induce him to have the war sticks and projects thrown aside, and repeated their message. But the old man rejected every thing, declared his determination to persevere until he destroyed all who aided and assisted to put the murderers to death. He looked on them as people of the United States. He would march from Tuckaubatchee to Coweta, destroy all of them, and move on for the white people, and would not stop till he had marched to Goechee. There he would pause and rest, then put off for the sea coast. All north of this line of march would be destroyed by the British. He had been plotting this secretly for some time, and now having brought it to bear, he was determined not to stop. He had his bows, his arrows, and war clubs, and, with the magic powers he possessed, aided by the British and Shawanese, who were now coming from the northwest, and were now more than half way to him, he was able to crush the Americans, and would do it.

The chiefs say they have brought themselves into their present embarrassments by their fidelity to their treaty stipulations with Washington. In giving satisfaction for the murders on the post road, on Duck and Ohio, which it was the duty of their nation to do, they are placed in a war attitude by their opponents. By doing justice to the white people, they are to be punished with death. They have about thirty fit for war, but badly armed, and without ammunition. They fear not death, although they are in a dangerous situation, and may expect it. The Prophet's party have burnt the village of Hachechubbau and several detached settlements, and destroyed cattle, hogs, horses, and corn. All who are friends to the United States are doomed to destruction. This is our true situation: we ask for aid from the white people. If you, Colonel Hawkins, cannot afford it from the troops of the United States, who we hear are towards the sea coast, ask the Governor of Georgia to aid us. If they could send from six hundred to eight hundred mounted men in two divisions, one on the old, the other on the new post road, to unite near the bridges, on Uchee creek, and then along the mail road, we would join them with two hundred horsemen, point out and attack our enemies. A number of well-disposed Indians would join. We know, when this is done, we shall conquer them. We are willing the lands on Alabama should go to pay our white friends, who, although in aiding us, will effectually aid themselves. We have sent to the Cherokees for aid, but know not the success. If we are destroyed before you aid us, you will have the work to do yourselves, which will be bloody, and attended with difficulties, as you do not know as well as us the swamps and hiding places of those people. We cannot find that the Spaniards have any hand in this, but can clearly trace it to the British on the lakes.

*Written as interpreted by Alexander Cornells, Public Interpreter.*

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

CREEK AGENCY, 6th July, 1813.

The enclosed exhibits to you a further detail of occurrences with us. I have informed Mr. Cornells and the runner, that I can procure eleven rifles, thirty pounds of powder, some lead and flints, on the credit of their annuity, which is ready to their order. A message will go from me, to-morrow, to the principal fanatical chiefs, demanding an explanation of their conduct. I shall communicate every thing to General Pinckney, and to-morrow go for an interview with the Governor of Georgia, in company with General Wilkinson, who has arrived safe, and is on his way to you. I have advised the council, repeatedly, to order a party to attack and destroy the prophets, without delay, but they seem not equal, in their present state of alarm and confusion, to such an enterprise. They have fortified themselves at Tuckaubatchee, and have seventeen hundred bushels of corn.

A great number of Indians seem to be astonished exceedingly, alarmed, and timid, at the sudden explosion of this fanaticism. Its boasted magic powers deters them from obeying the calls of their chiefs; and the chiefs, themselves opposed to it, timid, distrustful, and incapable of estimating and resisting its effects, as they should do. Their reports relative to it, of course, cannot be true in all their details.

I am, very respectfully, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG, *Secretary of War.*

CREEK AGENCY, 13th July, 1813.

Enclosed I send you my demand of an explanation of conduct of the fanatical chiefs; my letter to General Pinckney, of 9th July; and the report of the Cussetah king, to whom I sent the demand, to be sent by four of his great chiefs. I had previously ordered him to send off a detachment of his warriors, and hold all the remainder ready to obey the orders of the chiefs. His report shows you the state of things to the 10th. The Wolf warrior is at the head of our Seminole towns. I sent to him and W. Kinnard to go up to aid the chiefs, with their counsels, and they are gone. The fanatical fright seems to subside a little among the Lower Creeks, and all of them, apparently, are again friendly. But some of the Upper towns remain under its influence; and, if they do not explain themselves satisfactorily, and make peace with those friendly to us, it will be proper to furnish the requisite supply of powder and arms to them, to compel the fanatics to deliver up their prophets and leaders in war and mischief. The passage of our mail is suspended for the present. By the expression "Lower Creeks," is meant those on the waters of Flint and Chattahoochee; and "Upper Creeks," those on the waters of Tallapoosa, Coosa, and Alabama.

I am, very respectfully, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG.

*A demand on the fanatical chiefs and their associates, for an explanation of their conduct.*

Colonel Hawkins, agent for Indian affairs, to Hoboheithle Micco, Peter McQueen, the chiefs of Tallassee, Autsosee, Foosee Hatchee, and all other chiefs who have taken the talks of the prophets:

I hear you are preparing yourselves for war; I hear you have taken part with the prophets. The prophets have put to death nine people, because they helped the chiefs to save their country, by putting the murderers of our white friends to death, which they were bound to do by their treaty with Washington. I hear you have begun the war dance, made your war clubs, and are for war with the white people. What is this for? What injury have the white people done you? You know who I am; I have been long among you. My talks have been always for peace, and they have been the saving of your country. Are you going to divide your nation, and to destroy it? Do you not know the prophets' talks will be the destruction of the Creeks, and give joy to your enemies? You have threatened the life of my interpreter, and to destroy his property. What has he done? Delivered you my friendly talks. If you do him any injury, you do it to me and all the people of the United States. I never will forgive the murderers of white people, or red people friendly to them. You threaten Kialijee, Tuckaubatchee, and Coweta. What is this for?

Speak plain to me. I have ordered four great chiefs of Cussetah to carry this talk, and bring your answer. We can settle things much better now than when you see me with an army. I am now your friend; I shall then be your enemy. You may frighten one another with the power of your prophets to make thunder, earthquakes, and to sink the earth. These things cannot frighten the American soldiers. The American soldiers are now your friends, and I hope will always be so. Take care how you make them your enemy. The thunder of their cannon, their rifles, and their swords, will be more terrible than the works of your prophets. If you are friendly, you have nothing to fear. If the white man is safe in your land, you are safe. If the white man is in danger in your land, you are in danger; and war with the white people will be your ruin.

CREEK AGENCY, 6th July, 1813.

MILLEDGEVILLE, 9th July, 1813.

Finding the conveyance by mail to you is circuitous, I determined to send this communication by express. The Governor of Georgia will lend to the chiefs, on the credit of their annuity, forty muskets and one hundred and fifty pounds powder; he has no lead. The chiefs are very urgent for some military aid to act with their warriors; and if their ex-parte representations are true, they should have it. But these, coupled with the political divisions among themselves, renders them liable to abatement. To judge from the fright among the Indians, and Indian countrymen, they are true in all their parts. As soon as I receive the reply to the explanation demanded from the fanatical chiefs, we shall be better able to judge what is proper to be done on our part. As the nation, generally, are badly armed, and much reliance placed by the opposition on their bows, arrows, war clubs, and magic, I shall be sparing in the supply of arms, although procured with their own funds, until I see they use them with effect; which I am apprehensive they cannot do without the aid of a military force from us.

A sincere desire and willingness is manifested by the militia officers in this neighborhood, and on the frontiers, to aid the friendly Indians. The Governor is, of course, ready, on application, to furnish the requisite force. He has powder and arms, but no lead. We have discussed this subject freely, accompanied by General Wilkinson. We know the importance of peace with these people, particularly in the present situation of our affairs, and that war should be avoided, if possible; therefore, if I can prevail on them to accommodate among themselves, I will do so; and, if I cannot, I recommend that a detachment of mounted infantry be sent to co-operate with the warriors of Tuckaubatchee against the Alabama party. Whether you will give orders for such an eventual movement, or whether you will wait the result of the further expected information, depends with yourself. I shall give you that information as soon as I obtain it. As the chiefs, with the warriors of three towns, are in Tuckaubatchee, and a want of provisions may render their situation desperate, they may require some aid before orders can be received from you. The Cherokees have promised assistance, from one hundred to two hundred, and have been sent for; but, from what I hear, it is probable the messenger was intercepted. I shall return towards the Agency to-day. I have drawn from Captain Cook twelve muskets and rifles, for the people there, which I deem sufficient for the present. If indications of hostility should increase, it will be proper to occupy it as a military post.

I am, respectfully, and with great personal regard.

General PINCKNEY.

With this letter was sent all information received in relation to the subject of it.

*Cussetah Micco to Colonel Hawkins, Agent for Indian Affairs.*

CUSSETAH, *July 10th, 1813.*

DEAR FRIEND:

I have arrived from the Tuckaubatchee, and they are in great distress. I have sent two hundred and some odd warriors to their assistance. The *talk* you sent on to the Prophet man, I sent on with the warriors, to take it to Tuckaubatchee, and try to get it to them from there. I heard they were around Tuckaubatchee, and I sent on my men to get in and save them; and if the enemy fired on them, to return the fire; and if they were for peace, to return again. The Prophet's men want the Big Warrior, his son, and the Mad Dog's son, Tuskamuggee Hopoi: and if they only give them up, they would make peace with the nation. The answer is, what is the reason they are killing cattle and people, when they want only these three men? But they need not try to fool all of us, for they say they will battle with all who take the white people's talk.

I learn again, that peace is not to be made, until they destroy Tuckaubatchee, Coweta, and Cussetah. The men in Tuckaubatchee are bad off for powder, and, for that reason, they cannot turn out to fight, but keep it until the war party charges on the fort, to defend it. The war party have taken powder from two men, that were carrying it into the fort. The war party are strong in powder. If they will not see the talk you sent them, I expect it will be the worse for them. The Chattahoochee people have heard the Tame king's talk. William Kinnard and the Wolf warrior have done all they can to get their people good, when they left them, and these two are gone to Tuckaubatchee.

The war talk is gone to the Seminoles, but I expect peace will be made with them and the white people. I have received your talks, and sent them, and you must look for an answer; and if you do not see or hear of an answer in a few days, you may think it is bad times. I hold you as my father; I have not forgot the talks you gave me; we were all friends, but it is not so now. I have given all the ammunition out to go and assist my friends. If they don't make peace, they will fight until all of it is gone, and one party or the other will be conquered. You have sent them a good and friendly talk, and we have done the same. I am afraid it will do no good, for them to save their country. I have sent on yours; if they will not receive this talk, we must look for protection.

Before we lose the Big Warrior, we will all die for him, or get him from them. Perhaps, when the war party see all my men, it may put a fright on them, and, by that means, take your talk. A great many people, who took the Prophet's talk, have since thrown it away. Kialjee, to a child, has come to the Big Warrior. The Hillaubee took the talks, but the Cherokees turned them, by telling them, take care we do not frighten your children. And they are yet at peace, I expect, for I have not heard from them since. This is the talk that I know, but in a few days I expect to get more. If they will not take the talks, news will come day and night.

CUSSETAH KING.

JOHN WARD, *Public Interpreter.*  
NIMROD DOYELL, *Assistant Agent.*

*Extract, 12th July.—Messrs. Doyell and Wood's report.*

"We have delivered Colonel Hawkins' *talk* to the Cussetah king, on the 10th; they all appeared to be very friendly in our presence; we saw two hundred and odd warriors started from Cussetah for Tuckaubatchee, to assist the Big Warrior. They were all well supplied with ammunition, and if they had success, they aimed at Tuckaubatchee yesterday; they had orders to fight their way into Tuckaubatchee."

CREEK AGENCY, *20th July, 1813.*

I have not received an answer to the demand I made on the Prophet's party, to explain their conduct. I have sent three white men direct to Hoboheithle Micco, the head of the party, and reiterated the demand. I expect they will have delivered it to him this evening; they are to wait two days only, for an answer. They have burnt all the houses at Mr. Cornell's, (a half breed) our interpreter for the Upper Creeks, and taken his cattle, hogs, horses, sheep, and goats. The Cussetah warrior arrived in Tuckaubatchee the 4th. A spy from the Prophet was with me on the 17th. His object is to ascertain the movements of our troops; after examining him, I sent him back. But hearing afterwards, he was accompanied by a white man, I sent after them, and apprehended the latter—a soldier, deserted from fort Stoddart.

The spy said, when Peter McQueen set out for Pensacola, he expressed his apprehensions that the Spaniards, being afraid of the Americans, would not give him powder: he had four hundred dollars. As the Spaniards had demanded back Mobile, and were of themselves unable to take it, he hoped their friends, the British, would be there to help them, and that, from them, he should get powder. Upon the arrival of a runner, who said he heard the Cherokees were coming to assist Tuckaubatchee, Hoboheithle Micco, the head of the Prophet's party, said, I am not at war with any nations of people; I am settling an affair with my own chiefs.

I am, &c.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG, *Secretary of War.*

CREEK AGENCY, *26th July, 1813.*

The Indians of Tuckaubatchee have all removed, under a guard of Cussetah and Coweta warriors, to Coweta, and in great distress. I have ordered them a supply of one hundred pounds of powder, two hundred pounds of lead, one hundred flints, twenty-five muskets, borrowed from the State of Georgia, and ten rifles, purchased on their annuity. The chiefs say, several friendly chiefs have recently been murdered. The Governor of Georgia has offered them assistance, and they have sent to him for it. This they have informed me of. I have heard nothing from the Governor.

I have ordered the Lower towns to convene the 2d next month, at Coweta. The chiefs having arrived just as the mail was starting out, I can only add,

I am, &c.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG.

CREEK AGENCY, *28th July, 1813.*

The enclosed communication to the Governor of Georgia, will show the result of my deliberate judgment on our Indian affairs. My demand on the hostile Indians, for an explanation of conduct, was offered to them in sight of Tuckaubatchee, by the Cussetah chiefs, with a declaration it was friendly. Yauflico Emautla Haujo, chief of Auttotsee said, "I will not receive it or any other talk from Colonel Hawkins, or the white people. I am done with him and his talks. Where are you going? You shall not enter Tuckaubatchee." The warriors replied: we are going into Tuckaubatchee, to our chief, for orders, and if you oppose us, we will fire on you. On the second attempt to send a message, direct to the head of the party, on the 13th, they were met by the Cussetah and Coweta warriors, who advised their return, as, in the present rage of frenzy, they could not be safe.

The Prophet's party have destroyed, in several places of the Upper towns, all the cattle, hogs, and fowls. They have moved out of their towns into the woods, where they are dancing "the dance of the Indians of the lakes." Letecau, a Prophet, eighteen years of age, native of Aubecoche, raised in Alabama, went up to Coosa, with eight young followers, sent an invitation to the chiefs of his native town to come, and witness for themselves, his magical

powers. They went, accompanied by a crowd of both sexes. The Prophet ranged them in a line on the bank of Coosa river, and directed them to sit down; made his circle in front, and began "the dance of the Indians of the lakes." After exerting themselves for some time, the Prophet gave the war-whoop, attacked, and killed three of the chiefs, and wounded the fourth. The others took to the river, swam over, went up and recrossed to their towns, collected their warriors, sent after the murderers, and found them dancing. A chief went into their circle; they knocked him down with their war clubs, and put him to death with bows and arrows. The warriors put the party to death, and scalped the Prophet. They then went to Oakfuskee, a small village, where they had taken the Prophet's talks, and were dancing their dance, and put them to death. In Oakfuskee, the Prophet's party killed five chiefs, and destroyed almost all the cattle in town. Mrs. Grayson, invited there by the chief of the town, to teach the women to spin and weave, had much of her stock, her loom, and web of cloth destroyed. She moved to Hillaubee, where her husband's family lived, where she had resided twelve years, taught more than twenty women to weave, and most of those of the town to spin, and where she was universally esteemed before, was stripped of all her clothing, except the shift and petticoat on her back, and all her cattle and hogs. Mr. Grayson, a worthy Scotch gentleman, her father-in-law, had all his negroes, (seventy-three) and every eatable living thing, taken from him. Kialjee, a peaceable friendly town, in the heart of the Upper Creeks, has been destroyed, several of its inhabitants wounded, and all their hogs, cattle, and fowls killed. Two chiefs, with a party, went out foraging, from Tuckaubatchee, in the cattle range of that town; some hogs and cattle killed, and was in the stench of them for fifteen miles. Josiah Francis, a Prophet, half brother of Sam Macnac, John Macnac, his brother, and Sam's son, destroyed all his property, and burnt his houses. The declaration of the Prophets is, to destroy every thing received from the Americans; all the chiefs and their adherents who are friendly to the customs and ways of the white people; to put to death every man who will not join them; and, by those means, to unite the nation in aid of the British, and Indians of the lakes, against their white neighbors, as soon as their friends, the British, will be ready for them.

I ordered the Cussetah and Coweta warriors, if the chiefs should not order them to make battle, and their enemy would not explain, satisfactorily, their conduct, to bring off all the people of Tuckaubatchee, and to notify all in distress to fly to Chhattahoochee, and to make a stand at Coweta. Here their women and children were to be left, and their warriors to return and make battle. I had some arms and ammunition for them; an occurrence, unexpected, and not under my control, has prevented it. The Governor of Georgia, actuated, no doubt, by the purest motives, and not recollecting he was acting out of his sphere, was carrying on a correspondence with the chiefs, and, as they say, actually promised them aid. As soon as they received this promise, they determined not to make battle themselves, but wait the promised aid. Finding the chiefs in opposition, who availed themselves of this fanaticism, were unable to control it, and having all the information likely soon to be obtained, I last evening made up my opinion.

I have not heard from you on the communications on this subject.

I am, &c.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

*Secretary of War.*

2d August, 5 P. M.—I am this moment informed an action has commenced, at Coweta; that two hundred Cherokees had come to the assistance of the friendly Indians. The runner was sent after the women and children, on Flint river, and heard the firing long after he left the town.

NASHVILLE, July 13, 1813.

DEAR SIR:

From a letter received from the Honorable S. W. Campbell, last mail, I am advised that Government has come to a determination to march an expedition against the Creeks: the writer further observes, "that part of the troops will be from West Tennessee, under your command it is presumed; this will afford opportunity for your detachment, should they still be disposed to be engaged in active service."

From the above, it appears that I may have some part in the contemplated expedition, and from which I take the liberty of giving you my idea on the subject; and, first, it is my duty to make known to you, that the volunteers composing my detachment in the late expedition down the Mississippi, two thousand strong, stand ready at the call of their country, to march at a moment's warning.

There can be no doubt but the Creeks and Lower Choctaws are excited to hostilities by the influence of the British; if so, there is no doubt but we will have to fight the combined powers of both. There is no instance, within my recollection, wherein an Indian tribe, or nation, has been invaded, but they united their whole force against the invaders: therefore, in the calculation of the force to be employed by the United States, against the Creeks and their allies, no calculation ought to be made on the division of the nation. The force employed may either unite them or create divisions; if an incompetent force is employed against them, they will be united, and, on the first reverse of our arms in that quarter, we will not only have to fight the whole Creek nation, but the greater part of the Choctaws: if a competent force is employed to ensure success, the Creek nation will be divided, to secure their territory and their property. The scenes in the Northwest is an awful lesson on this subject, to the Government, and to every beholder, and from which we ought to learn, from experience, that the true way to economize is to employ sufficient force to ensure success, and crush all opposition in that quarter at one blow. The question, therefore, will occur, what force will be competent to the object? Will the number pointed out by the Secretary of War, say fifteen hundred from Tennessee and fifteen hundred from Georgia, with the third United States' regiment, say five hundred strong, be sufficient force to ensure success, and crush the hostile Indians and their allies in that quarter? I answer in the negative. If it was intended to barely make an incursion through their towns, burn their houses, destroy their crops, and hastily to return, this force would be more than competent for a flying camp; but I understand the object of the expedition to be different; that is, to crush all hostility in that quarter; this, then, will require fortified places in the heart of the Creek nation, and a military campaign.

It is a large calculation to say that three-fourths of any military force will be any length of time fit for service: It will take one-fourth to guard the baggage, &c. &c.; one-half, therefore, of the force ordered into the field may be calculated on to be a disposable force; we can therefore count, with certainty, only on a disposable force of seventeen hundred and fifty men, after a junction is formed in the Creek or Cherokee country. I will hazard an opinion that no military man, impressed with a belief that the Indians are excited to hostilities by the British, and knowing their contiguity to Pensacola, and the ease with which Britain can land a reinforcement, and co-operate with the Indians, will say that the above force is competent to ensure success. The experience of the Northwestern armies forbids such a belief; and when any force, that may be required, can be had, I am of opinion that, from three to five thousand from this State, ought to be employed on this expedition; the latter perhaps the better calculation; these, with the third United States' regiment, and a brigade from Georgia, would be amply sufficient to drive the Indians and their allies into the ocean; and should the Spaniards give our enemies an asylum in Pensacola, would be sufficient to take possession of that place, cut off all supplies from the straggling Indians, and put an end to hostility in that quarter.

As soon as the expedition is determined on, I shall do myself the pleasure of submitting some ideas on the details of the campaign; the field ordnance necessary; the proportion of cavalry and mounted men to that of the infantry; the point of concentration; the site for a garrison, and depot for provisions, magazine stores, &c.

At present I shall close these remarks, by observing that four thousand men can be rendezvoused, in my division, in twenty days from the promulgation of the order. My brave volunteers, two thousand strong, stand ready for the call.

I am, sir, with due consideration and respect,

ANDREW JACKSON.

His Excellency WILLIE BLOUNT.

CREEK AGENCY, 10th August, 1813.

The enclosed report will show you the state of parties with us. The sixteen towns are on the waters of Flint and Chatahoochee; Tuckabautchee is with them. The others are on Coosa, Tallapoosa, and Alabama. It is thirty miles from fort Hawkins to the Creek Agency; thence, sixty miles to Coweta, the present barrier between the frontiers of Georgia and the hostile Indians. A number of families, in great distress, have fled from the Upper towns to Coweta, and to the agency, where I have to feed them. There were five hundred warriors at Coweta on the 5th, waiting the orders of their chief.

The account of the battle is probably true, but the account of ammunition is greatly exaggerated.

I am, respectfully, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJ. HAWKINS.

*The Secretary of War.*

*Big Warrior and Tustunnuggee Hopoie, head chiefs of the Upper and Lower Creeks, their talks to Col. Benjamin Hawkins, Agent for Indian Affairs.*

COWETA, 4th August, 1813.

Colonel Hawkins, you have requested to know the number of towns that are friendly. There are sixteen towns down Chatahoochee, from Coweta, are friendly: there are sixteen towns have met here: there are a few small villages, which are not come in; when they go out from the meeting we will know their whole strength. The number of men we cannot give any certainty for the present: a great many are sick, which we cannot account for. We have made the broken days to go on an expedition against the hostile Indians. In twelve days from to day, we are in hopes you will be able to join us here at this place. We have a great many villages down this river and Flint river; and, in that time, we expect to have them all collected. We told you at your house that we were in haste; we now send you the appointed time to go on this expedition. We told you to be in readiness, and we hope you are, to accompany your soldiers, as you are appointed to have the care of the Indians; we hope you will be with us; we wish you to be expeditious. Let your heavy baggage come along, as you have a public road to come in our nation. We are scarce in arms and ammunition; we hope you will bring that along to furnish our people with it: we have told you our distresses and our grievance. We hope you will make all the haste you can to come to our assistance. The war party has nearly destroyed all our cattle: we will not trouble you with a long talk; we talked the whole over at your house; only come as soon as possible. We cannot give you a true account of the strength of the warring Indians; we suppose it to be at least two thousand five hundred, or thereabouts. There are, in the whole, twenty-nine towns and villages of the Upper Creeks has joined the war party; there are but five towns of the Upper Creeks that are for peace.

BIG WARRIOR, his + mark,

*Speaker of the nation.*

TUSTUNNUGGEE HOPOIE, his + mark.  
*of Coweta, and head chief of the Lower Creeks.*

JAMES DU ROUZEUX, *Interpreter pro tem.*

NIMROD DOYELL, *Assistant Agent.*

Written as interpreted.

CHRISTIAN LIMBAUGH, *Assistant Agent for Indian Affairs.*

*Big Warrior to Colonel Hawkins.*

WILLIAM McINTOSH's, 9 o'clock at night, 4th August, 1813.

After our meeting this day, we received information from Hardy Read's wife, which is a red woman of Hoithlewaulee; she is straight from that town, who gives the following information: She saw two white men's scalps; they were brought there shortly before she left that town. Peter McQueen went to Pensacola to obtain ammunition; as he passed James Cornell's house, he took James Cornell's wife prisoner off to Pensacola; at the same time there was a white man at Cornell's house; McQueen and his party did beat him almost to death, and also a negro at Cornell's, and went on their journey to Pensacola: now, on their return, they were met by James Cornell and David Tate, and a small party of white people, where the old furrow path turned off to Pensacola; an engagement took place; there were five Indians and one negro of McQueen's party killed, and a great many wounded: of Mr. Cornell's company there were two white men killed, and several wounded: the battle lasted nearly three hours. McQueen's party kept the ground; his force was three hundred and fifty strong. Cornell's party is not ascertained to be but a small number. It is supposed that James Cornell and Tate are wounded. McQueen got Tate's horse. They scalped the two white men and brought them to Hoithlewaulee. Hardy Read's wife saw the two scalps with her own eyes. She says that Peter McQueen had one hundred horse loads of ammunition, which he received at Pensacola from the Spaniards.

After we had made the broken days, this day this information came on. It is our sincere wish for you to come on to our assistance in three or four days, if it is only two hundred men; and let the rest of the army follow as fast as they can. This is the day appointed for the war party to make an attack on us here at this place. We are all under arms, and expect every moment to be all attacked by the warring Indians.

BIG WARRIOR, his + mark.

JAMES DU ROUZEUX, *Interpreter pro tem.*

NIMROD DOYELL, *Assistant Agent.*

Written as interpreted.

CHRISTIAN LIMBAUGH, *Assistant Agent for Indian Affairs.*

CREEK AGENCY, August 23, 1813.

SIR:

This department has long been assailed by calumny and misrepresentation; but it has been left to the Governor of Georgia to usurp all authority of the General Government, except what relates to commerce, as you will see in the enclosed correspondence between us. As he is a man of legal knowledge, he must be operated on by a policy of his own.

I have, from an intelligent chief, this information: "I saw the Little Warrior near the Chickasaws, returning with his party from the Northern Indians. He said he had a talk from Tecumseh to his chiefs, and a letter from the British, for Pensacola; that when he left Tecumseh, he told him, as soon as they had taken one fort more from the Americans, which would be some time this summer, he should come on to join the Creeks. The Little Warrior's party must spill the blood of white people on their return; and when they delivered the talk to the Creeks, to report the number killed; he said he had killed two families." The whole party were shy, and I could get nothing further from them. The fort, probably, is Meigs.

Mr. Grayson, of Hillaubee (a hostile town of the Upper Creeks) a wealthy Scotchman in the British service during the war of the Revolution, informs me, the Spaniards have given a horse load of ammunition to every town,

with a promise of a full supply to be brought from the Havana, of arms and ammunition, to enable them to prosecute the war with the United States, to be landed on Escambia. The destruction of every American is the song of the day. A chief of a village of the same town informs me, they received a small bag of powder each, for ten towns, and five bullets to each man. He conversed not with the Governor, but Peter McQueen (the head of the opposition) said to a chief in his hearing, the Governor promised a supply of arms and ammunition from Havana, if the Indians went to war with the United States; they must not come to Pensacola, for he would deliver it to them at Miller's place (up Konecau, forty miles above Pensacola.)

If I hear any thing from you by the mail of to-morrow, I shall send an express to the Governor of Pensacola, demanding an explanation of his conduct. The numerous friendly offices rendered my Spanish neighbors, particularly in quelling the hostile attacks on them by Bowles, entitles me to a frank and explicit answer, independent of our treaty stipulations with them.

A war party of twenty-three have been out from Coweta, killed three, and wounded one of the hostile Indians, and brought the scalps into the public square; one other party has taken four negroes from Peter McQueen, and a third party have taken a lad of his family, twelve years old, prisoner. The chiefs continue to solicit the aid of arms, munitions of war, and men. The Big Warrior dreads the conflict, and is much under the influence of fear; he lends a willing ear to every frightful tale. I have ordered them to place their warriors under proper commanders, and send strong detachments out to attack their enemy, a town at a time, and to collect cattle and horses. They have requested me to accompany them, and to take the direction of them; this I shall do, as soon as our stock of munitions of war will afford the requisite supply; and this I should have done ere now, had not the promise of aid, gratis, paralyzed their efforts.

I am, very respectfully, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

*The Secretary of War.*

Since writing, I am informed, two parties I ordered out on the 18th, to attack Peter McQueen's town (Chattuchaufale) surrounded it, and found it just evacuated. They left all their property in their fort, and a good deal of salt in their houses; the warriors took the property, burnt the fort, all their houses, and destroyed their corn.

CREEK AGENCY, *September 6, 1813.*

SIR:

The chiefs in opposition are exerting themselves to get the prophets under their control, but without effect. Hitherto, Peter McQueen, and Hoboheithle Micco, whose town was destroyed by a detachment under McIntosh, have moved to Auttosee, and are there dancing "the dance of the Indians of the lakes." Those friendly, are fortified at Coweta, ninety miles from fort Hawkins. Four towns are there united, and desirous a detachment of our troops would come forward, and build block houses, "to keep the ground, and have all clear in front and rear." They continue to send out detachments, and, to the first of this month, had taken two hundred cattle and some horses. Several parties are still out, but more for plunder than war. The chiefs continue excessively alarmed, and under apprehensions some of the Lower Creeks and Seminoles will join the prophets; they meet to day, at Ooseochee, on this subject. I have not received any thing from you to my communications on this civil war.

I am, respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG.

CREEK AGENCY, *September 13, 1813.*

SIR:

From the meeting of Ooseochee, the chiefs on Chattahoochee and Flint rivers report themselves unanimously friendly to the white people. The prophets have recently killed two distinguished chiefs of Wewocau. Peter McQueen, and Hoboheithle Micco, the leaders of the opposition, recently sent an invitation to thirteen of the Upper towns, to come forward with all their warriors, for an expedition against the white people, saying their whole number would be three thousand. Four of the towns, the Fish Ponds, Wewocau, Kialijee, and Hootchoe, answered, they had one thousand one hundred warriors, but were not going to fight against the Americans. The prophets were liars.

Our chiefs are so much under the influence of fear, I no longer rely on their reports, but with great limitation. We have here, one company of regular troops, under Captain Cunningham. I yesterday furnished the escort of General Wilkinson with muskets, and sent them to fort Stoddart, as a guard to the sub-contractor, who has a pilot for an unfrequented route, and all the letters at this office, and fort Hawkins, belonging westwardly.

I am, respectfully, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG, *Secretary of War.*

CREEK AGENCY, *October 11, 1813.*

SIR:

The head quarters of the friendly Indians are still at Coweta. We have some Seminoles, of Micasooky, near St. Marks; about one hundred have crossed Chattahoochee, and been joined by some Uchees and Creeks of Tutallosee. They gave out they were on the way to join the Prophet's party, for a combined attack on Coweta, and then the white people; the friendly Indians have sent a strong party from five towns to meet them. It is probable they met yesterday; and if their object is as stated, they will be attacked.

A chief of the Upper towns informs me, he saw and conversed with a Wewocau chief, who informed him his warriors led the attack on Mimms's fort, had fifteen killed, and many wounded; there were thirteen towns in the attack, and lost many men, but would not give him their numbers; he rushed up with his party, and got under the port holes of the pickets, and on looking around, saw a great many shot down. The prophets told them, in a hard fought battle, they would lose two only; and a very severe one, three at most. One of the prophets led the way, rushed into the fort, to destroy it with his magical powers, and he heard the white people cutting him to pieces with their swords. The friendly Indians have lately taken and brought in some scalps.

I am, respectfully, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

*The Secretary of War.*

CREEK AGENCY, *September 14, 1813.*

SIR:

As I hear nothing from you relative to the communications I have made you on Indian affairs, I have judged it advisable to have an understanding with myself on my situation here. I have not been concerned directly or indirectly, in commerce, or speculations of any kind, to accumulate money. From all the savings arising from my appointment, I have not made three thousand dollars. I have considered my public standing with the Indians as public property, and to be used as such, under the orders of Government, and for no other purpose; and I believe the period is arrived, when it is essential to that interest. Yet, if the President can find a man, who can fill this office, in his judgment, more for the public interest or convenience than I have done, he owes it to his high standing, and to me, to send him on; in doing so, he will do me no injury, or excite the least resentment. My friendship for him cannot be greater than it is, and will never be lessened. I have, and always shall have, entire confidence in the purity of his republican administration, and will co-operate with him, as well in private as public life, with zeal and fidelity.



This department has always been strewed with thorns. It was first assailed by the late Governor Blount and associates, in Tennessee, and the recoil on himself destroyed his public character. It was then assailed by the British, through their agent General Bowles. The Government authorized me to arrest him with a military force, and to *command* it, when he was in East Florida. Under an authority vested in me by the chiefs, I sent him in irons to the Governor, General Salcedo, at New Orleans, to answer for his crimes. The calumny which hovered around, and assailed the Indians and their agent, I disregarded, as it originated from base sources, filled by dishonest motives. I am, respectfully, and with great personal regard,

Dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG, *Secretary of War.*

*Extract of a communication from the chiefs at Coweta to Colonel Hawkins.*

CREEK AGENCY, 16th September, 1813.

We have a negro, which we will send to you; he says, "he was in Sam Mimms's fort at Tensaw, which was taken by the Indians about the 28th August. There were one thousand Indians; they attacked the fort about ten o'clock in the morning, and took it about one o'clock. That Siras, a negro man, cut down the pickets. The Indians lost forty, some of them said fifty. After the battle, the Indians encamped about a mile from the fort, until next day twelve o'clock, during which time, they were busy hunting negroes, horses, and cattle, and brought off a great many. A number of Indians were wounded, and two died on the road. He thinks there were sixty people in the fort. Among the killed, are McGirth, Jones, McCarty, Sam Smith, Dixon Baily, his two brothers, Mimms and his family, Captain Melton, John Randall and all his family, except Peter Durant, and one of his daughters. These are all the names he recollects. There were a great many he knew not. McGirth's wife and Jones' wife, and all their children, except one of McGirth's, killed in the fort, were taken, with the reporter, prisoners to the nation. He was taken by Russels, son of Hoithlewaulee; and a daughter of Mr. Cornells told him to make his escape to her father, and tell him what the Indians have done, and that they meant to come to Coweta, after the friendly Indians, as soon as their wounded were better. He further says, about one hundred Indians went into the fork of Alabama, but does not know what they have done. They were going to send a letter to their friends, the Spaniards, to let them know what they have done; he understands the Indian tongue."

CREEK AGENCY, 17th September, 1813.

Upon hearing of the escape of the negro, who was to be sent on here, I received from Mr. O'Riley, a respectable resident of this country, and the express, the following report:

"I had the negro under guard one night, with Messrs Doyell and Mosely; we examined him repeatedly. Mr. Mosely knew him personally; we were unanimously of an opinion, the report as made by him is substantially true. He said, he was in Mimms's house when it was taken and destroyed. An Indian seeing him in the corner, said, come out, the Master of Breath has ordered us not to kill any but white people and half breeds. An Indian woman, who was in the house, was ordered out, and to go home. Dixon Bailey's sister was asked what family she was of? She answered, pointing to her brother, I am the sister to that great man you have murdered there; upon which they knocked her down, cut her open, strewed her entrails around. They threw several dead bodies into the fire, and some who were wounded. Peter Durant and Vincy Randall had left the fort but a short time before the attack, to cross the river, after grapes. He supposes they heard the firing and communicated to the people there. There was much silver money in the house melted and run about, and some dollars blacked only. Jo, and two other of McGirth's negroes, had been sent up to this plantation, in a boat, after corn, and taken by the Indians, and probably communicated where the half-breeds were, and the situation of the place. Just before the attack, the men in the fort were sitting in two circles, in the yard, talking what they would do if Indians should come. In this situation, the first they heard, was the war whoop at the pickets. They fired the houses with cotton matches fixed to arrows. Mrs. McGirth, on her way up to the nation, was excessively distressed, and cried out aloud, on being threatened by some of the warriors, that they would put her to death. She urged them to do it, as, in the situation of her family, she wished to die. She and Mrs. Jones, with their families, were sent to Wewocau. From the number of wounded, and plundered property, they were eight days on the path returning, and met no interruption."

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

FORT HAWKINS, 21st September, 10 A. M.

I have a runner from Coweta, who left there on the 19th at 10 P. M. ninety miles from this. The report of the negro is true, in substance; the Indians had thirty killed, and a number wounded. They put all the white people to death in the fort, made prisoners only of some half-breed women and children. The one hundred Indians who went in the fork of Alabama, under Josiah Francis, a prophet, went to a fort, were fired on, had five killed, and retreated. The Prophet's party are great boasters, which has the effect expected on weak minds. I hope I shall obtain four hundred men to move on to Coweta. The chiefs are very importunate for arms and ammunition. Their warriors are determined to give battle. The runner is one of the last scouts; he saw several trails of about forty horsemen, which appear to have been waylaying the post road, forty miles beyond Coweta. When their wounded are recovered a little, they say they shall come there. Dixon Bailey, and all his half-breeds, fought desperately.

FORT HAWKINS, 21st September, 1813.

I received letters from Judge Toulmin, and General Claiborne, of the 13th, 14th, and 15th ultimo, acknowledging the receipt by Congress, of several letters from me to the public officers in that quarter; apprising them of the hostile appearances among the Indians, directing the half-breeds there to unite with their white brethren, and that the people in the fork of Alabama should put themselves into the best situation they could, to resist our attack. In the General's letter, he details his state of preparation, and closes with saying, "I only wait orders and the arrival of the 7th regiment, to enter the nation." Under impressions arising from this state of readiness, for offensive operations, I received the enclosed account of the fate of the party at Mimms's fort, which has much the appearance of being true. Yet, how such a party should get there, when there were a great many half-breeds, and negroes, who speak the Indian language, and have commissions in the hostile towns, and the party to go to the lowest settlement, and return as they did, undiscovered, and unmolested, is to me a very extraordinary thing.

The chiefs, on the receipt of the intelligence, sent runners to me, and several warriors, for arms and ammunition, that they may be able to defend themselves at Coweta, until our army advance. I gave them eight muskets, and what ammunition I had at the agency, and came on here, to obtain some for them; I have sent them 100 pounds powder, and 160 pounds lead. Our powder here, is unfit for service. We hear of some more on the road. I have just seen General Floyd, who appears to be a brave active intelligent officer; I told him I should apply for three or four companies, to go with me to Coweta, to erect some block-houses, in aid of the fortifications of the friendly Indians, and where I would organize a corps of five hundred, to co-operate with our troops. He replied he had, as yet, no orders. We, in fact, are all in the same situation, but must continue to do as our judgment directs, until we hear from you.



A half-breed Uchee, from Pensacola, says: the Spaniards told him to tell his chiefs to quit their hostility to each other, unite against the Americans, and come there; they should have arms and ammunition. Upon this, several Uchees set out, and were pursued by the Ooscooches, robbed of their horses, and told, if any of them dared to go there for supplies, they should be put to death.

I have the honor to be, respectfully, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

*Secretary of War.*

CREEK AGENCY, 26th September, 1813.

An express mail has arrived from Mobile, in which you have, I hope, a detail of the melancholy occurrence at Mimms's fort, on the 30th ultimo. I have by Mr. Cornells' express, from the chiefs low down Chattahoochee.

"Notwithstanding the loss the Prophets have sustained, they express confidence in the successful issue of their plan. Several of their party have lately been down on Chattahoochee, encouraging the Indians, within and without our limits, to join them; and urge an immediate junction of all their forces, for an attack on Coweta, which was determined on by the Prophets, and to take place on Friday next. They are determined, if they can, to destroy Coweta, and Tuckaubatchee in terrorem. After that, they should go towards Savannah river, and were determined to give Colonel Hawkins a chase and take him, unless he was on a fleet horse, before he got there. Whilst they came this way, the British were to attack New Orleans, and Mobile, and probably Savannah; they boasted much, and declared the inability of the white people to fight them in the field, or from their forts; boasted of the immense slaughter they made at Mimms's fort, and quantity of property taken in that expedition; if the red people would unite, nothing could withstand them: and those who would not join, were to be put to death, and this was the last warning they were to have. The chiefs of Eufaulau, having made this discovery, gave notice to Coweta, they should be with them with their warriors, and those of four other towns; and if they could get ammunition, would make common cause with them and their white brethren. They directed that Mr. Cornells should be sent off immediately to Colonel Hawkins, with this information; and added, if our white friends can come soon, the Indians on both sides of our line of limits will join them, and if delayed, they, from their fears, will be compelled to join the Red Clubs."

I have apprised General Floyd of similar information received, direct from the hostile Indians, and of the necessity to arm a detachment to Coweta. He informed me he had sent to the Governor of Georgia for orders, and as soon as a movement can be made with a part of the troops, he shall send them to a situation between the agency and the enemy. The information I received to day goes also by express to him.

I am, respectfully, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

*The Secretary of War.*

CREEK AGENCY, 30th September, 1813.

Since my communication of the 26th, I have received something further, which you ought to know. When the war party went to Pensacola, they informed the Governor of the object of their visit; they had 4,800 gun-men. Their plan first was, to force their own nation to join them, and then to make war upon the Americans, and the Spaniards must assist them. The answer was: "We will supply you with some arms and ammunition, and if the Americans should prove too hard for you, send your women and children here, and I will send them to the Havana; and if you should be compelled to fly here yourselves, and the Americans should prove too hard for both of us, I shall have vessels enough to take us all off together." They received 25 small arms, in addition to what has been stated of ammunition, and after the attack on these by the half-breeds and people of Tombigby, they came home and appointed twenty days for an attack on Coweta. But the families of the killed and wounded, and those who were plundered of the Governor's present, forced the leaders to change the attack to that of the half-breeds and their assistants. On the way down they were informed the former were at Mimms's fort, and the latter at a fort in the fork of Tombigby, and they directed their attacks accordingly. The following thirteen towns, furnished warriors for the expedition: Hoithlewaulee, Foolschatchee, Coolooma, Ecanhutkee, Sauannogee, Mooklausan, Alabama, Hookchoioocche. Ocheubofau, Wewocau, Puccuntallauhassee, Wococoie, Pochusehatche. Three towns, Oakfuskee, Tallassee, Auttossee, formed a front of observation towards Coweta, to conceal the movement. Three towns, Thlotlogulgau, Eufaulau, Kialjee, remained neuter. When you are ready to move, I will give you a topographical description of the country. Since writing the foregoing, I have a runner from Coweta, who left there yesterday. Three men from Eufaulau, and three from Kialjee, came in with a flag, from whom the most interesting part of the enclosed was obtained; (that an attack on Coweta was determined on, to take place on or about the 1st October.) Mr. O'Riley, the express, is an intelligent old man, speaks the Indian tongue, and attended the examination of the bearers of the flag. What was obtained from them, was corroborated by a negro from Coolooma, and from various other quarters. The Uchees having fled to the Prophets, the friendly Indians sent eighty women and boys to gather in their corn.

The boasted power of the Prophet to take American forts with bows and arrows, to know the secrets of their enemies, and their determination to put to death every red man who does not join them, has given to many much terror, which nothing but the presence of our army will remove. They say they want now to see us with our wagons well loaded, that they may enrich themselves with the plunder. The Master of Breath has permitted a conquering spirit to arise among them like a storm, and it shall ravage like a storm. Their number is 2,500, without the new converts. I request you to communicate this to the Governor, and any thing else I may send you interesting to him to learn.

I am, sir, &c.

B. HAWKINS.

General FLOYD.

CREEK AGENCY, 3d October, 1813.

The hostile Indians appear very active. From concurrent testimony from various quarters, they meditated an attack, yesterday or to-day, on Coweta. I am apprehensive Tombigby is again to feel, or the upper frontier of Georgia will soon feel, the force of their fanaticism and murderous warfare. The friendly Indians have done all they can, hitherto, by their concentration of force on Chattahoochee, extending strong patrols up that river, and foraging as far as Tallapoosa, to keep them off from our frontiers, until our armed force collects and moves on. But now, believing they have to contend for their existence, they have called in all their patrols but those in front of their enemy. Uchee had fled from their old town, and has joined the prophet, through terror. The friendly chiefs have sent a party who destroyed their towns, and removed every living eatable thing belonging to them.

I wish you would send out a box of muskets, fifty pounds good powder, one hundred pounds lead or bullets, fifty flints, and some cartridge paper. I wish to be prepared for events, as well as we can. If the friendly Indians are routed from Coweta, or, from necessity, constrained to come on terms with their enemy, the latter will certainly be on us, and attempt to verify their threats against the frontiers of Georgia. I have hoped, till lately, we should have no fighting on this side Chattahoochee, as I expected we should move on to support the warriors there. By this want of orders, changes my opinion.

I am, &c.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

Captain Cook, Commanding fort Hawkins.

CREEK AGENCY, 4th October, 1813.

Tuskeenehau, one of the executive council, and the second man of all the Lower Creeks, is come to see me to communicate more correctly what has been obtained by the flag, and what they have further discovered. The hostile Indians were drinking their war physic, (their boosketau) making their war food, and had appointed the day for their movement, and runners were passing night and day among them. The invitation was in these words to all the Upper towns: "We have had a successful enterprise westwardly. We now point our course to the east, after red and white people. We shall destroy Ooseoochee and Cussetah, and then surround Tuckaubatchee and Coweta. Their destruction is certain, and will detain us but a short while. We then take the post road, enter Georgia, ravage all before us, out round by the Hog mountain."

Hoboheithle Haujo, of Thlotlogulgau, answered, by two runners, "My town's people are, some of them, foolish, but they have not killed me and other old chiefs, as many of you have done; and we are determined not not to kill red and white people. Your prophets said, that in battle you would not lose more than two men: if a severe battle, three at most; and you have lost much blood by listening to them." To this there has been no reply. The war party have killed several of the negro men captured at and near Mimms's fort.

Two of our patrols have come in, who went up to Hillaubee, in a line between the Hog mountain and the hostile Indians. They saw about one hundred; fifty of them with bows and arrows only, and took some of their horses. They took charge of a letter from Mr. Grierson, which is expected here to-day, and will, probably, give very interesting information. I believe all the regiments arrived from Hartford to Hog mountain, on the frontiers, should be apprised of the threats of the hostile Indians. I was in hopes all our fighting would have been at, or west of, Chattahoochee; that we should have joined and co-operated there with the friendly Indians, and fought westwardly. But I am apprehensive, from delays, inseparable from your situation, and the celerity of the hostile Indians, it will be brought to our doors.

I am, respectfully, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General FLOYD.

CREEK AGENCY, 4th October, 1813.

The three enclosed letters will shew you the hazardous situation of affairs among us. I can hear nothing from you. If our friendly Indians are overpowered at Coweta, and the uplifted tomahawk, with the war whoop, is to move the army near fort Hawkins, they will soon have it. I shall send the return express to Mobile, on the arrival of the mail expected the 6th.

I am, respectfully, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG.

NASHVILLE, October 15th, 1813.

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your interesting letter to me of the 15th September, by last mail, prior to the receipt of which, I had been informed, through various correct channels, of the hostile intentions of a portion (probably nine-tenths) of the Creek Indians, and that Government had determined to chastise them. I had also received formal information from the Creek agent, of their intention to invade this State, as well as the State of Georgia, and the Mississippi territory; that they had actually attacked fort Mimms, that they had taken it, and had spared neither man, woman, or child; after which, that they had broken up the once flourishing settlements on the Tombigby and Mobile rivers; that the people there had fled from their homes to the forts, and that the Indians were in full possession of that fine country, laying it waste; that they were living on the crops and stocks of the farmers there; that a large body were approaching the frontier of this State; that a like force had set a time for the invasion of Georgia, and, that a similar one was actually on the march to invade the county of Madison, which information had caused a large majority of the population of that once flourishing settlement to abandon their farms. All the above information was possessed, and as many as three applications made, by express, in one day, from the people of Madison county, and several from the settlers on Tombigby, requesting that this State would afford them aid to repel approaching invasions, which they had every reason to believe would be made by the Creeks, before I had obtained the necessary authority to provide the means for the supply of a competent force to repel invasion, or was at liberty to afford our suffering neighboring settlements the aid they had so repeatedly solicited. Such a state of things gave me sensations which I have not language to describe, and such as I hope never again to experience. The moving causes which lead to the prospect of so much depredation, were not, as I believe, so fully understood by the President at an early period of those commotions among the Creeks, as they now are; but I had very satisfactory evidence, to my mind at least, that the above mentioned movements of the Creeks were planned and excited by the British, and Pensacola Spaniards, who, as there is reason to believe, have, for a long time, and from time to time, recently, supplied, and are now supplying, those Indians with arms, with munitions of war, with presents, and promising them future supplies, the better to enable and encourage them to disturb the whole southwestern frontier of the United States, which frontier relies mostly on Tennessee for immediate aid, in such cases of emergency; which evidences of their conduct have been, as they were received here, transmitted without delay to the War Department, for the information of Government, so as to apprise the President of the plans and machinations of our enemies, and hoping to be enabled, through his orders, prepared, not only for defence, and to repel invasion, but to assist in teaching these savages, of all colors, the impropriety of their conduct, by subduing them, in a great measure, before the coming in of winter, when, my calculation is, that the British will make a bold attempt to spread desolation through the Southern States, through the medium of their fleet, and by their emissaries, and to commit, with the aid of those Creeks, Spaniards, &c. &c. depredations on the whole southwestern frontier. This has been my impression of their views, thinking that the Canadas would, in considerable part, be ours before the severity of winter sets in, and, if so, believing that the British would, in that case, change the seat of war, during winter, from the northeast to the southwest, where, from the difference in climate, and from the present exposed situation of our extensive frontier, they might hope to operate more successfully, from that time, than in struggling for the repossession of Canada, which, if once ours, with good management on our part, they never can again possess. We see that the British Government is increasing their naval armament for the American coast; what is it for but to effect, if they can, something of the abovementioned kind? This has been my course of reflection since the disturbances among the Creeks took rise, fully believing, as I do, that the much formerly talked of civil war, said, by the agent, to be raging among the Creek Indians, and his opinion that that nation was pretty equally marshalled against itself, in that trying contest, which I never thought them seriously engaged in, so as to produce the destruction of either party by the violence of the other, was altogether fudge—a mere tub for the whale—thrown out by the hostile party of the Creeks, through the contrivance and suggestion of the British and Spaniards at Pensacola, as a blind to the credulous, who are too apt to believe every idle tale they hear. It is not reasonable, under all circumstances, as they relate to the supplies of those Indians, to suppose the contrary; for, certainly, the British, who have it in view to do all the injury they can to the United States, count more largely from the expenses they are at, upon receiving greater aid through the exertions of the Creeks, and from some of their emissaries and followers near them, than such as would grow out of a civil war between parties in that nation, created and fomented by the British, to serve themselves. To use best exertions to render this section of the Union safe and secure from foreign and neighboring intrigue and invasion, as well as from domestic insurrection; to render our frontier settlers secure at their homes; to promote the growth and prosperity of it, in all laudable ways; and to guard, as much as possible, against any mischiefs we might, through neglect, experience from such invasions, &c. as might be made by the Indians and their aiders and abettors on our borders, whose movements have, for a long time, been secretly planned

and directed by our enemies; has, and ever will, afford me pleasure: a pleasure felt, just in proportion to my regard for independence, and in proportion to the abomination, indignation, and resentment, I feel against workers of iniquity, levelled at the destruction of the best of Governments, administered by men of our own choice, and, of course, by such as we confide in. The American People are composed of too pure materials; they feel too much self respect; they are influenced in their conduct towards other Powers by too strong a sense of justice; they have too noble pursuits in view, both morally, religiously, and politically, to permit themselves to be insulted with impunity, or to suffer their country, which is the only known asylum for freemen, to be overrun, or to have their peace and their holy altars disturbed long, by savages or by their allies. I entertain the hope and belief, that the administrators of our Government are actuated by, and that they possess too high ideas of, the value of national honor and interest; and that they feel too ardent a desire for the general improvement of the face of the country inhabited by the hostile Creeks, and that they feel too little inclination, after knowing the present and the past conduct of these people, to permit their longer residence thereon, whereby they impede the growth of this section of the Union, so important to the United States, and which looks up to the Government for the use of those natural channels, leading through that tract of country, as outlets for our redundancies, and as inlets to many comforts, to consent to their continuance there any longer than they can be ousted by our arms. Therefore, I persuade myself to believe, that, in the course of the coming fall and winter, that the Creeks will be not only whipped, but that the Floridas, from whence they derive their counsel and support, to mar our frontier, will be ours. That Tennessee will cheerfully aid in the well doing of the first, with the hope that the latter will follow, under the order of our Government, as a necessary consequence; whereby, to effect the future security, and to promote the prosperity of the Southwestern section of the United States, five thousand men, and upwards, from this State, are under marching orders against the hostile Creeks and their coadjutors. They are to be joined and aided by some thousands from Georgia, now embodied at fort Hawkins, and to act separately, or in concert, with the regular troops there. If those troops do their duty, of which fact I have no doubt, they being brave and well commanded, they, in conjunction with the forces under your command, together with the people south and west, may, under the regulations of Government, soon become the cultivators of the rich soil, which they may, in that time, soon become possessed of by their valor; and they will thereafter enjoy the blessings of the mild Government of the United States, now only partially spread over that delightful tract, at this time inhabited by savages, and which is now the thoroughfare leading to the interruption of our peace, through the machinations of the British and their Pensacola allies, enforced by those deluded and turbulent Creeks, and those who take up arms, and co-operate with them. To aid in bringing about such a change for the better, Tennesseans, at the call of Government, will turn out by the ten, twenty, and thirty thousand, or more, in addition to the five thousand now in motion. These objects once effected, each southern and western inhabitant will cultivate his own garden of Eden, and will, through the natural channels placed by a wise and just Creator, convenient for his use, export his own produce, and import such comforts as he may think desirable, by the shortest routes of communication with the ocean. And, moreover, he will be no longer disturbed, either by the British, Spaniards, or Indians. Until those objects shall have been effected, the Western people, who live plentifully and well, will be, as they now are, cramped in their trade and intercourse with the Atlantic world; and desirable general improvement at their homes, and in the vicinity thereof, will be retarded, to the injury, not only of the Western population, but the growth and prosperity of this best part of the United States, will be kept on the back ground of improvement, which Government heretofore has only submitted to, for the preservation of peace, which is now broken by the enemy. I have ever viewed the possession of West Florida, by the United States, and the settlements on Tombigby and Mobile, as the beginning of great benefits to this section of the Union, both in a national point of view, and as leading towards individual enjoyments to be experienced by the people of the West, as the channels of rivers leading from this to that quarter, are plainly in our view; this being the fact, together with an ardent desire, universally felt here, to contribute every aid in our power towards affording those suffering fellow-citizens on those rivers, relief from savage pressure, the best means of this State have been put in motion, to effect so desirable an object as would be the expulsion of the enemy from that quarter, to the end, that the condition of that important tract of country may be bettered, and that those worthy, but suffering people, may return to their homes, to rationally enjoy the comforts of life, as all Americans should be privileged to do. The march of the troops from this, thither, has only been retarded by the common attendant difficulties in getting the necessary force supplied for a march of at least four hundred miles, and in making arrangements to repel meditated invasion of the State, and for a campaign against the Creeks. I trust, however, that you will very soon be relieved by the troops now on their march to the Tombigby settlements, from this State, which have lately been put in motion, under the very laudable provisions of an act lately, almost unanimously, passed by the General Assembly, for the purpose of providing for the repulsion of invasion, aiding the Mississippi territory, and for chastising the hostile Creeks in their nation. The meeting of the General Assembly at so important a crisis, (remote as we are from the seat of the General Government) with their prompt and patriotic attention to the promotion of the public interest, by providing, in anticipation of the wishes of the Government, the necessary means for the preservation of the thinly settled and much exposed extensive frontier, has seemed, to me, like an occurrence and measure provided by providential interference, in behalf of those most exposed to savage depredation. For this patriotic act of the Legislature, they deserve well of their country.

Before the passage of that act, there existed no legal provision here for supplying troops called out to repel invasion, whilst in service, neither was there any authority vested in any person here, to afford aid to the people of your territory, against attacks by the enemy, and, of course, no provision made for affording supplies to such forces as were disposed voluntarily to go to your relief, on their own expenses; some hundreds of whom were actually in motion for that purpose, before the passage of the abovementioned act. The constitutional authority vested in the Executive of a State, to call out the militia under circumstances not admitting of delay, to repel invasion, there can be no difference of opinion about, so far as relates to the right to call a competent force out; but the power to call men into service availeth but little, without the legal provisions necessary to afford the troops, thus called into service, supplies. Such legal provision was not made here before the passage of that act, and I had received no instruction from the General Government on the subject of supplies; hence, the passage of some such act was indispensably necessary for the preservation of, not only your frontier, but for ours also; without it, the frontiers generally would have been abandoned by the settlers; hundreds, and, perhaps, thousands, would have been ruined, before instructions could have been received from the War Department; for, although the hostile disposition of one portion of the Creek Indians, against the other, was known at the seat of Government to exist, the information there probably went no further than to induce a belief of the necessity or propriety of breaking the war party down, by affording relief to the peace party, which was considered to be equal, or nearly so, in number and strength, to the war party. Information of the contemplated invasion of the States of Georgia, Tennessee, and of the Mississippi territory, by the Creeks, and their having obtained supplies from Pensacola, to enable them to act effectually, I presume, had not reached the President, prior to the latter end of August; about which time, such information was sent from this, and before that, the probability of such being the fact was suspected, and an opinion to that effect offered. The invasion would, before this, have been made on this State, no doubt, had the Governor of Pensacola been ready to have acted as he wished. He was not ready as soon as he expected to be, and he sent runners from Pensacola, into the Creek nation, with information to that effect, requesting the Creeks to delay their attacks a short time, until the British should send on the supplies from the Bahamas, as promised, and on the arrival of which he should be ready. Since the runners started to the nation, the supplies have arrived from the Bahama islands, at Pensacola; hence we may expect very shortly to hear of their being in motion; but I trust, before they will do much mischief, that they will be taught the value of the friendship of the United States, and to regret that any of the Creek nation was at Winchester's defeat; and further, they may be taught to regret listening to the counsel of the British, given at the river Raisin, at that defeat, and that any of them ever carried a letter from a British general in Canada, to the Governor of Pensacola, requesting him to arm the Creek Indians for war against the United States. The Little Warrior, a Creek chief, who headed the party which killed a number of white persons, near the mouth of the Ohio, last spring, was the bearer of such a letter; when the Little Warrior was killed in his nation, the Governor of Pensacola sent a messenger into the nation

with instructions to go to the place where he was interred, to dig his body up, get the letter, and carry it to him. The Little Warrior had left the letter in the hands of his family, and a party of Indians, shortly after his death, carried it to the Governor, who, in June or July, furnished the Creeks with ammunition at Pensacola, knowing the use they intended to make of it. They held a war dance at Pensacola, and avowed their determination to go to war with the United States. They have since destroyed the settlements on Tombigby, and by their threats of invasion, the county of Madison has been almost depopulated. Thus do our Spanish neighbors, under British influence and Creek Indian alliance, act in secret, as they think, towards the United States, whilst they openly profess to be at peace. Such conduct, which is known to our Government before this, cannot long remain unpunished. The United States can have no use for such hollow-hearted, mischievous, war-dancing neighbors, in time of peace. May the language of a certain psalm shortly be applied to the Governor at Pensacola, and may his successor hold his appointment under the authority of the United States, is the earnest desire of all here who know the above mentioned facts. Delay might produce evils to the citizens of the United States, which would be incurable.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIE BLOUNT.

Brigadier General THOMAS FLOURNOY,  
*United States Army, commanding 7th Military District.*

FORT HAWKINS, 18th October, 1813.

The friendly Indians attacked the Uchees, killed three of them, destroyed all their houses and provisions, with the loss of two horses killed and two wounded. The Seminoles retreated back towards Miccosooky, near St. Marks. The war party were concentrating their force at Tuckaubatchee, to move on eastwardly, and against the friendly Indians at Coweta. We are nearly one thousand strong there. Terms of peace have been offered Coweta: "Give up four chiefs who are named, and join us against the white people, and we are friends." Peace with them, on any terms, is refused, unless under authority from the President.

I have ordered the Indians to take sides; all who are not for the chiefs are hostile, and will be treated accordingly. There is to be no neutrals; the evidence required of their having joined the chiefs is to give battle to the adherents of the Prophets.

A detachment of about four hundred well looking, well provided, and orderly men, of the militia army, have crossed Flint river, at the agency, and are fortifying there, and detachments will move on as they are ready. I arrived here yesterday, and shall return to-morrow to the agency. I have an assistant and interpreter constantly with the friendly Indians, and I keep General Floyd informed of every occurrence.

I am, respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

Gen. ARMSTRONG.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

CREEK AGENCY, October 23d, 1813.

The uncertainty of passing with safety, induced me to detain Mr. McGirt till this day; I have directed Mr. Limbaugh the D. P. M. to make up a return mail in a pair of saddle bags, to go by him. The disaster which befell the party at Mimms' fort, was to retaliate the attack made on the party returning from Pensacola. As soon as Peter McQueen returned home, twenty days were broken for an attack on Coweta, and the warriors convened, it being a primary object with the fanatics to unite the nation. But the families of the killed and wounded, and those who were plundered of the Governor's present, forced the leaders to change the attack to that of the half-breeds and their assistants. On the way down, they were informed the former were at Mimms' fort, and the latter at a fort in the fork, and they directed their attacks accordingly.

The friendly Indians still have their head quarters at Coweta; the hostile Indians on the waters of Tallapoosa, Coosa, Alabama, and Cahawba. The latter generally are out of their towns embodied at their respective towns; ready to move at short notice. General Floyd has about two thousand five hundred men in readiness, and entering the country; a detachment has crossed Flint river at the agency, and are fortifying a depot for provisions; we have about six hundred here. Our movement from this quarter, combined with that of Tennessee and Mississippi territory, will render the campaign decisive in our favor. As the communication between us will be uncertain for some time, will consider what I send you as common stock, among the public affairs.

I have paid, as you authorized, fifty-five dollars and fifty cents to your express, and have to pay for his expenses. This will be charged to the post office.

I am, very respectfully, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

Judge TOULMIN.

CREEK AGENCY 25th October, 1813.

The head quarters of the friendly Indians continues at Coweta. Several detachments of them are hovering on the borders of their opponents. The speaker of the nation, and chief of the Lower Creeks, visited me the night before last, and go on to General Floyd. I sent a public interpreter with them, and shall follow after them to-morrow. Their object is to have an understanding with him, relative to their co-operation with him, and to explain fully the intention of their country and affairs. We have here about seven hundred men, and the army will be on as soon as they can get beef.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

Secretary of War.

The following is a transcript of a letter from General Thomas Pinckney to Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, which, pursuant to the requisition of the chiefs and warriors of the Creek nation, I direct to be sent to the President of the United States, duly certified, upon the suggestion to the said chiefs, that my powers do not extend to embrace, by treaty or capitulation, the promises contained therein.

ANDREW JACKSON, Major General Commanding.

HEAD QUARTERS, SIXTH AND SEVENTH DISTRICTS,  
Camp, Confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, 23d April, 1814. }

SIR:

The complete success with which it has pleased the Almighty to bless the arms of the United States, in the present war with the hostile Creek Indians, having amply retaliated upon these infatuated people the loss of blood sustained by the citizens of the United States, and by that part of the nation who remained faithful to them; and their insolence, ingratitude, and perfidy, having been severely chastised; the Government of the United States, willing to spare the dispersed remnant of these miserable people, who may be sincerely disposed to atone for their former misdeeds, by their future good conduct; you will be pleased to communicate to them the following terms, upon which peace will be granted to them.

The United States will retain so much of the conquered territory as may appear to the Government thereof to be a just indemnity for the expenses of the war, and as a restitution for the injuries sustained by its citizens, and the friendly Creek Indians. The United States will retain the right to establish military posts and trading houses, and

to make and use such roads as they may think necessary, and freely to navigate all the rivers and water courses in the Creek territory. The enemy must, on their part, surrender their prophets, and such other instigators of the war, as may be designated by the Government of the United States; and they must agree to such restrictions upon their trade with foreign nations, as shall be established by the Government of the United States. You will please, sir, to communicate these terms to the friendly Indians, and to enjoin them in the prosecution of the war against such as may continue hostile, to abstain carefully from injuring those who may be returning, with the intention of making their submission. You may likewise inform them, that the United States will not forget their fidelity, but, in the arrangements which may be made of the lands to be retained as indemnity, their claims will be respected; and such of their chiefs as have distinguished themselves, by their exertion and valor in the common cause, will also receive a remuneration in the ceded lands, and in such manner as the Government may direct. You will please, sir, to take such measures as you may think expedient to communicate the above terms to the hostile party, and to point out the roads whereby they may approach the posts of the United States to surrender themselves, which roads you will also please to designate to the friendly party. The calamities of the war having reduced many of the women and children of the nation to the utmost distress, for want of subsistence, the United States will furnish provisions for them at the posts to which it can be most conveniently conveyed.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, sir, your most obedient servant,

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

Colonel HAWKINS, *Agent for Indian Affairs.*

FORT TOULOUSE, 25th April, 1814.

The terms upon which peace would be granted to the deluded adherents of the prophets, as communicated to me in yours of the 23d, I have delivered to the chiefs now with the army. I told them an answer was not expected from them. They would receive it only as information, and must co-operate with us by communicating it to the hostile party, by every means in their power. As they had a perfect knowledge of the country to which the enemy were retiring, they must apprise me of the paths they deemed proper for them to approach, and military posts to surrender themselves. Yesterday the chiefs informed me, in their opinion, the path on the northwest side of Alabama, would be eligible for the Alabamas, to report themselves opposite the site for the fort; and those going towards Konocau, should report themselves at fort Decatur, coming the Pensacola path to Tuckaubatchee, or the post road to its neighborhood, to branch off as the path directs to the Red Warrior's crossing fence, just above us. The chiefs directed Mr. Cornells to inform me, that they did not believe the hostile Indians were ready for peace, although a part of them had suffered so severely in battle against our armies. They were proud, haughty, brave, and mad by fanaticism. Those of the towns on Talapoosa, below Tuckaubatchee and Alabama, had suffered the least, although they were the most culpable; and it was probable they would mistake our object in offering terms of peace to them. The friendly Indians had no confidence in any promises they might make until a great part of them were destroyed. The friendly Indians, as soon as they had put their families down to planting their fields, would be ready to join, and co-operate with our armies in such manner as you may direct, and believed, with but little aid, would be able to destroy their enemy, and their fanaticism. I replied, blood enough had been spilt, and if the terms offered were not accepted, the war, of course, would continue. They must try such means as were in their power, to apprise the enemy of them; and that every one of the warriors must aid; which, of course, would soon enable us to determine on the course to be pursued.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

Major General PINCKNEY.

CREEK AGENCY, June 7th, 1814.

I was most unpleasantly situated in this country, from the commencement of the civil war, among the Creeks, until the arrival of General Pinckney, from the entire silence of the War Department, upon communications made from hence. The policy of Governor Mitchell, claiming and exercising an interference in the management of Indian affairs, allowing the General Government the regulation of their commerce *only*; his furnishing a map, and appointing a guide and interpreter for the army, totally incompetent to the duties of either, and disliked by the camp; the army of Georgia, a fine and powerful one, three thousand men, five hundred of them cavalry, in fine order, and all of them full of ardor, anxious and solicitous to be led against the enemy, having an open country, a fine road, bridges, and flats, to the heart of the nation, under a misguided policy to be kept inactive until their usefulness was destroyed by inaction, discontent, the camp rot, and home-sickness; the General, unmindful of his being an officer of the United States, to come into the agency, and acting without consulting the agent, accepting of his services tendered in writing, or receiving from him guides, interpreters, and a map of the country; his leaving a public interpreter I sent him, raised from infancy to manhood, in Auttossee, at fort Mitchell, when he marched to attack the Indians at Auttossee, his defeat there, and subsequent events not necessary now to detail.

The arrival of General Pinckney, his correct, intelligent, and dignified deportment, the splendid victories of General Jackson, and a new army, acting purely on national principles, has changed the face of things. The friendly Indians have entire confidence in the justice of our Government, and the hostile ones have sought, and are seeking, safety in its clemency. I have kept General Pinckney correctly informed of every occurrence, and executed with promptness whatever he required of me.

I have received your favor of the 17th ult. I understood the order, of the 22d April, to embrace as well the friendly as hostile Indians, and so I have acted. Those chiefs of Tuckaubatchee, about seven hundred, being decidedly friendly, and the first objects of resentment and attack from the Red Clubs, I removed with an armed force to Coweta. Their town, cattle, hogs, provisions, and every thing but what they brought off on their backs, being destroyed, and their warriors being always under our orders, they have been supplied. Tauthlacotchcau being destroyed and all fled to us, Coweta being the head-quarters of the friendly Indians, and Cussetah, its neighbor, both exhausted of all their eatables, have, recently, received the aid of our supplies. The whole, numbered from reports up to the 2d, who now draw provisions, are nearly four thousand. As many of them have planted, in good time, they require our aid only till their corn is made. Some of the hostile Indians will not be able to make any provisions for want of hoes, &c. The policy of the fanatics being to destroy the cattle, hogs, fowls, implements of husbandry, &c., many threw their hoes and axes into the rivers. War and famine has, too late, removed the delusion from them.

We have reports of supplies of munitions of war, and an order for the supply of provisions to the Red Clubs, being arrived at Pensacola; we have also a report that some British have arrived, and are making settlements near the mouth of the Apalachicola; the truth or falsehood of both reports I expect soon to receive. The road of communication has been travelled in perfect safety between our posts, and we have not had a man killed on it during our war.

If the rumor of peace, this summer, should be realised, I hope the President will appoint a man to succeed me, as soon as it may comport with the convenience of the Government; and I hope, in any event, except actual war in this quarter, it will be convenient to do so by the end of the year.

I have the honor to be, respectfully, and with great personal regard, sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG, *Secretary of War*

CREEK AGENCY, 15th June, 1814.

We have, from several quarters, reports that the Seminoles and hostile Indians have received a supply of arms and military stores at Pensacola, and from two vessels at an island in the mouth of the Apalachicola. A young man at the latter place, who saw the vessels, and supplies delivered the Indians, says the officer in charge of them gave out he was "a British officer, sent to see whether the Indians were destroyed or not, in their war with the United States; if not, to afford them help. He gave to each town four large kegs of powder, some short muskets with slings, and other articles. One of his vessels was to sail immediately for supplies for the red people, and would be back in twenty-five days, with them and a plan of future operations. It was contemplated by the British, to attack Mobile, an island near St. Mary's, an island near Savannah, and perhaps the town, and an island near Charleston, at the same time. He furnished them some provisions, and directed them, in the mean time, to recruit their strength, exhausted by their recent war and famine, and to concentrate their force near Choctawhatche."

I am, respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General JOHN ARMSTRONG.

BAY ST. LOUIS, June 17, 1814.

SIR:

Previous to my leaving at Pensacola, say on the 8th instant, the schooner ———, Captain ———, tender to the British frigate Orpheus, Captain Pigot, arrived at that place, with information that he just landed five thousand stand of arms, and cartridges in proportion, for the use of the Indians at Apalachicola, where left the frigate Orpheus, landing, on St. George's island, three hundred and odd troops, a Colonel and nine commissioned officers, where they intended erecting a fortification, and which was actually commenced. Couriers were daily going to and from Apalachicola, from Pensacola, reporting the actual arrival of the said vessels, and that they had landed twenty two thousand stand of arms, and cartridges in proportion. Mr. Inerarity, of the house of John Forbes and Co. received a letter from their agent at that place, informing him of a store being erected within about a mile of his factory, for the reception of said arms and ammunition. Report of couriers having been sent to the Big Warrior, holding out inducements and propositions for his taking interest in the war party. The Big Warrior, as was reported, replied, that he had been so often deceived in their engagements, that he could no longer place reliance in words; that he must have further proofs of their sincerity, before he could place any reliance in their propositions, or listen in any way to their entreaties. The particulars of all this I have despatched by express to Mobile, and William and J. Pierce, on the Tensaw, myself, and by others, to fort Claiborne. For further particulars I refer you to my previous letters, dated at Pensacola.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. ROBERTSON.

To Brigadier General THOMAS FLOURNOY.

BAY ST. LOUIS, 19th June, 1814.

SIR:

The enclosed information is obtained from a gentleman entitled to credit, and is corroborated by others. The obvious design of the enemy is to revive the Creek war, and to bring the Big Warrior, and his followers, into the measure, and to place arms into the hands of the blacks.

As the Big Warrior is near you, or at least under your influence, (I hope) I think proper to give you this information; and request you will acquaint Governor Earley of it.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

THOMAS FLOURNOY,

*Brigadier General Commanding Seventh Military District.*Colonel HAWKINS, *Agent Indian Affairs, Creek Agency.*

CREEK AGENCY, 21st June, 1814.

Since my communication of the 15th, I have received further information from the British, at Deer island, in the mouth of Apalachicola. "The vessels have left fifty men on the island, and sailed, saying that they would return in twenty-five days. They gave four kegs of cartridges, of one hundred pounds each, to O-he-te-yoe-on-noe, and Tut-tal-leo-see, and some arms, short rifles and others. They gave ammunition not for war. They expected the British and Americans would make peace this summer; they must not war against the United States; if they did, they would lose all their land. They had a talk for Coweta, and Cussetah, and the Four Nations; when they returned again, they would give it to them. They should take Mobile, an island near St. Mary's, and one near Savannah, and one near Charleston, all at the same time; but Mobile, it would be taken some time after the others."

The information is from Indians of different towns, who were on the spot, and tell what they saw and heard. The enclosed address to the chiefs, will show you the notice I have taken of it. From the singularity of the civil war among the Indians, and the deadly hostility between the parties, it has been very difficult, hitherto, to obtain correct and early information of what passes between the Red Clubs, and the British or Spaniards. And this is rendered very inconvenient, as we have not the means to pay persons who would undertake such a duty.

The "Red Clubs" are making their peace as fast as they can, and receiving food from us. Our stock as yet affords but a scanty supply. I have a family here who were wealthy, and lost all of their property by their delusion. One of the men was at the Horse-shoe fort, taken by General Jackson, wounded in two or three places, and escaped by remaining in the water with his nose only out, till night, and made his way in the dark. He represents the fate of his party from the combined attack of their opponents like the fall of leaves.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

P. S. I am informed the Orpheus frigate and a sloop of war landed the men and supplies.

General ARMSTRONG, *Secretary of War.*

The Government are certainly risking much, if the British contemplate hostility in this quarter, by their neglect of the friendly Indians, who have received no part of their annuity for 1812 and 1813, except what the chiefs received the first year. I have an express from General Graham, requesting my attendance at Tuckaubatchee, to consult with him, on the present situation of our affairs. I go immediately. The third regiment would be at fort Jackson the 20th instant.

COWETA, 3d July, 1814.

The convention of the Creek chiefs is to take place on the 7th, the Seminole and other chiefs below, are invited, and have promised to attend. The supplies of the munitions of war from the armed vessels, at the mouth of the Apalachicola, appears to have been very limited, and probably such only as they could spare from their own equipments. The Adjutant General of the seventh district has apprised us of General Jackson's being assigned to



the command of that district, clothed with complete powers to arrange with the hostile Creeks, except those who have fled into West Florida, between Pensacola bay and Apalachicola. They have very generally surrendered, and are fed at our forts or depositories of provisions. Their numbers will be accurate for return by the next conveyance. Famine has tamed or destroyed many of them.

I am, respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG, *Secretary of War.*

FORT HAWKINS, 13th July, 1814.

I arrived here, last evening, with General Graham, with the troops under his command, except what was sufficient to garrison the posts in the agency. On the 8th I examined, in presence of the General and Colonel Pearson, an intelligent runner from the store of John Forbes, & Co. the east of Apalachicola, twenty miles from the bay. He said "Three British officers had sent him to Coweta and Cussetah, to invite the chiefs down to receive arms and ammunition; there was a supply for them, not for war, but to kill squirrels, crows, and turkeys. His son, Homes, (a Red Club chief of Hoithlewaulee) and seven followers, who received eight muskets, bayonets, cartridge boxes, and three small kegs of powder. There would be an abundant supply as soon as the vessel returned, and a supply of goods for the Indians. Several of the Seminoles, and neighboring towns below, had received arms once, and a chief had been sent to invite the remains of the hostile Indians from Konacau to Apalachicola, and reported they were coming, but so exhausted with famine that many must perish on the way. He knew not whether the troops left on Deer island remained there or not."

The whole number of Indians fed at our posts, and depots of provision, on the 1st July, were five thousand two hundred and fifty-seven.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

Major General ARMSTRONG, *Secretary of War.*

CREEK AGENCY, 19th July, 1814.

General Jackson has appointed the 1st August for a general meeting of the chiefs of the hostile Creeks, who have submitted at fort Jackson, in order to make arrangements with them, agreeable to his instructions from your office. I am on my way to meet him, at his request.

The hostile Indians, of eight towns of Tallapoosa, are between Pensacola and Apalachicola, marching to the latter, severely chastised by famine. The conquered towns have either killed their chiefs themselves, or had most of them killed in battle. If the change of affairs in Europe should not lead to a general peace, and we should have to continue the war, the Government, by availing itself of what it knows here, may ward off much of the evils contemplated to be heaped on us, in that quarter. The friendly warriors were conspicuously brave at the battle of Auttossee, and near Nuo Yaucan.

The enclosed I have just received from General Flournoy.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG, *Secretary of War.*

CREEK AGENCY, 16th August, 1814.

General Jackson terminated his negotiations with the Creeks on the 9th, and left there on the 11th, with all the regular troops, going by water down the Alabama. The line of limits is Coosa river, with a reserve, of two miles square, for fort Williams, to the falls of the river, seven miles above fort Jackson; thence, eastwardly to a point, two miles north of Oakfuskee, (a large creek, six miles below fort Decatur) thence, across Tallapoosa, to the mouth of the creek, and, up the same, ten miles in a direct line; thence, to Chattahoochee, and across it, at the first creek, two and a half miles below Oketayocenne (about sixty-eight miles north of the confluence of Chattahoochee and Flint;) thence, east to Georgia, with an eventual reservation to accommodate the Kinnards. The details you will receive by the General's secretary.

We continue to receive daily rumors of hostile appearances at Apalachicola and Pensacola. The British armed vessels, off that coast, have manœuvred dexterously, by landing and re-embarking their crews, to deceive the Indians in that neighborhood. They have, unquestionably, furnished a considerable supply of the munitions of war, and some clothing, and are training the Indians and some negroes, for purposes hostile to us. The Indian training is to fire a swivel, sound the war whoop, fire three or four rounds of small arms, send the war whoop to every village, who repeat it, and are ready to march with the shortest notice; some have recently been to the frontiers of Georgia, and done mischief. The British officers have applied to the stock holders, in that quarter, to supply beef to the Indians, and they will pay for it. They have informed me they are apprehensive they shall not be paid.

I have communicated, in detail, to Generals Pinckney and Jackson, who must soon take order to crush the mischief hatching in that quarter; or, as soon as our new line of limits for the Creeks is known, it will rouse up and combine their whole force, in that quarter, against us. We should have ready our friendly warriors, of the Four Nations, to aid our troops in crossing them, without delay, which could readily be done.

We have, from a creditable Indian source, the following, from a British naval officer to the hostile chiefs: "The British and other Powers had conquered France. Seven Powers were now united against America. A little before white frost you will hear of smoke all round the United States, in the sea ports, and the burning of powder. The war is just beginning; there will be several armies landing in different places. His King, George, said the seven Powers would be able and were determined to conquer America, and the British would be masters of it. They need not expect to be deceived; the British would fulfil their promise, and never leave this land again."

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

General ARMSTRONG, *Secretary of War.*

HEAD QUARTERS, *Town of Mobile, September 17, 1814.*

INSPECTOR GENERAL'S OFFICE, }  
7th Military District. }

GENERAL ORDERS.

Our companions in arms have triumphed over the enemy. At 4 o'clock, P. M. on the 15th instant, fort Bowyer was attacked by a superior British naval and land force, and the enemy was repulsed at all points; the naval force of the enemy consisted of two ships, from twenty-four to twenty-eight guns, mounting thirty-two pound carronades; two brigs, from sixteen to eighteen guns, mounting twenty-four pound carronades, with three tenders, all under the command of Commodore Sir W. H. Piercy. The land forces of the enemy consisted of one hundred marines, under the command of Colonel Nicolls, three hundred Indians under the command of Captain Woodbine, of the British army, and a battery of a twelve pounder and howitzer, under the direction of a British captain of the royal artillery. Our effective force, opposed to the enemy, was about one hundred and twenty men, of whom not more than ninety were engaged. The leading ship, called the Hermes, Commodore Sir W. H. Piercy, having approached within reach of our guns, our battery opened upon her, the guns of which were fired in succession, as they could be thought to bear, and, at twenty minutes after four, P. M. the engagement became general; about this time the enemy, on shore, with Colonel Nicolls at the head of the marines, Captain Woodbine at the head of their allies,



the Indians, and the captain of the British royal artillery, with his battery, were put to flight by two discharges of grape and cannister from a nine pounder; at five P. M. the commander's ship swung head on to our battery, when we were enabled to rake her so effectually as to silence her guns. Having cut her cable by our shot, she drifted out and grounded, stern on, within seven hundred yards, which again afforded us an opportunity of raking her, and we continued doing so while there was light enough to see that his colors were flying; and, about sunset, the other vessels cut their cables, and stood off with a light breeze, under a most tremendous fire from our battery. At a quarter past seven, we discovered the Commodore's ship to be on fire, and at ten P. M. her magazine blew up. We cannot ascertain the precise loss of the enemy; but, from deserters who came in the morning after the battle, we learn that the Commodore and only twenty men escaped from the *Hermes*, her crew being originally one hundred and seventy; that eighty-five were killed and wounded on board the *Charon*. The loss on board the brigs is unknown, but must have been very great, from the circumstance of one of them being infinitely more exposed than the *Charon*.

Our loss was four privates killed, and five wounded. During the hottest of the action, our flag-staff was shot away; the flag was immediately regained, under a heavy fire of grape and cannister, and hoisted on a sponge staff, and planted on the parapet.

This achievement of our brothers in arms is dear to us, and calls for, and will have, the gratitude of a grateful country. Our arms have triumphed over the enemy. The brave officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, under the command of the gallant Major Lawrence, have done their duty, and, in point of cool and determined courage, their conduct cannot be surpassed.

There was but one feeling pervading every grade and rank throughout the whole action, and that was, who should be foremost in the race of glory; with them, the post of danger was the post of honor.

By order of Major General Jackson.

A. P. HAYNE,

*Inspector General and Acting Adjutant General 7th Military District.*

*A list of the names of the officers present in the engagement, which took place between the American forces at Fort Bowyer, on the Bay of Mobile, and the naval and land forces of His Britannic Majesty, in conjunction with their Indian allies, on the 15th September, 1814.*

Major Lawrence,	-	-	-	-	2d Regiment Infantry.
Captain Walsh,	-	-	-	-	Artillerists.
“ Chamberlain,	-	-	-	-	2d Regiment Infantry.
“ Brownlow,	-	-	-	-	Ditto.
“ Bradley,	-	-	-	-	Ditto.
Lieutenant Villard,	-	-	-	-	Ditto. (Acting Adjutant.)
“ Sturges,	-	-	-	-	Ditto.
“ Conway,	-	-	-	-	Ditto.
“ H. Saunders,	-	-	-	-	Ditto.
“ T. R. Saunders,	-	-	-	-	Ditto.
“ Brooks,	-	-	-	-	Ditto.
“ Davis,	-	-	-	-	Ditto.
“ C. Saunders,	-	-	-	-	Ditto.

Captain Sands, of the artillerists, (and deputy commissary of ordnance,) acting aid to the commanding officer, and superintending the supplies for the guns, &c.

A. P. HAYNE.

HEAD QUARTERS, 7TH MILITARY DISTRICT, MOBILE, 19th Sept. 1814.

The enclosed general order will give the information of the glorious victory obtained over the British, Indian, and Spanish forces, on the 15th instant. In a few days I hope to have the fort completed in such manner as it will be invulnerable; twelve guns were used only. Three gun-boats would have enabled us to have captured two of the vessels, if not the whole. I hope in a few days to hear of Major McIntosh having captured all the stores and negroes on the Apalachicola.

I am, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

ANDREW JACKSON, *Major General Commanding.*

COL. BENJAMIN HAWKINS, *Agent for the Creek nation.*

P. S. You will give me the force of your warriors enrolled as early as possible. If Major McIntosh, and two hundred warriors, could join me shortly, I would be happy to see him. The Indians engaged on the 15th ran, and left their clothing.

CREEK AGENCY, October 5, 1814.

I send the enclosed, on the probability that you will receive it by our mail sooner than the direct conveyance through Tennessee. Major McIntosh marched on the 23d ult., with one hundred and ninety-six warriors, twenty rounds ammunition, twenty days' provisions. Some reinforcements have followed, and some were to join from below, expecting in all from three to four hundred—enough for his object. Our chiefs complain much against us. They say “Government has not been just to them, in withholding their annuity for 1812, '13, and '14, without assigning any reason for it. They have been faithful to their treaty stipulations with us, yielding whatever was demanded of them. General Jackson is in hopes justice will be done them; but it is still delayed. They are called on for warriors, for runners, and other purposes, without receiving any pay for the services they have often willingly performed. They are now in a manner naked, their hunting done, their resources destroyed by their civil war, and they are without the means of clothing their helpless people and themselves, and winter is approaching.”

I am respectfully, and with great personal regard, dear sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

Mr. MONROE, *Acting Secretary of War.*

